

Translator's Foreword

The *Kido Takayoshi Nikki* has become an old friend. I first consulted it in the summer of 1951 near the beginning of my study of Japanese history. I was attracted by the fact that the diary provides an insider's view of the politics of the first years after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, an era of government leadership of modernization and growing internationalism. It also presents a rare glimpse of the personal interests of a newly-risen national statesman. Kido collected swords, wrote poetry, socialized with painters and geisha, enjoyed watching sumō bouts, participated in *go* matches, travelled the length and breadth of his own land, and circled the globe. Politics is the focus, but his daily record is filled with evidence of Kido's private pleasures and his personality.

The Japanese version of *Kido Takayoshi Nikki* was published in three volumes, under the editorship of Tsumaki Chūta, in 1932–1933 by Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai. It began with the entry of 23 April 1868, barely two months after Kido arrived in Kyoto to serve the Meiji Restoration government, and it continued until 6 May 1877, exactly twenty days before his death, also in Kyoto to which he had returned to serve with the Emperor Meiji during the Satsuma Rebellion. The first volume, presented here, insofar as it has a theme, deals with the centralization of political authority and the abolition of feudalism, 1868–1871. The second volume centers on Kido's travel to the United States and Europe as the second-ranking member of the Iwakura mission and its aftermath, 1871–1874. The third volume describes Kido's mounting concern over the plight of groups affected adversely by the government's modernization policies, 1874–1877. He was the rare oligarch who exhibited social concern at the impoverishment of the former samurai and the peasantry.

These volumes are presented in English translation partly as a result of a casual suggestion a number of years ago by Professor Delmer Brown of the University of California at Berkeley.

Professor Brown (who is unrelated to the translator) remarked that it would be a service to foreign historians of Japan if they had better access to the Kido diary. He launched a fascinating project, not unmixed with travail.

Collaboration with a Japanese person was the indicated path. It was Akiko Hirota who joined me to make completion of the project possible. When we were both at the University of Oklahoma we worked together to produce the initial draft between 1972 and 1974. Acknowledgment is made of the importance of her contribution by listing her as cotranslator. Time in Tokyo in 1977–1978 as a Japan Foundation Fellow allowed me to revise the translation and to work on the annotations. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Itagaki Tetsuo of Tokyo University and Yamagata University for counsel during that period on readings of personal names, identification of individuals from their *gō* or literary names, location of place names, and many other things. Dr. Itagaki also compared the published version of the diary with the original in the Imperial Household Agency library, and verified that the two are virtually identical.

I am grateful to Professor Marius Jansen of Princeton University for his strong encouragement and support for this project, and for his introductions. I am indebted to Professor Satō Seizaburō of Tokyo University for arranging that I be a research associate at his university. Others to whom I am obligated are legion. Those who were particularly helpful were: Mr. Katō Mikio, program director, International House of Japan, Inc.; Professor Uno Shunichi, Chiba University; Professor Motoyama Yukihiro, Kyoto University; Professor Ogawa Kuniharu, Yamaguchi University; Professor Abe Takematsu, Nihon University; Mr. Hirota Nobuhisa, Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives; Mr. Kondō Takahiko, director, Hagi Local History Museum; and Mr. Tōkairin Shizuo, Yokohama City Library Editorial Office. A succession of chairmen of the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, have backed this long-term project; and I give thanks to them—Professors Arrell M. Gibson, Henry Tobias, Norman Crockett, and Russell D. Buhite. Assistance of the Research Council, University of Oklahoma, is likewise acknowledged.

Members of the present generation of the Kido Takayoshi family graciously shared their family traditions and memories with me: Mr. Kido Takasumi, present head of the house; Mr. Kido

Takahiko, who is custodian of heirlooms—including photographs, paintings, calligraphy, and swords once owned by his famous ancestor; Dr. and Mrs. Tsuru Shigeto, the latter a great-granddaughter of Kido; and Dr. Wada Akiyoshi, a descendant who also heads the family from which Kido Takayoshi originally sprang. A splendid dinner with the great-grandchildren at the Seventh Heaven Chinese Restaurant, the Rōgairō, in the Roppongi section of Tokyo was a memorable occasion which brought Kido Takayoshi to life through family recollections for several hours. It was gratifying that my wife Ruth and my son Frederick could be there.

Finally, I am happy to acknowledge the interest and encouragement of Susan Schmidt of Tokyo University Press. Her enthusiasm for the project from an early stage has brought the manuscript to publication.

Throughout the translation and notes I have retained the East Asian sequence of surname before personal name. For authenticity I have used exactly the name which Kido entered in his diary for individuals who may have been remembered in history under other names. Indeed, Kido sometimes used more than one name for the same person. It is hoped that the annotations and index cross-references will clear up identities.

All dates have been rendered into their equivalents by the Western solar calendar. Until 1 January 1873 the Chinese lunar calendar was in use in Japan. New Year's by the lunar calendar normally fell in February. Inasmuch as the year, which ordinarily had twelve lunar months, had a thirteenth intercalary month approximately one year in three, the first month might fall in February in one year, but in March the next. For the dating of diary entries the year of the Meiji era and the month and day by the lunar calendar are given in parentheses.

Norman, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
24 October 1982

SIDNEY DEVERE BROWN

Foreword to the Japanese Edition

While engaged in the national administration, His Excellency Shōgiku¹ Kido made daily entries in his diary without fail during the entire period from 23 April 1868 to 6 May 1877.

Earlier our Society published *The Papers of Kido Takayoshi*² in eight volumes; and their appearance stirred a great deal of interest. Numerous persons expressed their appreciation that the Society had made these valuable historical documents available. Now it is our great privilege to publish the first volume of the Kido diary, covering His Excellency's daily entries from April 1868 to March 1871; and words are inadequate to express fully our gratitude to the house of Marquis Kido³ and to Mr. Tsumaki Chūta, editor in the historical office of the house of Prince Mōri,⁴ for making these arrangements.

In the past scholars of Restoration history have treasured several handwritten copies entitled "Selections from the Diary of Kido Takayoshi." As its name implies, however, that work is no more than excerpts. The family had never before so much as allowed this treasured manuscript to be taken out of its house, but it found itself unable to deny the earnest request of Mr. Tsumaki Chūta to bring out this work. The house of Marquis Kido has permitted the publication of the entire manuscript for the benefit of the world of scholars. We denominate it, without hesitation, the most valuable document on the history of the Restoration.

¹ The *gō*, or *nom de plume*, of Kido Takayoshi. It means "the pine and the chrysanthemum."

² Tsumaki Chūta, ed., *Kido Takayoshi Monjo* (8 volumes, Tokyo, Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai, 1929-1931).

³ Kido Kōichi (1889-1977), a grandson of Kido Takayoshi, gave permission for publication. A graduate of the Peers School in 1911, and of Kyoto Imperial University in 1915, he was at the time of the release of this document the Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Later, in the tumultuous war years 1940-1945, he served as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in his own right; and in that office was the principal adviser to the Emperor.

⁴ The heir to the former Lords of Chōshū in whose domain Kido Takayoshi had begun life as a samurai.

Mr. Tsumaki Chūta has had full charge of preparing the diary for publication. In doing so, he has followed the original manuscript faithfully, even to the point of reproducing incorrect ideographs for personal names, mistakes in *kana* usage, substitute ideographs in the text, blank spaces, and the like, without altering in any way the original, for these mistakes offer proof that this is the text which His Excellency set down day by day as an *aide-memoire*.

Again, the Society, on the occasion of the issuance of this volume—along with expressing its appreciation to the house of Marquis Kido who has consented to its publication—particularly wishes to give its warm thanks to Mr. Tsumaki Chūta for his ungrudging labors in bringing it out.

December 1932

Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai⁵

Translator's Introduction

by
Sidney DeVere Brown

Kido Takayoshi, who lived from 11 August 1833 to 26 May 1877, was the leading Chōshū statesman of the Meiji Restoration. He teamed with two Satsuma men, Saigō Takamori and Ōkubo Toshimichi, to direct the forces which eliminated the Shogunate and restored the Emperor to direct rule in 1868. Three years later, in 1871, Kido joined with his two Satsuma colleagues to abolish feudalism itself by replacing the semi-autonomous domains with prefectures controlled from the center. For these achievements the leaders are remembered as "the three heroes of the Meiji Restoration."

Of the three, Kido, through his diary, provided the best inside account of post-Restoration politics. In his daily entries Kido also overcame the usual Japanese masculine reticence to give us a sense of how a government leader spent his leisure hours. Ōkubo's diary was a laconic record of appointments made and kept. In its businesslike conciseness, it is as dry as dust. Saigō, the rustic warrior, typically did not keep a diary.¹

Kido began his diary when the most flamboyant phase of his career was already behind him. He had flashed across the stage of history as a swashbuckling romantic revolutionary who seized the reins of power in Chōshū to ensure the success of the Imperial Restoration in 1868. The second period, 1868–1871, the years presented in this volume of the translation, embraced the peak years of Kido's influence in the central government, when he engineered the dissolution of the feudal administrative structure. The third period, 1871–1877, to be offered in future volumes of the diary translation, was a time of gradual detachment from the center of power, when Kido observed the modern nations of America and Europe as associate ambassador with the Iwakura mission, or else criticized the policies of his colleagues which led

⁵ Society for Japanese Historical Materials.

¹ Ōe Shinobu, *Kido Takayoshi* (Tokyo, Chūō Kōronsha, 1968), 4.

to the abrupt end of the samurai class and to burdensome taxes on the peasantry. Throughout, Kido maintained the unity of the government, however. He made his objections known confidentially to his fellow statesmen, and eloquently to the inviting pages of his diary.

Career

Opposition was the normal stance for Kido, early in life as at the end of his career. For only a few brief years did he have a grasp on the power to remake the nation. Thomas Huber's discussion of the "service intelligentsia" in Chōshū during the late Tokugawa period has focused attention on the stratum of young samurai who were able and actually did the official work, but came to resent their incompetent superiors because they lived so well and wastefully on large stipends.² Kido belonged to Huber's "service intelligentsia," and he ultimately became the leader of these social revolutionaries in his domain.

Kido was born in 1833 in Hagi castletown on the Sea of Japan in the *tozama* domain of Chōshū, the fief of the Mōri family who were hereditary enemies of the ruling Tokugawa shoguns. His natural father, Wada Masakage, had the modest stipend of 20 *koku* as a *han* physician; but that he was affluent was suggested by the magnificence of the rambling two-storied mansion which was Kido's birthplace. The explanation of the doctor's wealth may be found in the unusual arrangement of two front entrances, or *genkan*—one for warrior patients, the other for well-paying townsmen. Although Kido did not succeed to the headship of the family and was not the main heir, the wealthy doctor left his young son the substantial sum of ten *kamme* of silver.³ The elder Wada, whose reputation was great enough that he was invited to lecture on ophthalmology at the domain medical school, also bequeathed an interest in Dutch learning and things Western.

² Thomas Huber, *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1981), 210–214.

³ Albert M. Craig estimates that the income from 10 *kamme* of silver was greater than the 20-*koku* stipend of the Wada house. "Kido Koin and Okubo Toshimichi," in Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively, eds., *Personality in Japanese History* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970), 273.

The higher-ranking Katsura family adopted Kido as heir in 1840, when he was seven. The 150-*koku* Katsura stipend was reduced to 90 *koku* as a penalty for a deathbed adoption; but Kido was now a "real" samurai whose social position allowed him to enter the domain school, the Meirinkan, for an orthodox education in literature and the military arts. In 1852 he left Chōshū for the first time to study swordsmanship in Edo with Saitō Yakurō, one of the three great swordmasters of the capital. Out of the fencing academies came Emperor-loyalism and the Restoration. As head student at the Saitō Academy, Kido made contact with loyalists from all across Japan—Sakamoto Ryōma of Tosa, for example, who was a student at the nearby Chiba Academy at the same time.

Service with Chōshū forces assigned to coastal defense against the American fleet of Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853–1854 stimulated Kido's patriotism, as he viewed the menacing "black ships" with his own eyes. The crisis moved him to study coastal fortification and artillery with the Bakufu military reformer Egawa Tarōzaemon, to whom the swordmaster Saitō owed his allegiance. It was Saitō who made the arrangements. Kido also observed the Russians building a schooner at Shimoda, and arranged for Chōshū to construct its first Western-style vessel on a similar pattern in 1856, using some of the same workmen for the project.

Like his mentor, Yoshida Shōin, Kido held an ambivalent view of the West. His fear was mixed with admiration; and he hoped for emancipation of Japan by imitation of Western military skills. Yoshida shaped not only Kido's military ideas but his social and political thought as well. Kido, indeed, is regarded as one of the great students to come out of Yoshida's private academy, the Shōka Sonjuku, though he could have studied there only briefly. Shōin's loyalist thought carried with it a concept of social revolution. He preached the necessity for a grass-roots hero to arise to install a merit bureaucracy, to create an egalitarian army, and to send talented students abroad to study. It was an anti-feudal program which Kido ultimately carried out, but in Shōin's lifetime Kido was more cautious than his teacher, and tried to protect the impassioned reformer from the wrath of the Bakufu by screening out his more intemperate letters. Although he preferred a more moderate course himself, Kido mourned the death of Shōin at the hands

of the Bakufu's executioners in 1859, and saw to it that the Chōshū ideologue was reburied with honor at Wakabayashi in Edo.

A Chōshū reformer who paved the way for the Sufu Masanosuke faction (which provided Kido's initial appointment to domain office in 1858 and which projected Chōshū into national politics) was Murata Seifū. That Kido did not forget his debt to Murata is evident in the early pages of the diary in 1868, when, as a national statesman home on leave, Kido did the calligraphy for an appreciation of Murata to be cut in stone and placed at the base of the late domain leader's favorite pine tree in Hagi [22 June 1868].⁴

In 1862 Kido joined the inner circle of Chōshū officials who guided the domain to the loyalist-exclusionist policy favored by the radical lower samurai, and away from the pro-Bakufu, open-country stance of Nagai Uta, whose power derived from upper feudal groups. Huber designates 200 *koku* of income as the dividing line between the factions.

Kido served in Kyoto, primarily as Chōshū's chief diplomat for negotiations with the Imperial Court and the other domains. In 1863, when he was the ranking Chōshū official in the Imperial city, Kido fell under a cloud for failing to detect the Satsuma-Aizu coup which drove Chōshū military forces out of town. Again, Kido was on duty in Kyoto when the disastrous, suicidal push of Chōshū forces to capture the Emperor failed at Hamaguri Gate on 20 August 1864, but he was absent from the field of battle.

The story of Kido's escape from the city after the 1864 debacle is a romantic one. While he hid under Nijō Bridge along the Kamo River, posing as a beggar, his geisha lover Ikumatsu brought him riceballs from the shop of Imai Tarōemon, the official Chōshū merchant. She aided in his escape after five days, and in 1868, following her adoption into a samurai family, became Kido's wife Matsuko, referred to simply as Matsu in the diary. Kido fled to remote Izushi in Tajima province, northwest of Kyoto, pretending that he belonged to a branch family of the local shopkeeper Hirado Jinsuke. For more than half a year, his

⁴ References to diary entries from this volume will be cited hereafter in this form, with the date in brackets. References to entries from Volumes II and III, for 1871-1877, will be footnoted, with the date followed by volume and page number from the Japanese-language edition.

whereabouts unknown even to Chōshū loyalists, Kido tended a shop under the pseudonym Hiroe Kōsuke.⁵

Takasugi Shinsaku sent the summons to Kido to come home to Chōshū to take charge of the government in March 1865. Takasugi's *coup d'état* resulted from a daring raid by his *shotai* irregulars, or militiamen; and the domain now belonged to the lower samurai leadership. This revolutionary government under Kido and Takasugi built up an autonomous military base under the slogans "full independence of central control" and "reliance on arms." It successfully conducted the War of the Four Borders against Bakufu forces in 1865-1866. Kido called home the great military reformer Ōmura Masujirō from Tosa to develop Western rifle units. The new *de facto* prime minister also obtained access to 8,000 modern rifles through an English trader in Nagasaki. One purpose of the secret Satsuma-Chōshū alliance which Kido negotiated with Saigō was to allow Chōshū to use Satsuma's name for these arms purchases (as Chōshū was barred from Nagasaki for earlier fighting with the Shogunate). Remote Satsuma in turn was allowed to use the Chōshū port of Shimono-seki as a staging base for troops being moved closer to the center of the national political arena in Kyoto.

With Takasugi's early demise from tuberculosis in 1867, Kido stood as the sole senior leader in Chōshū. His ability was evident in forging the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance which was to result in the Meiji Restoration. Kido also became the dominant figure because he was slightly older than the other loyalists, a bit higher in social rank, and, owing to his long absence from the domain to conduct its diplomacy, uninvolved in bitter local factional struggles. Finally, Kido came to the top partly because he survived the turbulent 1860s which wiped out much of Chōshū's radical loyalist leadership. More moderate and careful than Yoshida Shōin, who was executed, or Kusaka Genzui, who committed *seppuku* after sustaining a wound at Hamaguri Gate, Kido lived on to become the ranking leader when the loyalist cause prospered.

Although his Chōshū mentors and colleagues did not survive to realize their aim of national leadership under an Emperor restored to direct rule, Kido remembered them often in the diary which he began to keep soon after his arrival in Kyoto to join the

⁵ Ōe, *Kido Takayoshi*, 145-146.

new Meiji government on 18 February 1868. A bridge reminded him of Yoshida Shōin, his ideological mentor [5 November 1868]. An old pine brought back memories of Murata Seifū, who set the stage for reform in Chōshū. The geisha whom Sufu Masanosuke loved brought tears to the eyes of Kido when he thought of that ill-fated, impassioned leader who first brought the younger man into the inner political circle of Chōshū [10 May 1868]. A pilgrimage to Takasugi's tomb near Shimonoseki and a visit with Takasugi's mistress moved Kido to reminisce about the man whose reckless coup set the stage for radical control of Chōshū [27 June 1868].⁶ Likewise, a graveside visit in Hagi where Yamada Uemon lay buried called to mind that older man's support in bringing Ōmura back to reorganize the Chōshū military forces [11 June 1868]. Kido inherited the mantles worn by these late loyalists of Chōshū.

In the new central government after 1868 Kido spoke for Chōshū, which, with Satsuma, dominated the regime, and carried into effect policies to which he had become heir. The Charter Oath of Five Articles, the Emperor's 7 April 1868 statement on behalf of principles of centralization and Westernization, was drafted in part by Kido.

On 23 April 1868 Kido put his brush to his diary for the first time, and continued it with hardly an interruption until just before his death in May 1877. During those nine years Kido held many important offices, the most influential being that of Imperial Councilor, or *Sangi*, 1869–1874, 1875–1876. The end of the feudal administrative structure derived from his initiatives; and he reflected on his greatest political success in a diary entry for 29 August 1871 when he witnessed the feudal lords being summoned before the Throne and relieved of their ancient hereditary offices and properties. Kido traveled abroad with the Iwakura mission, 1871–1873. Although the embassy failed to revise the unequal treaties, the trip educated the principal Meiji leaders for the task Japan faced. Kido had charge of the embassy section which investigated American and European constitutions, as well as their educational and military organizations. He returned to Japan committed to the cause of reform with peace, abandoning an earlier proposal to invade Korea. Significantly, Kido touched

⁶ Baisho, Takasugi's mistress, travelled to Nagasaki with Kido's official party aboard a ship owned by the English merchant, Thomas Glover.

off the movement to establish a constitution along German lines in his famous memorial of September 1873. Aoki Shūzō, Kido's old Hagi neighbor who was then a student in Berlin, prepared a draft constitution, by which Kido intended to broaden participation in government, but on a limited and gradual basis.⁷

Kido emerged as the most liberal and humane member of the government even as his influence waned. In May 1874, he left office to protest the expensive and provocative Taiwan expedition; but in January 1875 he returned to his old position as Imperial Councilor following the Osaka Conference, which he regarded as a promise that his constitutional ideas would be implemented. When that did not happen, he retreated from the front line in 1876 to a post which allowed him to oversee the moral instruction of the young Meiji Emperor. Meantime, Kido criticized measures which impoverished the *shizoku* and the peasantry, and obtained some modification of policy. His metaphor was the human body, which must not have all of the blood rush to the brain (the capital), but should allow some to circulate in the limbs (the localities). Knowledge of the economic depression which had overtaken his old comrades who remained behind in Hagi and Yamaguchi, and some fear of their counter-revolutionary potential, had changed his mind. From exponent of centralization, he moved toward a policy of leaving tax monies with the localities.

On 26 May 1877 Kido died in Kyoto, where he had gone to attend the Emperor Meiji during the suppression of the Satsuma Rebellion. Despite his criticism, Kido remained loyal to the central government to the end. Of the early Meiji triumvirate, Kido alone "died on the tatami." Saigō committed *seppuku* when his backward-looking rebellion collapsed later in 1877. Ōkubo fell under assassins' swords when his English horse-carriage was intercepted en route to the Palace in Tokyo on 14 May 1878 by six declassed samurai, angry at their loss of privilege.

The Diary

Two major traditions shaped the diary which Kido kept so faithfully during the nine years leading up to his early death. One was

⁷ Marlene Mayo has provided this information.

Chinese. Inspired by Confucian teachings, which came to Japan as part of the Chinese enlightenment, Fujiwara statesmen of the eighth and ninth centuries kept political diaries to record and criticize their own performance in office.

The second tradition was purely Japanese. Court ladies like Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon who lived at the turn of the eleventh century utilized their literary diaries to set down their personal responses to beauty in nature and much else in an aesthetic vein.⁸ Lyrical poetry in the thirty-one-syllable *tanka* form often graced such art diaries.

Diaries of the nineteenth century, when Kido lived, united the older political and literary traditions. The practice of keeping a diary became widespread at that time, possibly because it fitted the requirements of the well-disciplined society of Tokugawa Japan. A samurai noted in his diary whether or not he had served his lord to the full on a given day. A person who wanted to account for his time set down in his diary what he had done with it. Diary-keeping itself required self-discipline. Filial piety was also served through a diary: one explored in his diary how well he had discharged his obligations to his parents.

Kido in his diary, which represented a union of the Chinese political and the Japanese literary traditions, projected an image of the loyal official and the filial son, or the son who had belatedly sought to make up for the trouble he caused his parents when they lived. His diary, like those of the Fujiwara ministers a millenium earlier, had a substantial political content. He summarized political discussions in the councils of the Meiji government—what he had said in opposition to the Taiwan expedition of 1874, for example. Likewise, his diary, in the style of the Heian court ladies (or, in his mind, after the manner of Rai Sanyō, the loyalist historian), carried the texts of dozens of his own poems. Some reflected the Taoist ideal of a retreat to nature to escape the cares of office: "Seated on a light saddle, I meet the rain at dawn. . . . What care I for wealth or fame?"⁹ Others bespoke his pride in the success of the Meiji government. A visit to Nikkō with the Emperor inspired a *tanka* poem noting that the Imperial line was

⁸ Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969), 3–5; Richard Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu: Her Diary and Poetic Memoirs* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982).

⁹ 13 June 1871 (II, 27–28).

2500 years old, much more ancient than Nikkō where Tokugawa Ieyasu lay buried, and echoed Emperor Nintoku by observing that smoke was rising from the hearths of prosperous subjects after a time of depression under the Bakufu.¹⁰

Even Kido's obligatory references to the weather exhibited his sensitivity to colors and scents in nature. He followed the Japanese custom that each daily entry should open with a note on the weather; but Kido did not simply mention the rain. He went on to recreate the ambience of Prince Akizuki's garden after a shower when the fragrance of plum blossoms wafted in on the breeze [16 February 1869]. Nor in winter was it enough for Kido to say that snow had fallen. "A blizzard blew in at dawn," he wrote while staying in Kyoto in 1868. "I threw open my windows and the mountains of Higashiyama and the Kamo River were all mantled with silvery snow. My writing brush is inadequate to describe the beauty of the scene" [25 January 1871].

The poetic samurai recorded his days with unusual precision. Daily he noted the exact hour of each of his numerous interviews and political meetings.

Kido seems to have begun his diary simply as a memorandum for his own information. Early entries are laconic. The name of the guest is given, and possibly the subject discussed, but little more. The names of persons whose letters arrived, or to whom he wrote, also appeared. From time to time Kido must have consulted the record of political contacts to jog his memory.

Gradually the reader of the diary comes to observe two circles of political associates. First were the members of the oligarchy, Kido's peers, who made the decisions to centralize Japan's political structure and to modernize its economy and society. Lord Iwakura Tomomi, the man whom Kido went to see on 23 April 1868 as noted in the first entry of the diary, was one of them.

¹⁰ 8 June 1876 (III, 415). Kido wrote, "On the way back from Chūzenji today, I chanced on an idea for a poem which I composed as follows:

How remote! 2500 years!

Imperial power long antedates Nikko.

In a brief respite from affairs of state,

I ascended this mountain

And watched the smoke rise from the houses of the people below."

The Emperor Nintoku (r. 399–414 A.D.) wrote a poem on the theme of prosperity symbolized by smoke from houses as he looked down on them from a mountain. His years of benevolent rule including remission of taxes had given his subjects food enough to cook.

Through the full nine years the names of Sanjō Sanetomi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori, Gotō Shōjirō, and Itagaki Taisuke were sprinkled across the pages.

The second circle was made up of the protégés and idea men who formed Kido's bureaucratic faction. Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Yamagata Aritomo, Shinagawa Yajirō, Yamada Akiyoshi, and others beat a path to the elder Chōshū statesman's door in Tokyo. Hardly anyone who did not become famous made the calling list; and the link with Kido was the ticket to later eminence. Kido's favors to each—support to study or travel abroad, marriage or adoption arrangements, or money to go home to Chōshū from the capital—were carefully recorded in the diary.

Details relating to Kido's hobbies also appeared in the diary from the beginning: notes on collecting swords, acquiring paintings, writing poetry, or simply browsing in antique shops. The diary reflects his private personality of aesthetic enjoyment. Kido bought paintings by landscape artists of the Southern School, the Nanga. Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835) was his favorite; and Kido must have owned twenty-five or thirty hanging scrolls by Chikuden, depicting hermits alone in the wilderness or flute-playing poets beneath towering mountains. Special occasions for enjoyment of his works of art were noted. While staying in a Shimonoseki inn on New Year's Day 1875, for example, Kido graced his *tokonoma* with a painting by Chikuden, calligraphy by Rai Sanyō (loyalist historian and friend and contemporary of Chikuden), and an exquisite vase.¹¹

As time went on the diary served as a form of psychotherapy for Kido. He vented his frustrations on its pages so often that a man who was by most accounts a genial extrovert and inveterate socializer in real life projected the image of a mordant, chronic complainer in his daily entries. He did become a terribly unhappy man when his proposals began to be rejected in Meiji councils; and his diary became a record of the dark mutterings of a discontented statesman. He railed against the expensive and provocative Taiwan expedition of 1874; and he blamed his colleagues for the impoverishment of the *shizoku* in subsequent years.

Kido complained about his debilitating illness in the privacy of his diary. Japanese society is rigid. A person cannot air his

complaints freely, so the diary provided an outlet for troubles which could not be discussed directly with others. Certainly Kido's symptoms were legion. He wrote of chest pains, blinding headaches, hemorrhoids, chronic dysentery, painful toothaches, paralysis of the leg, and a multitude of other ailments. All of his complaints would have made Kido out to be a champion hypochondriac were it not for his early death in 1877 at forty-three, probably of tuberculosis complicated by beri-beri.

When not harping on medical problems, Kido wrote of his guilt—at having been an unworthy son, or at having survived his martyred revolutionary comrades. Kido's diary seems to bear out Albert M. Craig in his suggestion that the Meiji leaders were men who sought to expunge their parent-centered guilt through achievement. Death anniversaries of his father and mother were occasions for Kido to express shame at his headstrong behavior in his youth, and to regret that he could now do no more than give reverence to their memories.¹² Guilt that he had survived the Restoration struggles which decimated the Chōshū leadership was an even more powerful force driving him to achieve their common aims. On death anniversaries of the Chōshū martyrs at Hamaguri Gate, the 20th day of the 8th month by the lunar calendar, Kido asked himself why he had lived and they had not, and rededicated himself to the cause of Imperial Restoration [4 September 1868].

As power left him, the diary changed in character, and the fading statesman displayed an understandable wish to look good in history. In contrast to the spare entries of his early days of power stand the long, emotional essays on policies which he was powerless to alter in later years. The careful organization of his thoughts when he was in opposition suggests that he wrote for those who would judge him later.

Whether it deals with his political successes or his failures, the diary is a significant source on early Meiji politics. Kido was the maker of great events. The Return of the Registers in 1869 and the Abolition of the Domains in 1871 were his main achievements. He was still part of the inner circle in the time of his gradual political eclipse, and wrote of objections to mistaken policies from an informed position.

¹¹ 1 January 1875 (III, 136).

¹² 20 February 1872 (II, 138).

Kido wrote with candor. At the start the diary was probably intended for his eyes alone. The great Emperor loyalist did not, in the privacy of his diary, hesitate to lay bare his anxieties over shortcomings in his youthful Imperial charge.

Kido was a witness to great changes. His diary is a precise chronicle of Japanese modernization in transportation, for example. He told of his first carriage ride in Kobe in 1868, his first voyage up the Yodo River from Osaka to Fushimi in a river steamer in 1871, and his first ride in a jinrikisha later the same year. We know the exact date of the first steam train to operate in Japan, for he was aboard on its first run. "For the first time a steam train has operated in our Divine Land," he exulted, as one who had pushed the railway project when it was on the point of abandonment.¹³

He was amazingly faithful as a diarist, missing no more than half a dozen days in nine years. Above all Kido wrote with style. Not without reason was he known, in another connection, as "the pen of the Restoration."

Those who expect to learn intimate details of family relations from the diary will be disappointed. For all of his emotionalism in discussing political enemies or guilt feelings, Kido kept the mask on in some degree when it came to his family. His wife Matsu, whose romance with Kido was legendary, was mentioned infrequently, and then only by name as a member of his party on some outing or other. The diary is short on humor. Although Kido took pleasure in joking and talking with friends, he regarded details as unworthy of inclusion. A notable exception was an anecdote, which Kido related with relish, about an unknowing friend, overly proud of his ability at *go*, being set up in a match with a stranger who proved to be a professional player.

A frustrating fact about the diary is that it tells us less than we want to know about the politics of the abolition of feudalism. When Kido was in his most influential period, the manager of this important political maneuver, the diary shrank to a record of appointments kept and letters received. He was too busy, or too cautious, to write much. He may have feared that his political enemies would read his manuscript, so during his travels he merely

¹³ 20 September 1871 (II, 83-84).

noted that he discussed "confidential matters" with Iwakura or Ōkubo [e.g. 29 July 1868].

Themes

Of the several persistent themes which run through the diary, Kido's relationship with the young Emperor was one of the most significant. His purpose obviously was to develop the Emperor into a fully valid symbol of state. At a time when the Emperor's position was not as important as it later became, the leaders of the new government had to validate the right of the Emperor to rule if they were to govern in his name. They became Emperor builders as well as nation builders, as Marius Jansen has remarked.

At first, in May 1868, Kido seemed awestruck at his nearness to the Imperial Presence. He was honored that he, a common subject, had been received by the remote ruler, the first person without court rank to be granted an audience in hundreds of years. Kido was moved by the enthronement ceremonies in October 1868, when "we all looked up to the Throne, and shouted 'Banzai'." Yet such hyperbole quickly dropped out of the diary. During the first Imperial journey from Kyoto to Tokyo in November 1868, Kido was preoccupied with how to convince the people that the royal youth was a worthy, benevolent monarch; and he arranged for the Emperor to express his concern for the people by observing farmers and fishermen at work.

When a darker side of adolescence emerged in the 1870s, Kido from his concurrent post in the Imperial Household Ministry admonished the youthful monarch to study harder, to be more attentive to reports of village leaders during a tour of the Tōhoku in 1876, and to make an unprecedented public appearance in inclement weather, riding horseback through the streets of Kyoto, to rally the people during the darkest days of the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. Just before his own death, Kido was very much pleased that the twenty-four-year-old monarch was becoming a model ruler.

Imperial symbolism was important because the Emperor stood for centralized rule. Another diary theme was Kido's recognition

that Japan must be a unitary state to counter the threat of the Western powers, and later, when the foreign threat diminished, to bring order in the face of challenges from sectional *shizoku* forces. Centralization would "extend Imperial influence abroad" and "bring the tranquillity of Mount Fuji to the land." Japan was anything but placid during these years. Kido went home to Chōshū in 1870 to dissolve the *shotai*, farmer-soldier units so lately victorious in the war against the Bakufu, and barely escaped with his life. Lord Mōri Takachika was surrounded in Yamaguchi Castle by mutineers for a time before Kido brought them under control. The Abolition of Domains came to full fruition the following year, part of Kido's program of strength at the center to control the discontented *shizoku*.

Implicit in Imperial centralism was a merit bureaucracy, another oft-stated diary theme. Kido argued for a central government staffed by competent, talented men. Once he paraphrased Mencius: "It is most important to dismiss incompetent officials of high birth and to select able men from obscure stations—and to make sure that no man of talent in the nation is not in his proper office. Men brought up with an abundance of material things do not know the meaning of compassion; they are poorly informed and obstinate" [5 November 1869].

Another theme was independence from the West, which could be maintained, of course, by organizing a centralized government under the Emperor, staffed by men of talent. Kido was a strong patriot. He wrote of the days when Japan would equal the Western powers or even transcend them in importance, but in 1868 it was fear of the Western powers about which Kido wrote. A diplomatic conference with the ministers of the Western nations in Yokohama, in December 1868, confirmed his phobia. When he quoted international law, the foreign devils' scripture, to the effect that the Nagasaki Christians in whom the diplomats took a great interest were subject to domestic law, not subject to outside interference, the French minister threatened to send warships. This revealed to Kido that Japan could not depend on international law unless it was also prepared to defend its position with a modern military force.¹⁴ A kind of defensive modernization was called for.

¹⁴ International law as interpreted by English Minister Harry Parkes was "merely a tool for depriving weak nations of their rights," Kido wrote on 20 December 1868.

As late as 1873 Kido wrote of his fear of European colonization. "Annam has come under the control of France," Kido noted after walking the streets of Saigon. "That so many countries in Asia are in this predicament gives me cold chills."¹⁵ The threat apparently diminished in Kido's mind as time went on; for in the later pages of his diary he seldom mentioned the danger of foreign intervention.

The theme of emancipation of Japan from the West by imitation of the West continued throughout the diary, however. Kido's was an ambiguous view of the West: he feared it in some degree, yet he admired it. It was his role to head the enlightenment faction in the Meiji oligarchy, the group intent on Westernizing or modernizing Japan. His diary is in some degree a celebration of the triumphs of Westernization, especially in the technological field. He wrote of the impressiveness of the modern Mikamoto lighthouse to guide ships into Tokyo Bay, of the marvelous new Osaka mint machinery which promised to end counterfeiting, and of the wonder of telegraphy which put guards on the Osaka docks to protect him against assassination.

Kido affected a Western life-style after 1871, when he had his hair cut and shopped for Western clothes. Subconscious admiration for the West might be seen in such activities. He had his picture taken often, in Nakasaki or Yokohama, in San Francisco or London, wearing the Western suit of a Meiji bureaucrat. By travelling abroad himself, and by sending his son and nephew abroad for study, he established a cosmopolitan tradition which members of his family have followed down to the present generation.¹⁶

Kido's interest in the West was exemplified especially by consciousness of Western medical practice. His father had studied Dutch medicine; and the Dutch learning provided the son with a link to the West as well. When he became ill after 1868 Kido first submitted to treatments by native doctors, moxa, acupuncture, bleeding by leeches to counter pains in the chest; but he soon

¹⁵ 10 July 1873 (II, 401).

¹⁶ Dr. Wada Akiyoshi, Professor of Physics at the University of Tokyo, regards his great-grandfather as an internationalist who established a tradition of study abroad in the family, one which Dr. Wada himself followed in obtaining a Harvard degree and in making ten trips to the United States. (Translator's interview with Dr. Wada in Tokyo on 1 January 1978.)

transferred his allegiance to foreign doctors or Western-trained Japanese. Dr. J. C. Hepburn diagnosed Kido's problem as deriving from bad teeth; and the American medical missionary referred his patient to a Yokohama dentist, Dr. St. George Elliott, a fellow countryman, who promptly pulled nine teeth [30 September 1870]. The pain was excruciating, but Kido remained loyal to his new-found dentist, and recommended him to family and friends. Dr. Anthonius F. Bauduin, a famous Dutch physician, advised Kido to take the sea waters at a beach near Osaka to overcome his rundown condition; while Dr. Nagayo Sensai, the eminent Japanese medical scientist, applied "electricity" to combat partial paralysis of a leg.¹⁷ Kido consulted many of the great foreign and foreign-trained doctors, including physicians to the Emperor. Kido's interest in the West may have derived unconsciously from a desire to be healed of his debilitating illness. He may have thought that the West would provide the means to sustain his life.

When Kido first went to the West with the Iwakura mission, the great early information-gathering expedition, Dr. Nagayo Sensai accompanied the group to study public hygiene and disease control. Kido's role was to supervise the mission experts who studied foreign constitutions. He himself learned what he could from *The Federalist Papers*, which he read with a student, Hatakeyama Yoshinari, in America: Kido had Ga Noriyuki translate Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* in France, and wrote an introduction to the Japanese edition; and he eventually settled on the German constitution as the most appropriate for Japan.

He was impressed with evidence of a strong national spirit in Western nations; for it seemed to confirm the correctness of his own patriotism. At Mount Vernon in the quiet setting of Washington's tomb, "I reflected on his heroic deeds and I was quite moved."¹⁸ Later, after boarding H.M.S. *Victory* in Portsmouth, England, Kido noted that "Lord Nelson was indeed a loyal servant of England." Laboriously the Japanese envoy wrote out Nelson's English words in *katakana*: "England expects every man will do his duty."¹⁹ Chancellor Bismarck, beside whom Kido was seated at a Berlin banquet, remarked that "Germany seeks nothing more; but, if her border is violated, she will have no

¹⁷ 4 November 1873 (II, 444).

¹⁸ 20 April 1872 (II, 161).

¹⁹ 29 August 1872 (II, 221).

alternative but to defend her frontier."²⁰ It was the new Germany's dynamism which led Kido to initiate his government's German orientation in the search for foreign advisers and constitutional forms.

Kido established firm limits to Westernization. The young Westernized diplomat Mori Arinori angered Kido with his signs of alienation from Japanese tradition. "It is talked about that Mori, who is the representative of our country, openly and recklessly scorns the customs of our land in the presence of foreigners," complained Kido while in Washington. "I was so filled with anxiety that I could not sleep for half the night."²¹

More disturbing to his repose was the dissidence of men at home affected adversely by modernizing reforms, another diary theme. A strong central government was essential, Kido felt at first, to suppress reactionary opponents of the regime from the declassed samurai. Twice his own Chōshū was the arena for *shizoku* explosions, once in 1870 when he barely escaped from Yamaguchi castletown with his life, and again in 1876 when he oversaw the suppression of the Hagi Rising and the pillorying of Maebara Issei from afar in Tokyo.

Gradually Kido developed compassion for those who readjusted to the modern world with difficulty. A sense of guilt possessed him for "these were soldiers who shared their fates with ours" during the Restoration wars. Kido supervised shipments of relief rice to impoverished *shizoku* in Hagi, the Chōshū castletown in his youth; and he helped develop industry for *shizoku* in his old hometown.

Social concern for the people affected adversely by modernizing reforms became Kido's controlling purpose late in life as his enthusiasm for a powerful government at the center waned. Even foreign policy should be shaped to relieve the plight of "the suffering masses," he felt. He opposed the invasion of Korea in 1873 because "our masses are destitute. . . . At present we must give first priority to improved management of internal affairs."²² In 1874 he resigned from government in protest against the Taiwan expedition because "I observe our people's impoverishment."²³

²⁰ 15 March 1873 (II, 333).

²¹ 15 April 1872 (II, 158).

²² 3 September 1873 (II, 420).

²³ 2 April 1874 (III, 13).

Still, he congratulated Ōkubo, who supported the invasion, for settling the dispute with China without war, because "of the happiness of our people who have been spared his war."²⁴

Kido found the burdensome new land tax which supported these adventures "harsh" and "hurried" in its application; and his premonitions were confirmed by major peasant revolts in Ibaragi and Mie prefectures in December 1876. Writing about suppression of the Ibaragi troubles, Kido lamented: "What I find so pitiable is the plight of those who appeal to the government under the pressure of their difficult life, then are charged with crimes as they rise in response to their poverty."²⁵ When the Emperor responded to Kido's memorial by reducing the tax in January 1877, Kido "leaped for joy" "out of his concern for the people's welfare."²⁶

Kido's compassion sometimes extended to rootless laborers whom he met casually. Several times he aided working people who were strangers—the childless elderly porter who carried his baggage near Shimonoseki,²⁷ or his jinrikisha puller who fell ill near Odawara.²⁸ The diary projects the warmth of a man who displayed unexpected personal concern for those who were ground down by the system.

Another diary theme was his enjoyment of the traditional culture to the end of his life. He delighted in poetry competitions when fortified with sakè. He joined his artistic friends in joint works of painting and calligraphy after banquets when the room was in wild disorder. One time, the Chōshū Heir, Kido, and others chanted in the Gidayu style of the Jōruri puppet theatre to entertain themselves. He took pride in doing artistic calligraphy on fans for friends, four-character epigrams for schools, or memorial inscriptions for monuments. He set down in the diary a record of many requests for samples of his bold handwriting. Kido was also a tea ceremony enthusiast. Once in 1868, when he was busiest with affairs of state, he took a time off to enjoy a day of tea ceremony with the head of the Urasenke school in Kyoto.

²⁴ 18 November 1874 (III, 113).

²⁵ 12 November 1876 (III, 462). Kido worried at the plight of the peasants who had to pay a land tax of 3% of the value of their property (i.e., half of the crop).

²⁶ 4 January 1877 (III, 477). The reduction was from 3% to 2.5%.

²⁷ 6 June 1871 (II, 23).

²⁸ 18 August 1876 (III, 401).

"I felt as if I had shaken off the cares of this world, and been purified today," he wrote [24 July 1868].

There were popular pastimes and earthy pleasures too. Kido played *go* with the masters, recording his victories but evidently not his defeats. Kido attended sumō matches under the cherry blossoms, joked with the wrestlers, and wrote comic *haiku* about them.

Most of all he enjoyed the geisha. Glimpses of his nighttime roistering along the east bank of the Sumida River surface in the diary, especially in the years from 1868 to 1870. A touch of nostalgia attended his visits to the far side of the Sumida. It was there in the 1860s that he plotted revolution. When he saw a favorite of one of his departed friends, he was overcome with emotion. "A geisha named Oteru whom I had known at Yanagibashi six or seven years ago called my name; and I recognized her for the first time. She reminded me of my departed friends of those times; and the tears streamed down my face in spite of myself" [12 February 1869]. Kido enjoyed the whole range of Japanese high culture; and he immersed himself in some of its low life as well.

A final theme is Kido's attachment to the traditional social relationships. A traditional clique of bureaucratic followers revolved around the man. He was also the head of a very complex old-fashioned Japanese household which appeared to balloon to twenty or twenty-five persons under one roof. It was made up of his wife Matsu, his adopted son, his protégés, Chōshū students in Tokyo, artistic friends, and servants. He observed the death anniversaries of his natural and his adoptive families. He looked after his widowed sister, Kuribara Haruko, and her sons. (His brother-in-law Kuribara Ryōzō had committed *seppuku* in 1862 at the height of crisis in domain politics.) He wrote of obligations to the Katsura family into which he was adopted. During the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, when Kido was busy and ailing, two men turned up to ask for help in settling the debts of one Katsura Uta. "At this time of crisis," grumbled Kido, "I have no leisure to look after other people's household affairs;" yet he charged an aide with settling the matter.²⁹

Kido's loyalty to country was rooted in his attachment to its traditional culture and society. The Western house which he built

²⁹ 27 March 1877 (III, 544).

late in life provided a roof over an old-style Japanese family, and was a meeting place for a traditional Japanese bureaucratic clique. His Western suits clothed a man who enjoyed the traditional native arts and pleasures.

Diary Highlights, 1868–1871

In the years from 1868 to 1871, the time covered in this volume, Kido still wore samurai dress—the *haori* jacket and the *hakama* trousers, carried two swords on his left side, and tied up his hair in the *chonmage* bun. When seated with his legs wide apart, a determined expression on his face, he looked anything but the radical anti-feudalist whose policies turned Japan upside down as he faced up to the problem that “we have the Restoration in name, but not in reality.” Kido wore his old-fashioned dress when he served his Emperor, in Kyoto and (after 1869) in Tokyo, and when he travelled up and down the country as well. The highlights of the three years as official in the capital and emissary in the provinces follow.

1. *The Emperor.* The most important fact emerging from the diary in this period is that Kido forged close personal ties with the Emperor. The royal person was no longer the abstraction which had stirred Chōshū loyalists, but a flesh-and-blood monarch who gave very human expression to his friendship. The events at the Grand Equestrian Review of 9 October 1868 in Kyoto suggest that the thirty-four-year old adviser had become a favorite of the fifteen-year-old royal youth. The Emperor rolled up the bamboo screen of his royal box at one point, according to the diary, and ordered Kido to ride. The Chōshū statesman consequently borrowed the swiftest steed available, one belonging to a Mr. Toda, and evidently pleased his ruler; for the Emperor placed a flowering branch on Kido's food and cakes at the banquet which followed. The Emperor also served saké to his minister, enough that Kido became intoxicated, a plight he often recounted in his diary. This time there was cause for celebration. Sadness intruded on joy, however, as it often did for the diarist, for the occasion called to mind his martyred Chōshū comrades. “Countless was the number of those whose bones were exposed on the public execution grounds,” lamented Kido. “Precisely because of my

own inadequacy I survived to enjoy His Majesty's special favor” [9 October 1868].

More than half a year of close association with the occupant of the Throne led to the Emperor's favor. Kido was awestruck at the first meeting on 9 May 1868 when he spent a day answering the Emperor Meiji's questions about politics since 1853. After explaining the political turmoil of 1858–1859 and 1861–1864, however, Kido did relax a bit at the sumō matches in the company of His Majesty. Subsequently, Kido witnessed the coronation. On 12 October 1868 he went to the Imperial Palace at 6 a.m., to participate in ceremonies which culminated in the enthronement about 10. Kido with others looked up to the Throne to shout “Banzai!” On the night of 22 October, Kido observed the royal youth as he drew lots before a shrine in the Palace, to the accompaniment of sacred music, to select the era name of Meiji.

The close relationship between the Emperor and Kido was consolidated by Kido's attendance on the first Imperial procession from Kyoto to Edo (soon to be renamed Tokyo), from 4 to 26 November 1868. The purpose was to remove the youthful monarch from the control of obscurantist court nobles in the traditional capital. En route, Kido's special concern was image politics. Arrogant court nobles, some of whom attended the cortège, “unable to rid themselves of outdated customs, have given innkeepers trouble along the way,” complained the diarist. “This undercuts the purpose of the Imperial visit to the East.” The purpose in Kido's mind was for the Emperor to project the image of a model Confucian monarch in displays of compassion for his people along the way. Kido arranged to have him observe his subjects at work in agriculture and fishing. The first time the Phoenix Chair was halted for a view of the rice harvest, the event was so unprecedented that “everyone came out pushing and shoving for a better view.” Later the Emperor viewed another group of harvesters more discreetly from his palanquin sheltered in a grove of pine trees.

A foray to Ōiso Beach allowed the Emperor to watch fishermen at work from behind his bamboo blind. Some enthusiastic men put their catch in a box filled with seawater and “carried the container within inches of the Imperial bamboo blind, forgetting themselves as they shouted naked in the Imperial Presence,” wrote Kido. “His Majesty was mightily pleased to see things just as they

are." Arrangements were made to take the Emperor to the beach by a roundabout route to avoid destroying rice fields. "The local people were delighted by this, and very grateful to the Emperor," noted his politically conscious minister.

Equating the Emperor with national power was another favorite metaphor. When the ruler caught his first view of the ocean at Motoshirasuga, Kido was "moved to tears by the realization that this marks the beginning of an era in which His Majesty's influence will become world-wide" [14 November 1868]. The Emperor's influence was insufficient in 1868 to prevent foreign troops from encamping in Yokohama. Still, when members of the foreign community in that open port asked to pay their respects to the cortège, they were allowed to do so. On 24 November 1868 at Kanagawa, Kido noted, almost a battalion of American and English soliders in formation to the right "stood at attention and saluted as the procession passed." On 26 November the Imperial palanquin entered Edo, which was soon to be called Tokyo, the Eastern Capital. The Emperor's party passed through the Red Gate before the Zōjōji temple en route to the former Shogun's castle. Kido dismounted at the sign requiring subjects to do so; the Emperor Meiji proceeded in his chair to the interior of the castle.

As the Imperial Palace, Kido often entered the grounds of the ex-Shogun's castle in the years ahead. Audiences with the Emperor became routine, worthy only of perfunctory mention in the diary. A few special occasions stood out. The Emperor held victory receptions for Chōshū troops as they returned from the Northeast at the end of 1868. On New Year's in 1869 he received foreign diplomats at the Hama Detached Palace. Kido was in attendance both times. Less awed by the Imperial Presence now, Kido took his place by the monarch's side as a matter of right.

2. *The Military.* The Boshin War, which confirmed the Restoration by defeat of Bakufu remnants, was an important subject in the diary during 1868, and Kido developed certain convictions about the shape which the new national military force should assume by observing problems faced by the ill-coordinated Imperial forces—a mere aggregation of domain armies. Kido viewed the war from afar. He simply noted the latest news from the Echigo front, or the flight of Admiral Enomoto Takeaki's Bakufu navy to Hokkaido when it was supposed to have surrendered. Kido saw protégés

such as Yamagata Aritomo off to the front, and gave them victors' welcomes when they returned. From time to time the senior Chōshū man pressed for permission to go to the front himself, apparently to be purged of charges of disloyalty or cowardice from Chōshū units actively engaged in battle—requests which were routinely rejected by Iwakura Tomomi who was his superior.

What should be done with the defeated members of the rebel party (so lately the legitimate government)? The government divided between the vengeance seekers and those moderates who wanted a peace of reconciliation. At first Kido seemed to be on the side of those who would punish the last Shogun, Yoshinobu, in full measure and wipe out the diehards of Aizu and Kuwana domains. Aizu men should be punished for "the most serious offense which an Imperial subject may commit," wrote Kido [13 January 1869].

Yet Kido's pragmatism quickly asserted itself. He soon proposed that Yoshinobu be released from domiciliary confinement to lead Tokugawa forces against rebel remnants in Hokkaido—a suggestion which was not approved [18 December 1868]. When the Imperial procession of 4–26 November 1868 passed through Suruga province, in which the Tokugawa still held a token domain, Kido boldly proposed that the local guard should be composed of Tokugawa retainers who had surrendered, not outsiders as others favored. He was gratified at the pleasure of the recently defeated men in the trust placed in them.³⁰ As Kido explained elsewhere, the threatening European nations, not the Tokugawa, were his government's principal concern. Moderation, he held, might prevent disunity in later years.³¹

Even Aizu's fate stirred compassion in the emotional Kido. When reports of Aizu's total surrender came in, he was appalled at the mass suicides which occurred—in as many as one-third of the houses of Wakamatsu castletown. A poignant story related that one family of seven, including a two-year-old child, committed mass suicide. Aizu men were enemies, but "what crimes have their

³⁰ Katsu Kaishū, Kido's friend in the Bakufu camp, remarked "that the retainers throughout Suruga were genuinely surprised that the order to guard the Imperial procession en route to the East in their domain was given to the Tokugawa. Every single Suruga man respected the Imperial Government for this" [28 December 1868].

³¹ Kido to Itō Hirobumi, Kyoto, 13 April 1868, in Tsumaki Chūta, ed., *Kido Takayoshi Monjo* (The Papers of Kido Takayoshi) (8 vols., Tokyo, 1929–1931), III, 20–21.

women and children committed?" Kido asked. "I feel great sorrow that they should die thus."³²

Indeed, Kido was ashamed of reports of "arrogance and brutality among the soldiers of the government army"; discipline was required if "we are to win the hearts of the people." Not only the lack of discipline, but reports of inefficiency in the command of the ragtag forces from separate domains making up the government army led Kido to plan with Ōmura Masujirō, the Vice Minister of War, for a well-organized and unified permanent central force to support the new government. It was a policy which doomed Ōmura to assassination and Kido to years of vilification by his old Chōshū comrades. Proper enhancement of the strength of the army and navy would require three-fifths of the national revenues, Kido once wrote (leaving a fifth for government administration and another fifth for social welfare). Unless the Imperial government provided for the new army and navy in that measure, it would not differ at all from the Bakufu.³³

The aftermath of the Aizu collapse brought out Kido's natural compassion. On 28 January 1869 he chanced to pass the deserted Aizu mansion in Tokyo, the grounds of which had been "completely overgrown with grass, now dead. I can imagine how the Aizu men feel; and I cannot refrain from sympathy." When reports reached him of Aizu men falling into destitution while hiding out in Tokyo, he arranged that 1000 *ryō* be paid over that they might not starve. Reports reached him that these men were truly "penitent" for their "treason." "Their feelings deserve our pity. The Imperial Government now regards everyone in the Empire as equal to everyone else," he explained [19 March; 21 March 1869].

3. *Abolition of Feudalism.* A war of several months was required to subdue forces of the Shogunate and of sympathetic domains such as Aizu, and to force transfer of most of their lands to the fledgling Imperial regime. A peaceful revolution by consent, in which Kido was the chief tactician, led to the extinction of the remaining domains, including his own Chōshū. The Return of the Registers of Lands and Populations in 1869 was a decisive step; the Abolition of Domains and the Establishment of Prefectures in 1871 completed the process.

³² Sannomiya Yoshitane, who arrived from Aizu to report to officials with the Imperial procession in Miya post-town, gave this report [10 November 1868].

³³ Kido had discussed this plan with Iwakura (24 January 1869).

In his state papers Kido explained his rationale for forcing the end of feudalism. Military force fragmented among many domains in Japan was no match for a single central military power representing one of the Western nations. In addition, a new Shogunate might emerge from the chaotic post-Restoration situation which was not unlike that of the Era of the Warring Country (*Sengoku jidai*, ca. 1480–ca. 1570) which produced the Tokugawa Bakufu.³⁴ This justification is not found in the diary, which bares only a few cryptic notations about secret negotiations.

A note of 9 September 1868 tells that the Return of the Registers was brought up for the "second time." On that date Kido obtained the consent of Lord Mōri Takachika in Yamaguchi to undertake covert consultations with other domain leaders, after Kido's anti-feudal proposals in Kyoto had gone nowhere. On 2 November 1868 Kido discussed a "confidential matter" with Ōkubo Toshimichi of Satsuma, "and he agreed with me on the spot, promising to do his best to carry it out." This seemingly innocuous entry was, in fact, a record of the beginning of Satsuma support for the Return of the Registers. On 26 January 1869 Kido exulted that his Chōshū Lord was "possessed with a sincerity for the Restoration cause that would move Heaven. Our Lord feels loyalty to the Emperor in his very bones." Kido's comment was an oblique way of saying that Lord Mōri Takachika had agreed to sign the four-domain memorial, reputedly of Kido's authorship, to offer his own lands to the central government. On 11 March 1869 Kido reviewed his lengthy negotiations to induce Satsuma, Tosa, and Hizen to join Chōshū in a memorial to the Throne permitting the four domains to surrender title to their lands to the Emperor. The memorial was accepted on 13 March. "Clear skies, not a trace of wind. At 10 I went up to the Palace where I paid my respects to His Majesty, and received ceremonial sakè from his hand. I was delighted that my proposal for clarifying the fact that the highest loyalty of a subject is to the Emperor . . . has been realized in some measure today." By the end of summer the title transfer had actually taken place. Lands—and taxes—belonged to the central government; hereditary *daimyō* became domain governors owing

³⁴ Kido's memorial to Deputy Chancellors Sanjō Sanetomi and Iwakura Tomomi, February 1868, in Tsumaki Chūta, *Shōgiku Kido Kō Den* (Biography of Prince Shōgiku Kido) (2 vols., Tokyo, Meiji Shoin, 1929), II, 1106–1107.

their offices to the Emperor, whose government paid their salaries of one-tenth of their former revenues.

The *daimyō* did not become "hereditary domain governors" owing to Kido's successful campaign to excise the word "hereditary" from their titles. The diary reveals that Kido was at war with the feudal principle of hereditary office or stipend through these early years after the Restoration, even though he might be the beneficiary. The case which involved him personally was his Merit Award Stipend of 1800 *koku*, announced later in 1869. The sum must have been staggering to a samurai who had never advanced above the 90 *koku* level in his native Chōshū. Significantly, the stipend was conferred "on you and your descendants." "I made the point that if we limit the strength of our nation with the hereditary system, how can we hope to confront those nations whose power is not limited by this system?" It would lead to "stagnation in future generations" [30 October 1869]. As for his own progeny, if supported in a comfortable life, "there is more than half a chance that they will not become men suited to public service" [14 November 1869]. Having made his point, Kido ended up taking the stipend. His uneasiness over social rank as a consideration for appointment to office did not die, however. Back home in Yamaguchi castle-town, he told local authorities, "In these times talented men from the lower classes should be taken into government service without regard for their social origins" [18 March 1871].

Kido was home as part of the final push toward abolition of the domains. Imperial Envoy Iwakura Tomomi together with Kido called on the Chōshū Lord in his Castle in Yamaguchi on 26 February 1871 to seek support for "a still stronger foundation that we may be able to stand side by side with the rest of the nations of the world." They obtained support, not only in Yamaguchi, but in Kagoshima and Kōchi as well. "As soon as I explained the plan which is now under consideration" to Senior Domain Councilor Itagaki Taisuke of Tosa, wrote Kido, "he agreed immediately without raising a single objection" [8 March 1871]. The stage was set for sending the three-domain army to Tokyo to enforce the abolition of domains later in the year.

4. *Dissidence in Chōshū*. In his diary Kido reflected his acute consciousness of the dissatisfaction which such a far-reaching reform program provoked in his native Chōshū. The second time he returned to Yamaguchi castletown after the Restoration, on 7

August 1868, Kido observed that samurai there were "tireless in their petty complaints." Mihori Kōsuke was the Chōshū colleague who "argued endlessly" against his policies in the new central government.

One issue was territory. Kido was behind the transfer of lands taken by Chōshū armies in neighboring Iwami and Buzen provinces on to the central government, occasioning "a great deal of unfavorable and noisy comment" [24 September 1868]. Another controversy was over office in the Imperial bureaucracy. A good number of ambitious samurai who were certified military heroes languished in Chōshū. To be sure, the new Meiji bureaucracy, when it was formed, was liberally peopled with Chōshū men, but mostly the ones Kido regarded as talented. When the idled heroes in old Hagi castletown groused at Kido's unwillingness to press their claims to office, he talked of "impartial administration" at the center, and precipitated an explosion of controversy "all focusing on me." The complainants, he said, did not understand what the Restoration was all about [6 November 1868; 6 January 1869].

Kido, who spent about a quarter of his time in Chōshū in these years, even while serving as one of the Emperor's ministers, faced his greatest challenge there at the beginning of 1870. Mutiny was precipitated by his plans to cut back and revamp the irregular *shotai* samurai-farmer units which had borne the brunt of battle for several years. On 22 February 1870 forty *shotai* soldiers "behaved impudently and disrespectfully toward the Lord as they tried to push into the Castle grounds" in Yamaguchi. They wished to present their case to the young Chōshū Lord who had just succeeded his father and bore the title of Governor of Yamaguchi Domain. On 26 February a kitchen worker from the Castle intercepted Kido as he was about to walk into an ambush en route from his residence to the Castle; 2000 mutineers had thrown a cordon around it, detaining the Governor and his retired father. Fleeing the occupied seat of government, Kido rallied loyal forces from his base in Shimonoseki to quell the mutiny, and for one of the few times in his life came under fire in battle. It was a thrilling experience, the diary suggests. It was disappointing, however, that one encounter with "enemy troops" fell through when the fancied antagonists to Kido and his men, who fell prone to the underbrush for several minutes, turned out to be "mere peasants," in fact his own guides [27 February 1870].

Chagrin at his responsibility for precipitating a mutiny haunted him even as he accompanied victorious troops into Yamaguchi in March 1870. He remained at the Jōeiji temple on the northeastern outskirts of the castletown in penance, refusing to go to the Castle until summoned by the Governor and his retired father, the Old Lord, to give a report on his suppression of the rising. In victory Kido's anger toward the mutineers dissipated. "I only hope that the number to be executed is small," he wrote [1 April 1870].

Saigō Takamori of Satsuma landed on the Chōshū coast during the 1870 mutiny. The conjunction of events stirred Kido's first suspicions of Saigō, whom he had praised warmly in the early pages of the diary. Satsuma intervention did not occur, but Kido was increasingly irritated by the "outrageous" independent position which that remote and tradition-haunted domain continued to affect under Saigō's leadership, even as the other domains moved under the jurisdiction of Tokyo.

5. *Modernization.* Although he must have appeared to be a radical Westernizer to isolated samurai in distant castletowns such as Hagi and Kagoshima, Kido was himself amazed by the changes which were overtaking Japan. The diary reveals that he was a fascinated witness to them, albeit an occasional participant or supporter. On 1 June 1868 in Osaka he ate beef prepared in a Japanese way at Itō Hirobumi's inn, and found it to be "excellent." The "offensive odor" which remained when Japanese cooks had prepared it for Kido in the past was gone. Kido often enjoyed Western meals in the company of Gotō Shōjirō and Ōkubo Toshimichi in 1868, until such food ceased to be exotic, unworthy of mention in the diary. When he could, Kido shopped in the foreign settlements of the open ports. On 15 May 1868 at a foreign shop in Kobe he bought two water glasses and two rattan stools, for example. On 6 July 1869 he entered the store of the Englishman Marks at No. 77, Yokohama, to purchase a number of home furnishings.

Kido's travels between the open ports was by steamship, often foreign-owned. It required but thirty-nine hours to make the run from Yokohama to Kobe, 20–22 January 1870, by steamship. By contrast the leisurely progress down the Tōkaidō with the Emperor's party in November 1868 consumed twenty-two days to go from Kyoto to Edo, approximately the same distance. The only problem with steamship travel was the "inexperience" of the

Japanese crews, whose ships often limped into port after rolling on the high seas for a day or two while they vainly tried to repair a broken boiler or an engine.³⁵ Consequently, Kido preferred to board the *New York* or the *Oregonian* of the American Mail Steamship Company for their dependable passenger service on the coastal runs.

On 23 January 1871 Kido took the river steamer Rishō-maru, a side-wheeler, up the Yodo River from Osaka to Fushimi for the first time. "Civilization is advancing in the nation indeed," Kido observed. "When I think of how things were seven or eight years ago, that I should survive until now and be riding in this sort of boat is the most astonishing thing imaginable." He did finish the trip into Kyoto from Fushimi by bamboo palanquin, however. On 10 April 1871 Kido travelled by jinrikisha from Ryōgoku Bridge on the Sumida River back to his home in Banchi, Tokyo, north of the Palace, "the first time I have tried this vehicle since it came into use in Tokyo."

Kido joined tours of inspection of the government's modern projects—the lighthouses, the mint, and the foreign shipyard and ironworks at Yokosuka. He rode the new railway from the capital to Yokohama before it officially opened, and defended the ministers who built it against challenges from their conservative opponents.

For all of his enthusiasm over modernizing change, Kido from time to time repeated the Confucian maxim that moral character had more to do with building a strong nation than material progress. In the 1860s the Tokugawa had fought with superior equipment, but fell in a single morning owing to their deficiencies of character, Kido contended. Even though the new government had improved things in the material sense—e.g. a temporary bridge across the Ōi River which men forded earlier on trips down the Tōkaidō, Kido feared for its future if the arrogance and selfishness of Imperial officials persisted.

6. *The West.* In these years Kido undertook one project which involved him in diplomacy with the Western ministers. It happened after his trip to Nagasaki in July 1868 to look into reports of

³⁵ En route from Mitajiri, the Chōshū port, to Yokohama, Kido's party encountered a good deal of engine trouble. 20 June 1870: "Yesterday the ship's steam engine broke down, but was repaired; today it broke down twice." 21 June 1870; "Today the engine lost power twice. We barely made it to Ushimado for anchorage." 22 June 1870: "We finally reached Kobe at 2 p.m., but our arrival was set back two days by engine trouble."

the presence of native Christians who were practicing their religion in defiance of a longstanding proscription of it. Kido found that the reports were true, and he arranged the exile of the Christian leaders across Japan. When the English Minister, Harry Parkes, went into a "towering rage" over the renewed posting of signs which warned Japanese subjects against the "evil sect called Christian," Kido was pleased that his protégé, the thirty-year-old Ōkuma Shigenobu, countered Parkes's arguments so effectively by pointing out that the Christian matter was a domestic question under the international law of the West. The French Minister's threat to send warships only convinced Kido that international law was a code of convenience to be used when it pleased the West, "a mere tool for depriving weak nations of their rights" [17, 18, 25 May 1868; 21 December 1868].

Diplomatic modernization proceeded apace in these years, however, as evidenced by Japan's complete adoption of Western rules for foreign relations. The Emperor received the Ministers from Europe and America, Kido at his side. Kido paid courtesy calls at the various foreign legations in Yokohama (and was involved in a carriage accident en route from the Dutch legation when his inexperienced colleague Komatsu took the reins in the absence of the coachman.) Kido was astonished when a Japanese naval vessel fired a fifteen-gun salute in his honor, the Western practice for one of his rank, for he had not heard of the adoption of such protocol by his own government. He was also amused that his own vessel, which was short of ammunition, could fire a mere four guns in reply [18 April 1871].

News from the world of the West reached Kido. He followed the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 with care, as his diary reveals. He set down rumors of the fall of Paris and of the capture of Napoleon III as they came to him. When the Prussian legation held a dinner in honor of Kaiser Wilhelm I's birthday, and of the victory of Prussia over France, Kido was one of the guests. The Tientsin Massacre, which occurred in the same year in China and which threatened to cause Western intervention in that country, was another piece of news which reached Kido through his connections in Yokohama.³⁶

³⁶ "Foreigners of all countries are wearing mourning dress to express their sympathy for the people who died in the massacre; and they are highly indignant about it" (10 July 1870).

Kido was in touch with the world because he had befriended so many foreigners in Japan. It was as if he sought them out. Thomas Glover, the English merchant from Nagasaki, presented Kido with a pistol when they met, perhaps for old times' sake [12 May 1868]. Glover was the gun smuggler who equipped the Chōshū armies in the 1860s. A. B. Mitford, second secretary of the English legation, delighted Kido with his talk about the West, including the English system of government. "He told me many new things about foreign lands," wrote Kido, "and the conversation lifted my spirits which had been low" [12 October 1869]. Perhaps it was comforting to know that the unitary state worked so well in England at a time when Kido faced animosity within Japan for sponsoring the Return of the Registers, a step toward Japan's own centralized government. Ernest Satow had become an old friend by the time Kido attended a party to send the English legation interpreter off to Europe on 14 February 1869. It had not always been so. Five years before, Kido had gone aboard an English war ship to negotiate through Satow, just before it bombarded Shimonoseki.³⁷

Indeed, the name of almost every prominent foreigner who resided in Japan in the period appears in the diary. Ministers included Harry Parkes of England and Max Von Brandt of Germany. Legation secretaries and interpreters mentioned were F. O. Adams, Carr, Lowder, Gower, Siebold, and Robertson of England, as well as Kemperman of Germany. Others Kido encountered were editors such as John R. Black and F. da Rosa; foreign employees of the Japanese government—Kinder at the Osaka mint, Chibaudier at the Yokosuka Dockyards, and Morel, civil engineer for the Tokyo-Yokohama railway; the merchant Mackenzie; and the foreign doctors Bauduin, Hepburn, and Elliott. Two celebrated Japanese returnees from abroad met and talked with Kido: Nakahama Manjirō, "the man who discovered America," and Joseph Heco—castaway become merchant who wrote a book in English about his experiences.

It was evident in entry after entry in the diary that Kido had a strong wish to go to the West himself. Important office in Chōshū had prevented his going in 1863 when five younger Chōshū samurai slipped out of Japan with his help to study in England.

³⁷ "Tomorrow the Englishman Satow leaves Tokyo for his home country; so . . . I gave a farewell dinner for him at a hotel . . . My boarding their warship with Tōgyō—all that seems like a dream now" (14 February 1869).

On 3 January 1869 Kido welcomed two of them, Yamao Yōzō and Inoue Masaru, on their return. "We parted so long ago," recalled Kido, that their return "made me feel as if I were in a dream." How ironic that the five who had made the hazardous trip in defiance of the law should all be alive still, while half of those who stayed home were dead. Kido continued to encourage young men to travel, as he had the five Chōshū youths. When Saionji Kimmochi called, Kido advised the young court noble not to become a common official right away, but to go abroad. On 8 December 1870 he bade Itō Hirobumi farewell on still another foreign junket, this time to study banking and the currency in the United States. About the same time Kido saw off Katsura Tarō, Yamagata Aritomo, and Minami Teisuke to Germany to observe the army. The lure of the West continually beckoned Kido himself, as he revealed in the diary, but circumstances kept him home until December 1871.

7. *The Past.* The mind of Kido, the diarist, was often away from the here and now, reminiscing about the past as often as imagining the West. In the 1868–1871 period nostalgia was particularly evident. The past was almost as vivid as the present. Kido's whole life seemed to pass through his mind, so that a veritable autobiography can be written from the pages of his journal. Reminders of his early teachers brought written acknowledgement of his debts to them. Shortly after Okamoto Seiun died, Kido visited his old teacher's tomb in Hagi castletown, and remembered the man who taught him at the age of eight to read aloud in the Confucian classics [7 May 1870]. Saitō Yakurō, Kido's swordsmanship teacher in Edo, lived until almost the end of the period, and called often on his old student. Kido relied on Saitō for advice on purchasing antique swords for his collection; and the two reminisced about the 1850s when Kido first came to Edo to be under Saitō's tutelage [6 September 1869]. There were visits also to townsmen who looked after Kido in his early days in Edo: Saitō Gorōsuke and his wife, who tended to the needs of the young samurai even to keeping his clothes in order, and Tani the Tailor and his wife, who hid a man from Bakufu agents as a favor to Kido. Small gifts of money helped discharge obligations to these old acquaintances.

A typical nostalgic diary entry is the one relating to Yoshida Shōin made as Kido crossed the picturesque Seta bridge east of

Kyoto in 1868 in attendance on the Emperor. Kido had first passed over that bridge near Ōtsu in 1852 when he was making his first trip to Edo with the blessing of Yoshida. The natural beauty of the area was unchanged, but a multitude of changes had occurred in the world of men. For one thing Yoshida Shōin had been executed in 1859: "we buried him on the plain," then reinterred the martyred ideologue at Wakabayashi in Edo—a grave destroyed by the Bakufu in retaliation for Chōshū's 1864 war against the Shogunate armies. In spite of all, Kido was now attending the Emperor just four years later, en route to Edo. Because his "comrades were not alive to see it," "my delight is mixed with sadness." To be accused of disloyalty to Chōshū and its Lord by his old associates who still lived, as was happening to Kido in 1868 so soon after the Restoration, caused his "tears to fall like rain" [5 November 1868].

The return to Edo in 1868 reminded Kido of the time when he plotted revolution there, perhaps the most exciting and pleasurable period of his life. During the cherry blossom season of 1862 he boated on the Sumida River to observe a "spectacle unparalleled," he remembered. In the spring of 1869 when he returned, a "melancholy atmosphere" prevailed during cherry blossom season at Ueno: bullet holes pockmarked trees after the recent battle there, the climactic victory for Imperial forces in the Boshin War. Of samurai comrades on the earlier outings, "not a single one is alive today" [9 February; 31 March 1869].

Visits to the coastal region southeast of Tokyo, especially the Izu Peninsula, reminded Kido of his first encounter with the West in 1854–1855. He was one of the Chōshū troops stationed between Miyata and Uraga to guard a section of the coast against Commodore Matthew C. Perry's scheduled return with his "Black Ships" in 1854. His brother-in-law Kuribara Ryōzō and others "half of whom are now deceased" were Kido's comrades. A year of study of military fortification, artillery, navigation, and shipbuilding followed. Through an introduction from Saitō Yakurō, Kido worked as a servant for Egawa Tarōzaemon, the Bakufu military reformer who was Intendant, or *Daikan*, of Nirayama in the Izu Peninsula. Kido was with Egawa when the latter surveyed the coast and recommended the construction of forts at Shinagawa. Even Egawa did not know Kido's true identity. The story unfolded in the diary when Kido called on the late Egawa's family in

1870, and reminisced amidst the spare simple surroundings which reflected the life-style old Egawa favored for public officials.

Another visit to the area brought forth the tale of Nakajima Saburōnosuke, who taught Kido navigation in the same period [16 November 1870]. The news was that Nakajima and his two sons had perished when their ship sank as they were in flight to Hokkaido with the Bakufu fleet of Admiral Enomoto Takeaki. While Kido deplored Nakajima's political "mistake," the Meiji minister vowed never to forget his debt to his kind teacher of naval science. Another visit to a village near Shimoda at the tip of the Izu Peninsula called to mind the time that Kido observed the Russian Admiral Putiatin building a Western schooner after his own vessel capsized in a tidal wave. Kido hired two master carpenters from the construction crew to duplicate the vessel in Chōshū [2 January 1871].

Kyoto reminded Kido of the martyrs of 1864 in the abortive Chōshū charge to seize the Emperor. Many were buried at Tennōsan where they fell south of the city. On 5 September 1868, their death anniversary, they were reburied on Ryozen Mountain in Higashiyama, Kyoto. After services Kido and others climbed the mountain to their graves to talk until midnight. "I have somehow survived," wrote Kido, "and today have the good fortune to see our work flourish." But Mihori Kōsuke, who was along, persisted in blaming Kido for the fact of his survival so much that he ended the night much dispirited [5 September 1868].

Trips home to Chōshū as a leading official of the central government prompted some hostility, but also buoyed his spirits as he recalled his old political mentors and revolutionary associates of the eventful decades before 1868. Murata Seifū, who projected Chōshū into the national political arena, was one. When Kido saw Murata's favorite old pine tree in Hagi, the latter-day national statesman wrote an epitaph and had it cut in stone to be placed before the tree. With an admonition against cutting down the pine was an appreciation for the man who "swept away the reactionary customs of the age, and renewed the spirit of the warrior within our domain" [21 June 1868].

8. *History.* Loyalist heroes from further back in history appeared in the diary when Kido took part in ceremonies to honor them. Prince Morinaga, the heir of Emperor Go-Daigo in the fourteenth century, was given a memorial service at the Imperial

Parade Grounds in Kyoto on 9 September 1868, in belated recognition of the Kemmu Restoration which failed. To the tomb of Kusunoki Masashige in Kobe, legendary hero of the abortive Kemmu Restoration, Kido paid his respects at least three times in these years.

Kido seemed to have special empathy with Toyotomi Hideyoshi, whose heir and family were destroyed by Tokugawa Ieyasu. In the Tokugawa, the men had a common enemy. On October 1870 Kido worshipped Hideyoshi's spirit at a shrine in Osaka; and, as he climbed to the top of the keep of Osaka Castle, he "could imagine the scale of plans of Lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi for this place" [1 February 1871]. Kido also made visits to the resting places of paragons of loyalty, as any Japanese would do: the forty-seven loyal *ronin* at Sengakuji temple in Tokyo and the Sōga brothers near Kamakura. The brothers, like the loyal forty-seven, were renowned for securing vengeance—in their case against their father's murderer, whom they killed while he was hunting with Minamoto Yoritomo. With them was buried Tora, the mistress of one of the brothers and an accomplice to the plot.

9. *Family.* The personal side of Kido's life was relatively less important than the political, judging from the proportion of space devoted to each in the diary. Kido's wife, the former Gion geisha Ikumatsu whom he called Matsu, was mentioned approximately five times in three years. An outsider who did take notice of her was A. B. Mitford, who noted her "ease and grace" as a hostess. "She was a bonny little lady, though eyes less familiar with the custom than mine would have objected to the disfigurement of shaved eyebrows and blackened teeth." As a former geisha she had "none of the shyness which I have usually met with in Japanese ladies." She sang and played the samisen after dinner. "A very happy couple they seemed to be," Mitford said of Kido and Matsu.³⁸

A younger sister, Kuribara Haruko, for whom Kido felt responsibility in her widowhood, received mention more often, perhaps because Kido grappled with family problems in bringing her and her sons from Hagi to Tokyo. She was not getting along with her nephew Wada Yoshisuke, who headed the family into which she was born in Hagi.

³⁸ A. B. Mitford, "Wanderings in Japan," *Littell's Living Age*, CXIII (April 6, 1872), 36-37.

Even before his marriage to Matsu, when he was a sickly teenager, Kido had adopted sons to carry on his line. Katsusaburō, a nephew born to his elder half-sister Suteko, was the adopted son who died in the troubles of 1864. Each time Kido passed the spot along the Yodo River where the youth's remains were buried, the grieving father paid his respects. On 16 April 1871 as he strolled along the dikes of the river at Sakuranomiya near Osaka in cherry blossom time, "I called to mind the circumstances of the death of my son Katsusaburō, here in the autumn of 1864, and grief filled my heart. The scenery came to seem desolate and lonely."

Shōjirō, another nephew, was successor as heir to Kido, Matsu being childless. Shōjirō, who was ten years old in 1868, was the son of the younger sister Haruko. For him Kido entertained high hopes, and he arranged that the boy should learn English by living and studying with an Englishman whom they met on vacation at Miyanoshita in 1869. The boy lived in the foreign settlement of Yokohama much of the time until he departed for England in the summer of 1871 to be enrolled at Brighton.³⁹

Family members who had gone before were almost a living presence to Kido. Each time he returned to Hagi, he caught up on the proper death anniversary ceremonies for both his natural parents of the Wada family and his adoptive parents, who were named Katsura. On her death anniversary Kido also remembered his elder half-sister Suteko, the mother of the tragic Katsusaburō.

10. *Friends*. As much as to family, Kido was devoted to friends; indeed, friendship took up more space in the diary than family concerns. His male friends included boon companions who joined him on vacations or on holidays at his Somei villa, which was then on the outskirts of Tokyo. Several had literary or artistic tastes similar to Kido's. Sugi Magoshichirō, a Chōshū statesman, often joined Kido in his leisure hours. On 12 June 1868 in Yamaguchi castletown Kido wrote, "At night I brought out some old poems, and discussed with Sugi the quality of their phrasing." Chō Sansu, another Chōshū friend, had a reputation in painting and scholarship; and he was the one Kido called on to

³⁹ The person with whom Kido's son probably stayed was K. E. Schmidt, interpreter at the English consulate. On 28 October 1869 Kido entrusted Shōjirō to Schmidt for a year. When Schmidt came to see Kido and Shōjirō off from Yokohama aboard the *Golden Age* en route to Chōshū preparatory to going abroad, the Englishman's "sorrow in parting . . . was very deep. His tears flowed freely. I had empathy with him in his feelings; and I was moved to tears also" (13 April 1871).

paint orchids and bamboo on the cabinets of his newly built house in 1871. The warmth of these friendships, and their diversity, is striking. An unusual friend was the townsman Hashi'ichi, a lacquer artist said to be rich. It was Hashi'ichi who accompanied Kido on vacation to the hot springs of Miyanoshita in October 1869. Described by A. B. Mitford as "one of the drollest creatures I have ever met,"⁴⁰ Hashi'ichi carried in place of a sword a wooden rice beater decorated in lacquer, studded with gold coins. He provided the flute obbligato to Matsu's song. Another in the Kido party was the medical doctor Fukui Jundō, who besides looking after the ailing statesman cooked trout on an outing. A third was Inoue Inseki, a master of *go*. At night he and Kido sat "heads on hands" over a game, "as completely abstracted from all earthly matters as Buddhists in a state of Nirvana."

Female friends included at least two famous painters of the era. Shōhin, who lived in Kyoto, had already made a reputation in Southern School landscape painting in 1868 at the age of twenty-one. She was close enough that she joined the Kido family to celebrate the enthronement of the Emperor Meiji on 12 October 1868.⁴¹ Seiko of Tokyo was older; but it was Kido's patronage which made her a famous landscape artist. She often joined him for parties. On 22 August 1870, for example, she was his companion at a party featuring brushes, inkstones, and sakè, given for the Chief Archivists of the Grand Council of State.⁴²

Geisha who entertained Kido and his friends at teahouses on the east bank of the Sumida were listed in the diary, twenty or thirty names in all; but Kido did not appear to be attached to any of them. There is but a single reference to the geisha to whom Kido was patron, Okayo of Higashiyama in Kyoto. She was reputed to have been a friend of Kido's wife Matsu, the former Gion geisha.⁴³ The range of friends—statesmen, craftsmen, painters, and geisha—from several levels of Japanese society—is striking.

11. *Leisure*. The after hours with friends were, for Kido, a constant round of moon-viewing, tea ceremony, games of *go*,

⁴⁰ A. B. Mitford, "Wanderings in Japan," *Littell's Living Age*, VXIII (April 6, 1872), 36–38.

⁴¹ Shōhin's original family was Matsumura; her surname became Noguchi when she married. She was a pupil of Hine no Taizan, the leading artist of the Southern Landscape School in Kyoto. She lived from 1847 to 1917.

⁴² Seiko, a native of Furukawa *han*, was named Ikeda at this time; she married into the Okuhara family in 1880.

⁴³ Liza Cribfield Dalby to translator, 13 November 1980, Chicago.

sakè parties devoted to calligraphy and painting, and poetry competitions. Once, for example, seven men of refined taste chanted poems of the East for entertainment, we are told.⁴⁴ Moon-viewing at the appropriate time, especially the fifteenth day of the eighth month by the lunar calendar, was always the occasion for parties. More often than not clouds interposed themselves between the celebrants and the moon, as during the 1868 party given by the Lords of Chōfu and Tokuyama, the Mōri branch families in Chōshū. That night, for his colleague Hirosawa Saneomi, Kido dashed off a poem:

On this night of the full moon,
Even though the sky be overcast,
Would that the hearts of men might
ever remain unclouded.

Rain fell again in 1869 on Lake Hakone on the special day for moon-viewing; but in 1870 in Tokyo "moon-viewing was altogether different. As night came on, the clouds all scattered and the moon shone brightly [10 September 1870].

Go was Kido's passion, so much so that he kept a professional player around. We learn from the diary that Kido ordinarily won when he played Ōshima Jisui of Tsushima, but that he usually lost in competition with Yoshimatsu Heishirō of his native Chōshū. One old nemesis was Nōmi. "In July (1870) when the Lord arrived at this port (Yokohama), Nōmi and I played four games of *go*; and I lost all of them. He often defeated me after that; but of late I have frequently won our matches. Tonight I allowed him a handicap of two crosses; and it was he who cried out in his frustration at my victory, and I who shouted for joy [11 November 1870].

Calligraphy was the art in which Kido took the most pride. He did epigrams for friends: "An unselfish heart is like unto the sun and the moon;" or else he answered requests from acquaintances with a line from the *Three Character Classic*: "The world was originally good." When Kido saw Yamagata Aritomo off to the Echigo front during the Boshin War, he wrote on a fan [28 May 1868]:

Men of the world do not know the traveller's purpose,
One warrior alone through the spring rains.

⁴⁴ The seven who met at Kaburagi Kein's included Hashi'ichi, Dr. Fukui Jundo, Seiho—the artist, the Saitō brothers—of the swordmaster's family, Lord Higashikuze—court noble who was Foreign Minister, and Yamanaka Sei'itsu—loyalist official in the Imperial Household office [22 March 1869].

On Yamagata's victorious return, Kido presented his own short sword decorated with plum blossoms as a gift, and a poem to accompany [2 December 1868]:

I present my friend with both steel and blossoms.
These two elements are co-existent on this earth.

Why must strife ever prevail?

When Inoue Kaoru, after much cajolery, induced Kido to lend his favorite long sword, Kido handed it over with a narrative verse: "Like a friend it accompanied me through those difficult days" of the Restoration. "My faithful sword! Your mission is not yet done," he noted. To Inoue who was bound for the fighting in the East, Kido admonished, "Give this sword renown!" [11 July 1868].

Most of Kido's recreation was sedentary. Once in a while he went hunting at Miyanoshita, snared fish in a net at Osaka, went boating up a river at Hagi, or rode horseback in Kyoto. But such active pleasures were rare.

12. *Assassination*. Terror provided a backdrop to the gentle leisure pursuits with friends. The assassin often turned his sword against the men in power. Ōmura Masujirō, brilliant organizer of the Chōshū armies, was the first of Kido's close friends to fall. At first a message came to Kido at dawn on 14 October 1869 that Ōmura had been attacked in Kyoto, but, that, although two of his guards and servant had died, Ōmura had survived his wounds. "Thanks be to Heaven!" wrote Kido. "I was shocked at first, then relieved that he still lives." Rumors of Ōmura's plans to install a conscript army in place of samurai levies precipitated the attack. On 13 December 1869 relief gave way to dismay when Kido learned that the wounded Ōmura's fate was in doubt. "I was in despair, and the tears flowed in spite of myself. In my dreams tonight I talked with Ōmura several times; and when I awakened, my grief returned." At 11 p.m. the following night the messenger knocked to report that Ōmura had expired on 7 December. "My outrage was so great that the tears refused to fall," wrote the emotional Kido [13, 14 December 1869].

A second important Chōshū victim was the Imperial Councilor Hirosawa Saneomi, who died instantly under the the attack of a band on his house in early 1871. The bad news from Tokyo reached Kido when he landed at Kobe on 12 March 1871, just back from negotiations in Tosa on the Abolition of Domains. At

the time of the Restoration Hirosawa was sometimes his only supporter in plans for the centralization of authority, Kido recalled; and he remembered a letter which Hirosawa had written during the winter decrying pro-feudalist sentiment. "I took out the letter again from the bamboo tube . . . and read it several times. I could not withhold my tears."

Appended to the diary entry on Hirosawa's assassination was a note that "Soldiers have come to guard my room day and night." Two days later, when he sailed over to Osaka, Kido marvelled, "Soldiers were already on guard at the landing place; the miracle of the telegraph is evident." Soon, however, the soldiers became tiresome, and the next day Kido slipped out without telling his guard to discuss the abolition of the domains with Ōkubo and Saigō. "My guard finally came to Saigō's looking for me," he wrote. When Kido boarded the *New York* to take passage back to Tokyo, ten guards from the War Ministry joined him. "I rejected them adamantly, as I do not approve of making too much of the Imperial Councilors through such orders," wrote Kido, but after reflection he "finally consented to keep the guards." Back in Tokyo on 23 March 1871 Kido noted that eight soldiers came to his house from the Kanda mansion of Chōshū to watch over him. He survived the threat of assassination, but the deaths of friends cast a pall. It was springtime in Yamaguchi when he reached the old castletown the following month, but a call to pay respects at Hirosawa's grave and the preparation of an inscription for the tombstone made it seem "as if it were a night in autumn." With the passing of the last of the giants of his generation of Chōshū loyalists, it seemed that Kido's best days were behind him.

Meiji 1 1868

Fourth Month

23 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/1] I went to Lord Iwakura's.¹

24 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/2] On invitation from the Lord of Hizen, I went directly from my government office to his mansion. Present were the honored guests Lord Shungaku of Echizen² and Lord Akizuki Tanetatsu,³ and in attendance on them were Priest Sessō of Ōmi,⁴ Ohara Tesshin of Ōgaki, Nakane Yukie⁵ of Echizen, a M. Sakai who is the steward of the same domain, and the artist Aizan. We drank until the table was in wild disorder, and had a very lively time doing calligraphy and brush sketches. En route home from there, I stopped by the Gepparō⁶ in the Sambongi section with Tesshin and Shōgaku,⁷ and we stayed the night.

25 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/3] I went to my government office.

¹ Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) was a court noble who figured conspicuously in the Meiji Restoration. He had led the campaign for dismantling the Bakufu and confiscating most of the lands of the Tokugawa family and its allies. At this time he held the title of *Fuku-Sōsai*, or Deputy Chancellor.

² Matsudaira Yoshinaga (1828–1890) was a collateral daimyō who headed the domain of Echizen (present Fukui prefecture), 320,000 *koku*. Kido always referred to him by his *gō*, Shungaku. At this time he held the office of *Gijō*, or Senior Councilor. He was an influential statesman of the late Bakufu and the early Meiji years, one who favored a policy of moderation toward the Tokugawa.

³ Akizuki Tanetatsu (1843–1904) was the son of the daimyō of Takanabe domain (27,000) in Hyūga province (modern Miyazaki prefecture). He had a reputation as an able poet and essayist. Like Shungaku, he had once served the Bakufu, but now held office as *Sanyo*, or Junior Councilor; the same title Kido held.

⁴ Ōtori Sessō (1814–1904) was a famous loyalist (*sonnō-jōi* advocate) from Hikone domain, 340,000 *koku*. The daimyō of that domain, Ii Naosuke, was infamous for his iron-fisted suppression of loyalists especially during his term as Great Elder, or *Tairō*, for the Bakufu.

⁵ Nakane Yukie (1807–1877) of Echizen domain was a *Sanyo*. For twenty-one years he had served as chief adviser to Lord Matsudaira Shungaku, the reforming daimyō of that domain. Prior to the Restoration, Nakane helped bring Satsuma and Chōshū together.

⁶ A Kyoto restaurant-inn in the geisha quarter.

⁷ Hirose San'omi (1833–1871), a Chōshū samurai who held major offices in the central government after 1868. Shōgaku was his *gō*. Unidentified assassins cut him down in 1871 while he held the important office of *Sangi*, or Imperial Councilor.

26 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/4] I met Ōshima Jisui⁸ of Tsūshima at the Gepparō; and Sessō, Tesshin, and Kaiō joined us. Together we stopped in at Sessō's inn and stayed the night. Earlier in the evening I had returned directly home from my government office.

27 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/5] I went to my government office. In the afternoon I paid a visit to Raisandō's where I met Tesshin and Kaiō at night; and our talk was devoted exclusively to developments of the past ten years.

28 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/6] I called on the proprietor of the Raisandō and went with him to see the master of the Seigadō, at whose place we met . . . unexpectedly. At the request of . . . I composed a poem for the memorial to the war dead. Then I visited Tesshin's, but he was not home.

Today I had an appointment with some Kaga⁹ men; and I went with Shōgaku and Tosen to meet them in Togano'o.¹⁰ The Kaga men requested that we enter into alliance and friendship with them henceforth, so I dispatched the following letter:

"The policy of our domain of Chōshū has proceeded through several stages since 1853 and 1854, having been altered particularly by the events of 1858 and 1862. At the beginning the policy was one of expelling the barbarians; in the second stage, opening the country; in the third phase, expulsion of the barbarians; and in the fourth phase, the present foreign policy. In each phase we did the right thing without regard for what would be easiest for us. During the bitter period of the third phase, we were favored with the warm friendship of a retainer of your

⁸ Ōshima Tomonojō (1826–1882) of Tsūshima domain was a loyalist who turned opinion to the pro-Emperor view in the domain in 1862. At the time of the Restoration he was notably active in the Osaka-Kyoto area.

⁹ Kaga domain (modern Ishikawa prefecture), headed by a *tozama* daimyō, had been the largest of the domains, 1,027,000 *koku*, but it was not particularly active in the Restoration. *Tozama* daimyō were the "Outer Lords" who had declared their allegiance to the Tokugawa family after the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. Some of them, but not the Maeda of Kaga, had fought against Tokugawa Ieyasu on that battlefield. *Fudai* daimyō were the "House Vassals" who antedated 1600 in their allegiance to the Tokugawa. Their domains were often smaller than those of the Outer Lords, but the House Vassals were allowed to serve in the Bakufu government, a privilege denied the Outer Lords. A third category of feudal lords was made up of the *shimpan*, or "Related Domains," which were headed by relatives of the Tokugawa, in some cases descendants of Tokugawa Ieyasu. As large domain holders, they too were denied the privilege of holding office in the Bakufu but sometimes consulted in an advisory capacity late in the Tokugawa era.

¹⁰ A place in present-day Ukyō ward in Kyoto.

domain. The memory of his kindness is with me still; so I regret that I did not see him at our meeting.

"Today, however, authority has been restored to the Imperial Government; and the whole country stands united. Let all of our domains, therefore, be allied eternally until ours is the first-ranking nation of the world. I request that we not be deflected by internal controversies, but follow the right path together.

28 April 1868, night, before 10

To the Lord High Steward of the Kaga domain
(I have a bit more to say; but I have used up the space, so I shall put my brush aside.)"

29 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/7] I went to my government office.

At night, on the invitation of Saitō Soken of Fukuyama domain and several dozen others, I met the group at the Izutsurō. The women in attendance on us at the inn were all of them people whom I knew six years ago.

30 April 1868 [Meiji 1/4/8] I went to my government office.

In the evening I joined Jisui, Sessō, Tesshin, and Kaiō, at the Seikirō, and enjoyed drinking together well into the night.

1 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/9] In the morning Enseki¹¹ and others came to our inn.

At 9 I went to my government office. I was ordered down to Osaka, so tonight I had an appointment for a farewell party at Kashiwatei. Those who gathered at dusk there included: Fukuoka Tōji,¹² Kōyama Sadae, and Nagaoka Kenkichi¹³ of Tosa; Nakajima Eikichi of Awa; Enseki of Sanuki; Tesshin of Ōgaki; as well

¹¹ Kusanagi Enseki (1817–1868), a samurai from Sanuki, was an officer in the Imperial forces taking part in the Eastern expedition. He died during the campaign on 9 October 1868. His *gō* was Ryūtō, under which name Kido often mentioned him in the early part of the diary.

¹² Fukuoka Takachika (1835–1919) of Tosa was a *Sanyō*, or Junior Councilor, in 1860. Tōji was his popular name. He was one of two Tosa men who delivered their lord's advice to Yoshinobu to resign as shogun in 1867; but Fukuoka is best remembered for promoting Tosa views of representative government by adding an article calling for "assemblies widely convoked" to Yuri Kimimasa's draft of the Charter Oath of Five Articles, announced on 6 April 1868. Kido also participated in the revision of Yuri's draft.

¹³ Nagaoka Kenkichi (1834–1872) of Tosa had been a medical student, and he served as secretary for Sakamoto Ryōma's trading firm, Kaientai, in Nagasaki. After the discovery of the Urakami Christians, Nagaoka drafted an anti-Christian tract.

as Kaiō and Chikushū. Sessō, the Zen priest, also came; and he wrote a farewell poem with his brush. Furthermore, he has copied *A Recent Journey to Arashiyama* for me, rendering the text rather freely and doing the illustrations in his own style. The Zen priest transmitted word that I am invited to the inn of Lord Akizuki day after tomorrow.

2 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/10] In the morning a letter arrived from Lord Akizuki saying that the appointment scheduled for tomorrow has been moved up to today. At 10 I went to my government office. Kōyama showed me a Tosa report from the Kantō to the effect that Yoshinobu has submitted to the Imperial sentence.

After 5 I went to the inn of Lord Akizuki. Those assembled included Lords Kansō¹⁴ and Shungaku; Nakane and Aoyama Menju of Echizen; Tesshin, Sessō, Aizan,¹⁵ Ryūtō, Shōgaku, and me. We had a lively time, doing calligraphy and brush painting, composing poems, and getting gloriously drunk. Lord Shungaku wrote a line to send with me to Naniwa¹⁶ tomorrow:

Under the light of the rising sun he sails down the stagnant
Yodo river

Sessō added:

From his porthole, on the rush-roofed boat, he looks on
distant blue mountains

Then Kansō produced the line:

Out of the ship's galley he carries a cask of sake

And Akizuki completed the Chinese verse with:

Drinks it down before doing great deeds by overcoming
the forces of evil at Osaka castle.

Akizuki then sent me off with the following Chinese poem¹⁷:

¹⁴ Nabeshima Kansō (1814–1871) served as Lord of Hizen from 1830 to 1849, and continued to be the dominant figure in his domain. He was remembered chiefly for his modernizing reforms in Hizen—developing coal mines, building a reverberatory iron furnace, and operating a shipyard. He added the strength of his large domain to the Imperial Restoration, and served as a *Gijō*, or Senior Councilor, in the early Meiji government.

¹⁵ Taniguchi Aizan was one of the leading Nanga (Southern School) painters of Kyoto, specializing in landscapes after the manner of the artists of the Sung dynasty (960–1179) in China. Later, in the summer of 1880, he founded the first art school in Japan, the Kyoto Fuga Gakkō. (Information supplied by Ellen Conant, New York City.)

¹⁶ Naniwa was the poetic name for Osaka. Kido continued to use this traditional name.

¹⁷ This is a *zekku*, an ancient Chinese form of poetry, written in four lines of seven syllables each. The preceding poem is also a *zekku* but one to which each of four authors contributes a line.

That the Imperial line may flourish, let the spirit of loyalty
overcome the unrighteous forces

May you labor day and night ever to serve the state
unselfishly

My only request is that you look above the stagnant Yodo
river to the beauty of the mountain scenery

As you sail west downstream to protect His Majesty in his
temporary palace.

I returned home on horseback about 3 a.m. En route I encountered a bit of rain.

3 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/11] In the morning a variety of guests called. At ten I left the house, and reached Fushimi at 12 noon. Kiheitai¹⁸ troops en route to Kyoto stayed at the Kikkōya last night; and, as some of them had not yet departed, I invited the proprietor of the Kikkōya to come with me to the Ikedaya. Ryūtō had already arrived as per appointment. Along the Takeda road we encountered showers; and our boat was pelted by heavy rain as we sailed down the Yodo. Over a few drinks Ryūtō and I talked over times past; and the reminders stirred up a thousand emotions in me. At dusk we passed the embankment at Sakuranomiya. While the rain poured down, I paid my respects to the spirit of young Katsu (Katsura Katsuzaburō) as we sailed by.¹⁹ Before 10 or 11 at night we reached the villa of Kōnoike Ichibe²⁰ in Nakanoshima. Ise Shōsu²¹ and Fujii Shichirō live there together with Ryūtō; but the two were not home. I went to the Kawasa restaurant with Ryūtō to inquire after Ise; and there

¹⁸ The Kiheitai were the Chōshū “irregulars,” a unit formed outside the regular domain military organization in 1863. It was the first and most celebrated of the soldier-farmer units, or *shotai*, which recruited and promoted men on the basis of ability rather than of hereditary social status. Formed as it was of lower samurai and commoners, it mobilized broad popular support for Chōshū's military engagements, and facilitated the rapid modernization of the domain's armed forces.

¹⁹ Katsura Katsuzaburō (1848–1864) had been the adopted heir of Kido while he was known as Katsura Kogorō. The boy was the third son of Wada Bunjō; and his mother was Kido's elder half-sister, Yaeko. Kido held great hopes for his intelligent and studious heir; but the young man died in the Chōshū charge on Hamaguri Gate of the Imperial Palace, Kyoto, on 20 August 1864.

²⁰ A member of the family of Osaka bankers which had loaned money to thirty-two domains including Chōshū.

²¹ Ise Shōsu (1822–1886) was also known as Ise Sakae (Kido uses his *gō* here). Ise was a Chōshū samurai of the *hachigumi*, the Eight Companies, occupying the same middle-level rank that Kido had held. Ise studied at the Meirinkan, the Chōshū domain school, developed a reputation as a poet, and served in several moderately important domain posts—once as manager of the Chōshū mansion in Osaka in the lord's absence (*Rusu'i*). In the Meiji government he held several minor positions.

unexpectedly we encountered a Kaga man. We travelled on together with. . . .

4 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/12] I went to the Temporary Palace for an audience with the two Deputy Chancellors.²² I learned that they have a report from the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces to the effect that the two commanders of vanguard units had entered Edo on 26 April, and that Chief Imperial Councillor Tayasu²³ agreed to be charged with accepting orders on the disposition of Yoshinobu. A decision has been made to order him to transfer the castle and the warships and equipment between 27 April and 9 May—at the latest, with 3 May the date agreed upon tentatively.

This evening I proceeded to the inn of the Heir Apparent of Chōshū²⁴ for an audience to report on recent developments in Kyoto. This morning Kinjirō, the son of Kōnoike Ichibei, came to visit me; and I met him for the first time. This morning I also heard that Itō Shunsuke (Hōbai)²⁵ was in Naniwa last night and that Inoue Segai²⁶ has come in from Nagasaki. In my absence today a letter arrived from Hōbai; and he made several visits trying to see me. Therefore, I went to Hinoki Ryosuke's inn at

²² Kido uses the title *Sōsai*, or Chancellor; but, in fact, Sanjō Sanetomi (1837–1891) and Iwakura Tomomi held the office of *Fuku-Sōsai*, or Deputy Chancellor, in the new government. Both were court nobles deeply involved in the loyalist movement; and for many years afterwards the two men were the official leaders of the new government, though another court noble temporarily outranked them in 1868.

²³ The title *Dainagon* is used for Tayasu Yoshiyori who represented Bakufu interests. His was one of the Three Noble Families, *Sankyō*, eligible to provide the Tokugawa heir in the event of failure of the main line. Yoshinobu's heir did come from the Tayasu family.

²⁴ Mōri Motonori (1839–1896), adopted son of Lord Mōri Takachika of Chōshū, had been the actual ruler of Chōshū as his father's deputy during the 1864–1866 period. Motonori was always prominent in the affairs of Chōshū; and in 1868 he served as a *Gijō*, or Senior Councillor, in the new Meiji government.

²⁵ Itō Shunsuke was known to history as Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909). Kido referred to him by his *gō*, Hōbai, less commonly by his earlier name, Shunsuke. Up from the peasantry when his father was adopted into a lowersamurai family of *ashigaru* (common foot soldiers), Itō had first attracted the attention of Kuribara Ryōzō (who married Kido's younger sister Haruko), then received the patronage of Kido. Itō studied in England in 1863 and 1864; and in 1868 he was *Sanyō* (Junior Councillor) and Governor of Hyōgō prefecture.

²⁶ He was better known as Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915), but Kido usually referred to him by his *gō*, Segai. He was the second son of a Chōshū samurai; and he likewise had studied in England in 1863–1864. In 1868 he was *Sanyō* as well as Director of the Mint in Osaka. Inoue later identified himself with government fiscal policy and with the business interests of the House of Mitsui, whereas Itō became famous for the making of the Meiji Constitution of 1889.

Tsujiki, and met the two of them there to talk about recent developments. For the first time I heard about the trouble with the Nagasaki Christians; and I am deeply disturbed about the matter.

5 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/13] In the morning Hiro'oka Kyūemon²⁷ came; we decided in a general way on a method for depositing the official money. Kōnoike Ichibei and his son also came.

In the morning I went to take up my official post in the Temporary Palace. At four in the afternoon I went on duty at the quarters of Lord Iwakura in the Higashi-Honganji.²⁸ Present were Prince Sanjō and Lord Nakamikado, as well as Gotō Shōjirō,²⁹ Mitsuoka Hachirō,³⁰ Tsuji Shōsō, and I—the four of us. We discussed future policy in rather general terms. Tomorrow Komatsu, Gotō, and I will meet to decide on definite proposals; and we requested another general conference with our superiors for the day after tomorrow, 7 May, before withdrawing. On the way home I had an engagement at the Sakaitatsurō, and found that Shōsu, Ryūtō, and Yoshimatsu Heishirō had arrived ahead of me. Priest . . . was present; and I met him for the first time.

6 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/14] In the morning we had a few drinks. At 10 I left the Sakaitatsurō in the same boat with Shōsu and

²⁷ Hiro'oka Kyūemon (1844–1909) belonged to one of the three great Osaka merchant families, the others being Mitsui and Kōnoike. He was the ninth to bear this name since an ancestor first set up the family Kashimaya money exchange before Midō temple in Osaka about 1625. Members of the family had also served on the Board of Directors of the Dōjima Rice Exchange since 1731. This Kyūemon was ordered to take charge of finances connected with the Emperor's trip east later in 1868. About the same time Hiro'oka Asako, his wife, daringly went to Edo alone to collect daimyō debts owed to her husband's firm.

²⁸ This was actually a branch temple of the Higashi-Honganji, the great Shin sect temple in Kyoto. It was commonly referred to as the Namba branch temple and was located on the site of the present Minami Midō temple. The offices of the Dajōkan, Grand Council of State, were in the temple from the time of the arrival of the Emperor Meiji in Osaka on 13 April 1868 until his return to Kyoto on 28 May. The Emperor was in Osaka in support of the Eastern expedition of Imperial forces, living in the Tsumura branch temple, which Kido referred to as the "temporary palace." (Ueba Kenchō, *Namba betsu'in ryakushi* [Osaka, 1956], 29–32.)

²⁹ Gotō Shōjirō (1838–1897), Tosa samurai, had advised his lord to request the abdication of Yoshinobu. He served as *Sanyō* in 1868 with responsibilities in foreign affairs; and later in the year became Governor of Osaka. He had learned about the English parliamentary system from Ernest Satow of the English legation, and became a proponent of representative government.

³⁰ An Echizen samurai who changed his name shortly afterwards to Yuri Kimimasa (1829–1909). He prepared the first draft of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles; and government finance was his specialty. His office was that of *Sanyō*.

Ryūtō. At 2 I went to Gotō's inn to take him to the Sumitomo Copper Assay Office and Mint. Then I took a boat with Gotō to the secret inn of Komatsu³¹ in Tsukiji where we had some drinks and discussed the future at great length. I disagree with Gotō on some details, but find myself in complete accord with Komatsu. The time hurried by, and darkness was approaching; so, as Gotō and I were supposed to attend upon Lord Iwakura tonight, by letter we requested a postponement of our appointment until tomorrow. Our discussion today centered on the problem of the kind of administrative system that will be best for us.

Enroute home I paid a visit to Itō's inn. Oume³² had come in from Shimonoseki, and was there. At dusk I returned to my inn. Segai then came by to discuss the recent situation in Nagasaki.

7 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/15] In the morning I went to the Temporary Palace. There we met with Segai to decide what to do about the Nagasaki matter. As there was another important question to discuss today, we postponed the decision on this problem until later.

In the afternoon I went to the inn of Lord Iwakura. Gotō and Fukuoka had come; but, owing to a misunderstanding, people who were supposed to be there did not appear. As it was nearly evening before we realized the error, we postponed the meeting until tomorrow. Lord Kansō, the Lord of Uwajima,³³ and Prince Sanjō dropped in, as did Mitsuoka. At 5 I withdrew to go to the inn of the Heir Apparent of Chōshū. Today he had summoned Hiro'oka and his son, Kōnoike Ichibei and his son, Kōnoike Zemon, to present them with a gift of saké. I was ordered to join them for this occasion. The five of us did our best in presenting to the Heir what little Kabuki we could perform. He himself sang several songs in the style, the first time we had heard him perform.

³¹ Komatsu Tatewake (1835–1870) was a *Sanyo* in the new government with responsibilities in foreign affairs. An upper-class samurai, he had moved to the center of the Satsuma domain political world in 1861, and was instrumental in promoting talented men such as Ōkubo Toshimichi.

³² Itō's wife Umeko.

³³ This refers to Date Munenari (1817–1892) who had been Lord of Uwajima from 1844 until his retirement in 1859. A *tozama* daimyō who continued to dominate his 100,000-*koku* domain, he carried out modernizing economic and military programs with the help of outside experts such as Ōmura Masujirō who gave advice on Western military science. Date Munenari was a *Gijō* in the Meiji government in 1868, working in foreign affairs. Later he served as Civil Affairs Minister and as Finance Minister.

All of us became very intoxicated, so, on the way back, we stopped in at the Kawasa teahouse to stay overnight.

8 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/16] In the morning after 8 I went to Lord Iwakura's inn. There I met Yokoi Heishirō,³⁴ who came to Osaka for the first time; and Hasegawa Jin'emon was on duty with him. As I listened to Heishirō's views, I found nothing particularly strange about them.

Soon Lords Kansō and Shungaku and Princes Sanjō and Nakamikado arrived; then Gotō, Mitsuoka, Soejima Jirō,³⁵ and Fukuoka came. Heishirō was also present. We discussed the proposal which had come up the previous day, and finally decided to approve a complete reform of the administrative system. In the wake of this, a plan which I have long advocated was adopted: to allow His Majesty to travel freely to all quarters of the land, coming frequently to Naniwa, setting up imperial living facilities and government offices here, and moving into the Nijō Palace³⁶ after his return to Kyoto. I had submitted confidential memorials to Lords Iwakura and Sanjō on these matters in the past; and I am overjoyed that, with the passage of time, several of my proposals will be carried into effect shortly.

After 2 I returned to my inn. Ohisa and Oei³⁷ came; and I paid a visit to Fujii Shichirōemon. At 5 I went to the Tsūshima mansion by appointment for an audience with the Lord of Tsūshima; and we talked over events of six years ago. He presented me with a

³⁴ Yokoi Heishirō (1809–1869) is better known as Yokoi Shōnan, his *gō*. He was a famous Bakumatsu statesman and ideologue who articulated the nationalist ideas of the loyalists. Born into a Kumamoto samurai family, Yokoi achieved fame while serving as a visiting adviser to Lord Matsudaira Shungaku of Echizen. In 1869 Yokoi was assassinated by anti-foreign zealots who believed that he was espousing Christianity and republicanism. Kido's reference to Yokoi's views may refer to rumors about such ideas.

³⁵ Soejima Taneomi (1828–1905), the Hizen samurai, was a *Sanyo* in 1868. From a family of National Learning scholars, he joined the Sonnō Jōi movement early, but in 1864 he went to Nagasaki to study English under the Reverend Guido Verbeck, a Dutch Reformed church missionary from the United States. With Fukuoka Takachika, Soejima drafted the *Seitaisho* plan for government organization in June 1868, heavily influenced by his knowledge of Western political institutions as presented at Verbeck's school.

³⁶ The Nijō Palace was a fortified residence on the southwestern side of Kyoto, built originally for the use of the Tokugawa Shogun during his visits from Edo. The Goshō, the main Imperial palace in Kyoto, was unsatisfactory to the Restoration leaders because reactionary court nobles and court ladies who lived there dominated the young ruler.

³⁷ Geisha.

sword to wear, made of silver. There is an engraving of a dragon on the iron *tsuba*,³⁸ and a lion of gold on the hilt. The blade is by Tadahiro of Hizen.³⁹ In the evening the Lord favored us with sakè; and his chief retainers came out to help with the pouring. At 3 a.m. I returned to my inn.

9 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/17] Inasmuch as the Emperor proceeded to the Higashi-Honganji⁴⁰ to hold Court today, I was ordered to be in attendance there at 12 noon. This morning Hiro'oka Kyūemon and his clerk . . . came, and it has been decided that official funds will be deposited with his firm. At 9 I was ordered to the Higashi-Honganji posthaste, so I hurried there to go on duty. Most unexpectedly Gotō Shojirō and I were summoned into the Imperial presence; and His Majesty inquired of us about the current situation in the country and of the general state of things in the nations overseas. We spoke to him about developments from 1853–1854 up to the present, dwelling particularly on what happened in 1858–1859, and in 1861–1864, and in 1866. When we had concluded, His Majesty served us tea and cakes.⁴¹

For several hundred years there has been no instance of a common subject without a court rank being granted an audience by the Emperor. I am moved to tears by his favor. I only regret that the great enterprise of the Restoration has not yet been carried out completely. In the afternoon the Emperor viewed the sumō matches from behind his bamboo screen. I then proceeded to Lords Iwakura and Sanjō to express appreciation for the great Imperial favor⁴² bestowed upon me. At 4 I returned to my inn. At night a Kaga man . . . I went to the Kawasa, and stayed overnight.

10 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/18] Today was the death anniversary

³⁸ A sword guard, usually artistically crafted.

³⁹ Tadahiro was one of two names borne alternately by members of the Tadayoshi school of swordsmiths who flourished in Saga of Hizen province from about 1600 to 1860. They made both long and short swords, and often featured dragon designs on their swords. (B. W. Robinson, *The Arts of the Japanese Sword* [London, Faber and Faber, 1961], 54).

⁴⁰ The Emperor was staying at the Tsumura branch temple, and on this day went over to the Namba branch temple which Kido refers to as Higashi-Honganji.

⁴¹ At this time the Emperor Meiji (1853–1912) was fifteen years of age.

⁴² *Dai-on*, a boundless obligation which can never be repaid fully.

of my family's founding ancestor, so I worshipped his spirit.⁴³ At 8 a.m. I went to Lord Iwakura's inn, and there met Mitsuoka Hachirō. We inquired into Lord Iwakura's intentions, then decided on procedures for carrying into effect the administrative reform after the Emperor's return to Kyoto. We also discussed at length the Imperial ceremony to summon the spirit of Toyotomi Hideyoshi at the shrine in his honor.⁴⁴

At night I went to the Shinkyūrō, and had a few drinks with Ryūtō and Fujii Shichirōemon. There I met the geisha whom old Asada⁴⁵ loved. Around 11 p.m.⁴⁶ we moved over to the Sakaitatsurō.

11 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/19] I went to the Temporary Palace for an audience with Prince Sanjō. Permission was given to go ahead on the matter of the Christians. The Lord of Uwajima, Mitsuoka, Gotō, and Inoue Monta were present. Today Lord Iwakura returned to Kyoto. In the evening I had an appointment with Inoue to go to the Kawasarō. There, to my surprise, I met Hiro'oka, Kōnoike Ichibei, Shōsu, and the official in charge of the Kaga mansion in his lord's absence.

12 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/20] In the morning I went with Ryūtō to visit the Englishman Glover;⁴⁷ and we talked together

⁴³ Presumably this is the founder of the Katsura family into which Kido was adopted in 1840. Until 1865 he was called Katsura Kogorō; but in that year the Chōshū lord conferred upon him the name Kido as a pseudonym to conceal his identity from Bakufu officials.

⁴⁴ Kido uses the honorary name, *Hōkoku Daimyōjin*, which had been conferred on the spirit of Hideyoshi by the Emperor in 1599 when the shrine, the Hōkokusha, was founded. It stands adjacent to Osaka Castle; and Imperial envoys had been sent to the shrine for special ceremonies on Hideyoshi's death anniversary annually until 1615. In that year the Toyotomi family was extinguished by the Tokugawa who in turn were overthrown by the leaders of the Meiji Restoration. The 18th day of the 4th month was Hideyoshi's death anniversary by the old lunar calendar.

⁴⁵ Old Asada was Sufu Masanosuke (1823–1864), Chōshū political leader and Kido's patron. Sufu committed suicide in 1864 when his loyalist policies seemed to have failed.

⁴⁶ Literally the second watch of the night, or *nikō*. The night was divided into five watches, and the second might last from 10 p.m. to midnight; but the time could vary depending on the season of the year.

⁴⁷ Thomas Blake Glover (1838–1911) was a Scot whose Glover & Company, based in Nagasaki, was the leading British firm in Japan before the Restoration. He founded the firm in 1859; and during the 1860s he worked closely with Chōshū, supplying it with ships and munitions, protecting loyalists, furthering the Satchō alliance, and helping Chōshū youths study abroad. His wife was an Osaka woman, Dan-kawa Tsuruko. (Grace Fox, *Britain and Japan 1858–1893* [Oxford University Press, 1969], 330–331.)

about events of the last three years. We had a lot to say, having met after so long a time. He presented me with a pistol; and, at 2 p.m. I returned to my house. There I wrote letters to Kyoto and to my home province. After 4 I went out with Ryūtō, Nagayasu Wasō, and Ozaki Zen'emon to the . . . I returned to my inn at 10 at night.

13 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/21] In the morning Itō Hōbai came to visit; and we have an appointment to go to Kobe with Gotō today. Day before yesterday, on the 11th, I dispatched Naozō of Tajima to Kobe, and last night he returned by steamer with Itō.

At 10 I was summoned by Prince Sanjō to his inn. He has a report from the Kantō that Yoshinobu has withdrawn to Mito⁴⁸ under domiciliary confinement, and that he has handed his castle over to the Lord of Owari. The Bakufu warships took flight from Shinagawa offing the morning of 4 May. I had been very much worried by rumors of their flight a day or two ago, and now it is confirmed.⁴⁹ It is reported that all of the ships are anchored off the Chiba peninsula;⁵⁰ and have submitted a plea to the commander of the advance government army. The commander transmitted strict orders to Tayasu⁵¹ to recall the warships. Then the question was put to us as to whether to permit the Emperor to return to Kyoto. I replied that there is no reason why the Imperial return should not be delayed until after the report comes in from the commander-in-chief that the Kantō forces have offered to surrender. Gotō was present with me throughout the meeting.

At 1 I returned to my inn; and before 3 I visited Itō's inn in Edobori. Gotō also came; and we all went together by boat to Tempōzan. As the west wind was very strong, we hired a cargo-boat there, and selected stout boatmen capable of making headway against the rough sea. The surging waves poured into the boat three or four times; and most of those aboard turned pale. Everyone but me pressed to have the boat turn back to Tempōzan. I was unwilling to give up, however, and I ordered the boatmen to

⁴⁸ Yoshinobu was a son of the late Lord Tokugawa Nariaki of Mito.

⁴⁹ Enomoto Takeaki's fleet.

⁵⁰ Bōsō.

⁵¹ The responsible Bakufu official in the East, as noted.

continue toward a steamship. Finally, we managed to go aboard the steamship, whereupon the boatmen observed that we had had perhaps one chance in ten of surviving the rough seas today. At 7 we reached Kobe harbor, with the eight or nine men from our boat all sprawled out on deck. We landed in a driving rainstorm, and stayed the night at Tetsuya Yagorō's. Tonight twenty or thirty geisha from Yanagiwara came in.

14 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/22] In the morning I suffered from stomach pains which left me completely debilitated. About 10 I paid a visit to Lowder,⁵² the English consul. In the summer and fall of 1865, the Year of the Ox, Lesser Wood Sign, he often came to Shimonoseki; but since then we have gone our separate ways. After four years, to my surprise, I was able to meet him in this place as he has become consul here. On the way back I made the rounds of the shops of the foreign merchants, and at 1 I returned to Tetsuya's. At about 3 I rode with Hōbai in a carriage of Western manufacture to Minatogawa. Ryūtō came to join us later; and together we paid our respects at the tomb of Lord Kusunoki.⁵³

I returned to Kobe in the same vehicle with Ryūtō and Hōbai. Today's ride was my first in a Western-style horse carriage. The foreigners who accompanied us also came in carriages pulled by two horses, so all the people on this outing went from the city and back in two-horse carriages. We gave a dinner party this evening; and there was a good deal of merriment over drinks. All the guests became drunk except me. Because of my illness I was unable to imbibe. In the evening I went to Hōbai's inn to spend the night there with Gotō. As the guests who came with us all went off to the Yanagiwara, Hōbai's place was dark and quiet.

⁵² John Frederick Lowder had been English consul in Nagasaki in 1865. That year he was embroiled with the Bakufu when his Japanese language teacher and a servant were arrested by the Bakufu on charges of giving the English information on local political developments. In 1868 Lowder was consul for Hyogo and Osaka, after moving up from the office of vice-consul when Francis C. Myburg, the consul, died in January 1868. (Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 162, 338.)

⁵³ Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336) was the premier loyalist of all time in Japan. If he had seven lives, he would have given them all for his Emperor, he said. He supported Emperor Go-Daigo at the time of the Kemmu Restoration, 1333–1336, and after defeat by Ashikaga Takauji at Minatogawa in 1336 Kusunoki committed *seppuku* on the spot where his tomb was constructed. The Meiji government erected the Nankōsan shrine there in 1871. A visit to the tomb by a loyalist like Kido was appropriate.

15 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/23] I have not yet recovered from my illness. In the afternoon I went to the foreigners' shops with Gotō, and bought there a lancet,⁵⁴ two rattan stools, and two water glasses. At 3 I went to Hōbai's place where I and my companions on our forthcoming journey were served with Western food. We had a report that the English minister will bring his letter of credence to the new government in a few days. Tonight I stayed at Hōbai's place again.

16 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/24] Shortly before 10 we set sail (from Kobe) aboard a warship, and just before noon we reached the river mouth (in Osaka). There we requested two small boats, hoisted our sails, and made our way upriver against the current. The breeze was very light, so our boats made very slow progress. After 2 when we reached Ajigawa Bridge the wind suddenly shifted so that the boats could not make any progress at all, and we landed at a place in front of the remains of the Satsuma mansion. Gotō left us; Hiro'oka and his son and Kōnoike and his son made their separate ways back home; and I went back to my inn a little before 3. Old Ise⁵⁵ still has not recovered from his illness of several days ago, and remains in bed.

17 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/25] In the morning I went to the temporary palace for an audience with Prince Sanjō. I was also granted an audience by the Heir Apparent of Chōshū. The Magistrate⁵⁶ of the Nagasaki Court, Ōkuma Yatarō⁵⁷ of Hizen, appeared before Prince Sanjō and the Lord of Uwajima and, with Inoue Monta, made some proposals for disposing of the band of Christians at Urakami. I listened to their arguments, then set forth my own opinions:

The ringleaders should undergo severe punishment in Nagasaki,

⁵⁴ This foreign word in *katakana* appears to be "lancet," a surgical instrument. Kido, the son of a doctor, might well have acquired one.

⁵⁵ Ise Shōsu, who was mentioned previously.

⁵⁶ *Hanji*.

⁵⁷ Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838–1922) made his debut on the national stage as Japan's advocate in negotiations with the English over the Christian matter. Ōkuma was an upper-class samurai (400 *koku*) of Hizen; and he had also studied English, European history, and international law under Guido Verbeck, the Dutch Reformed church missionary from the United States. In Japan this made him a recognized authority on the West; and he was brought into the inner circles of government to deal with the Christian crisis when but thirty years of age.

while the remaining 3000 people in the party should be divided among the domains from Owari on west having 100,000 *koku* or more. The domain lords should be given the power of life or death over the Christians; yet should admonish them in a kind manner (to give up their belief), at the same time necessarily controlling their leaders. To sustain these people through seven years' exile, each should be given one and a half rations. Furthermore, I wonder if the government should not conduct a thorough investigation of areas infested by the Christians throughout the land. The people present agreed with my views.⁵⁸ Ōkuma went up to Kyoto tonight on orders from Prince Sanjō.

At 4 I paid a visit to Kusanagi, and we went out to the Chōshū military headquarters for an audience with the Heir Apparent. The Heir summoned Kusanagi and me to his chamber to serve us tea and cakes and to have a general discussion of national developments. He then presented us with some silk cloth and money; and we went to the office of the chief of the guard for saké and food. After 8 we withdrew to return to our inns.

18 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/26] This morning I went to Prince Sanjō's inn for an audience; and he inquired into my opinion on the situation in the Kantō and what will happen there. Yesterday the Chōshū Heir told me the reason why he plans to return to the home province; and I discussed the pros and cons of this matter at length with Prince Sanjō. He gave informal approval in his reply to me. I returned to my inn at 1.

A letter came from Inoue Iwami⁵⁹ yesterday. In the evening Ōshima Tomonojō came, and talked me into going to the Namba Bridge area with him. On the way back we stopped in at the Kawasa. The rain was pouring down when I returned to my inn after midnight.⁶⁰

19 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/27] In the morning the English Minister⁶¹ and . . . Satow⁶² went to Prince Sanjō's inn; and,

⁵⁸ But the government did not implement Kido's program exactly as he presented it.

⁵⁹ Satsuma samurai.

⁶⁰ The third *kō*, or watch—approximately the period between 12 and 2 a.m.

⁶¹ Harry Smith Parkes (1828–1885) had worked closely with Satsuma and Chōshū since his arrival in Japan as English Minister in 1865, and he covertly aided their revolution to overturn the Bakufu. In 1868, however, Parkes was known to Kido as a bombastic defender of English and foreign interests in Japan.

⁶² Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) was a young interpreter at the English legation.

as the Minister had asked the Lord of Uwajima yesterday that I be present for today's sessions, I joined them.

The discussion related to the revision of the text of the announcements on the government's public notice boards. Christianity has been strictly prohibited in our land for more than 200 years; and the notice boards have carried several different versions of the notice to that effect. Recently, however, the wording was shortened to a single line which read: "The Christian sect shall be strictly prohibited as heretofore." Moreover, in order to proclaim our friendship toward foreign countries, we stopped using the ideograph for "evil" in writing the compound word for Christian.⁶³ But Ōgo Yaemon⁶⁴ was called upon to rewrite the notices and in the process, he made a longer sentence of this. As had been true in the past, he inserted the phrase, "Even though it brings evil," beneath the compound ideograph for Christian (including an alternate ideograph which means "evil"), unbeknownst to us. The Imperial Secretary⁶⁵ then issued the proclamation; and it was published in the *Government Gazette*.⁶⁶ When the English Minister received a copy of this paper from Lord Higashikuze, the man took one look at it and flew into a towering rage, and came to Prince Sanjō today to protest. After Prince Sanjō responded to his protest in a general way, I explained in great detail that our government had already taken note of the mistake, so the English have no further basis for complaint.

When the meeting ended I visited Komatsu Tatewake, and in

He spoke Japanese fluently, having begun his study on arrival in Japan at the age of nineteen. His reminiscences, *A Diplomat in Japan* (London, 1921) provide a fascinating inside view of Japanese politics at the time of the Meiji Restoration. Satow knew Kido well; and the interpreter advised Parkes that he had hurt Kido's feelings during the negotiations.

⁶³ The compound for Christian was ordinarily written thus: 耶蘇, and pronounced *yaso*; but anti-Christian Japanese sometimes substituted for *ya* a homonym which carried connotations of "evil" as in this compound: 邪蘇. Beneath the altered word for Christian was the phrase: "*ja wo nasuto iedomo*": 雖爲邪, "although it is evil."

⁶⁴ A samurai of Oka domain in Bungo province. He was better known as Ogō Kazutoshi (b. 1827); and he had been a disciple of Maki Izumi, the Shinto priest from Kyushu famous for his loyalist ideological fervor and activism. Thirteen times during the Bakumatsu period Ogō had been jailed; and his intensity of feeling apparently carried over into the drafting of this anti-Christian notice. In 1868 he was a *Sanyo* who served as Deputy Magistrate, *Gonhanji*, in the Bureau of Home Affairs, *Naikoku Jimukyoku*.

⁶⁵ *Benji* 辨事, a position in the Chancellor's Office, *Sōsai-kyoku*, in the early Meiji government. The holder of the office was a court noble with the rank of *Sanyo*.

⁶⁶ *Nisshi*.

the evening returned to my inn. I had an appointment with Inoue Segai, so I went with Inoue, a Mr. Kane . . . , Mr. Kusanagi, Ozaki . . . , to the . . . On the way back I stopped in at the Kawasa, and from there returned to my inn with Mr. Ise. It was already past 2 a.m.

20 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/28] In the morning I prepared drafts of three proclamations to be announced before the Imperial return to Kyoto: 1) that His Majesty will travel to various parts of the country; 2) that after the Imperial return to Kyoto he will move into the Nijō Castle, and 3) that, hereafter, he will go to Naniwa frequently to govern the realm personally as conditions require. I also examined a proclamation on building a shrine in honor of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and tied my notes on that into a bundle.

Today I had an appointment with Gotō Shōjirō. In the evening several people arrived, so they accompanied us to his boat. There were five besides me: Itō Hōbai, Yoshi . . . , Gotō Shōjirō, and two Englishmen—Satow and Mitford.⁶⁷ Five or six geisha from the Minamikata section of town rode with us; and we sailed directly into the Higashiyokobori canal up to the Tomitarō. Today Ise paid his first visit to the Sakaitatsu in the Minamikata section since his recovery from illness; and from there he repeatedly sent messengers to summon me. After the two Englishmen left, I did go to the Sakaitatsurō to join him; but Ise had already gone to bed, so I looked for a *kago*⁶⁸ and returned home.

Gotō and I wrote *kyōshi*, comic verses in the Chinese style, today. Nakai⁶⁹ joined in, and replied to our poems.

21 May 1868 [Meiji 1/4/29] In the morning Niita Saburō⁷⁰ came to visit. I stayed home all day to write out fair copies of the

⁶⁷ Algernon Bertram Mitford (1837–1916) served as second secretary to the English legation. He was well-known to the Meiji leaders, since, like Satow, he was fluent in Japanese. Mitford has published his reminiscences of these years in his autobiography, *Memories* (2 vols., London, 1915).

⁶⁸ A common Japanese palanquin.

⁶⁹ Nakai Hiroshi (1838–1894), a Satsuma samurai, was involved in the negotiations with Harry Parkes as an official in the Foreign Ministry. In 1862 he had left Japan to spend two years studying in England and France. Later, he deserted his own domain for Tosa; and he had a hand in drafting the Tosa Lord's 1867 statement advising Yoshinobu to resign as Shogun, and was part of the delegation which presented it.

⁷⁰ Niita Yoshio (1839–1881), known as Niita Saburō in 1868, was a samurai from Kōriyama in Yamato province.

official proclamations. In the evening Moridera,⁷¹ Kiyo'oka, and Nagaoka Kenkichi of Tosa came. About 8 p.m. I went to the inn of the Heir of Chōshū for an audience. On the way back I stopped to visit Kashiwamura, but he was not home. I returned to my inn about midnight. Hori Shingorō and Inoue Yahachirō came. I wrote letters of introduction to Inoue Iwami and Hirosawa for them; and they took them up to Kyoto at once. I have been planning a trip to Ezo with them for some time; and finally today we came to a decision. I provided them with details of my plans.

Since my trip to Kobe the other day I have not felt well. Today the physician Naitō . . .

(Note) A man whom I had known fourteen years ago dropped in unexpectedly. We talked over old times and had several big laughs.

Intercalary Fourth Month

22 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/1] Today the English Minister, the English Admiral, captains, and several others, more than ten in all, brought congratulations to the Palace from their nation's queen on the restoration of Imperial rule for presentation to His Majesty. The ceremony ended at 1 p.m.

Today the festival was held at the Inari shrine¹ in the Chōshū mansion; and I went there with Hōbai for it. We called at Fujii Shichirōzaemon's, but his house was packed with guests, so I drank one cup of sakè, then left. We went on to Hōbai's inn, and travelled by boat up to the Kawasarō on the north side. I returned to my inn about 1 a.m.

Today I had a report from Shōgaku warning of a resurgence of strength by the remaining rebels in the Kantō. Shōgaku's strategy for dealing with the problem is generally the same as mine, differing only on the following points, as I replied:

"I agree with you on overall strategy, but I disagree with you strongly on one point—on your proposal to withdraw from Edo Castle. Before we had entered Edo Castle, it would have been all right to decide our movements in response to the actions of the rebels. For us to abandon Edo Castle and withdraw now after having occupied it would have a strong adverse effect on military morale on all fronts.² We should send out troops, using Edo Castle as our base, guard the Usui Pass and Kōfu, assemble our best soldiers to advance along the eastern road, extend our military position into the Hōkūrikudō by invading Echigo and Dewa, and press against the enemy lines from all sides. Then the remaining rebels

¹ Inari shrines were dedicated to the god of the five cereal crops. The first day of the horse in the fourth month was a festival day at Inari shrines, as was the first day of the horse in the second month.

² On 3 May 1868, when Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the last Shogun, agreed to terms, Edo Castle capitulated. Ten days later Prince Arisugawa Taruhito, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial armies, made a state entry into the city. (W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* [Stanford University Press, 1972], 298.)

⁷¹Moridera Taunenori, an aide to Iwakura.

will scatter as leaves before the wind. Let us vow not to leave Edo Castle. It is a principle universally acknowledged that an enemy cannot be subdued without fighting. Battles will bring about peace. I do not care to use weapons without good reason; but I do believe in 'killing one man to save a million lives.' "

23 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/2] Last night Lord Iwakura came down to Osaka from Kyoto. This morning at 6 a general government conference³ was held at Prince Sanjō's inn. Present were the two Deputy Chancellors,⁴ Chief State Councilor⁵ Nakayama, Chamberlain Karasumaru, Chamberlain the Lord of Uwajima, Nagaoka Sakyōnosuke, and me. We decided that the Emperor should return to Kyoto before long now that Yoshinobu has submitted and Edo Castle has been subdued. While some of the rebels have not yet been put down, it is the Imperial intention to move out to Edo immediately when the rebel situation warrants. Gotō Shōjirō also came to join us.

At 10 a.m. Prince Sanjō and several others went out to the English warship; and the firing of the salute to him resounded through the streets of Naniwa. Tonight I had an appointment with Lord Yōdō,⁶ so I went to the Tosa mansion at Nishihama in Nagabori. It was my first audience with Lord Yōdō. The Lord of Uwajima also came. I have not yet recovered from my illness of recent days, so I could drink but little. Shōjirō and Takechi Yasoe, the Tosa domain mansion manager, were in attendance on their lord. At 10 I returned to my inn.

24 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/3] In the morning I went to Prince Sanjō's inn, to which the English Minister and his party paid an official visit today. Present to meet them in the reception room were the two Deputy Chancellors—Sanjō and Iwakura, Prince Yamashina, the Lord of Uwajima, Lord Bōjō, Gotō Shōjirō, Ōkuma Yatarō as well as two other officials of the Foreign

³ *Daikaigi*.

⁴ Sanjō Sanetomi and Iwakura Tomomi.

⁵ *Dainagon*.

⁶ Yōdō is the *gō*, or pen name, of Yamanouchi Toyoshige (1827–1872) who served as daimyō of Tosa from 1848 to 1859. He was punished for criticizing the Shogun's foreign policy, and forced to retire in 1859, but continued to be one of the most important political figures in late Tokugawa times. After the Restoration he held several offices in the Meiji government, but was not regarded as an effective administrator.

Ministry, Segai, Hōbai, and me—twelve in all. We engaged in a long debate, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., over three problems—delaying the opening of the port in Echigo,⁷ delaying the opening of the port of Naniwa (which the old Bakufu promised to make an open port) and of the city of Edo, and the Nagasaki Christian matter. The negotiations lasted so long because we refused to yield our position. Ōkuma argued our case with particular enthusiasm.

Ogasawara Tadahachi⁸ of Tosa arrived to report hard fighting by the government armies in the Kantō on May 8, 9, and 10; and he brought rumors of dissension between the two government armies. Ogasawara Tadahachi proposed to Lord Iwakura, therefore, that the Hizen man, Etō Shimpei⁹ (whom I assisted and concealed in Kyoto in 1862, the Year of the Dog, when he fled his own domain because of his loyalist views), be ordered to serve as a Levied Samurai, or *Chōshi*, and assigned as Military Magistrate, or *Gunkan*, attached to the Commander-in-chief, and it was so decided. The decision was also made to alter the title of Prince Commander-in-Chief to that of Commander-in-Chief of the Edo Garrison and of the Aizu Expeditionary Force (in the light of Yoshinobu's surrender), and that the Lord of Bizen should become Deputy Commander of the Edo Garrison and Chief of the Guard. The Chōshū Heir's leave to return home was approved informally, as was my trip to Nagasaki (Inoue Segai and Shinagawa Sokyō¹⁰ put forth this proposal on the basis of the situation in our province). (I will be able to return home on the way.) After 6 I withdrew from the government chamber.

⁷ Niigata.

⁸ Ogasawara Tadahachi (1829–1868) was a Tosa loyalist who had probably met Kido in Kyoto in 1862. At the time of the diary entry Ogasawara had just returned from a reconnaissance mission to the East under orders from Deputy Chancellor Sanjō. Later the same year, on 29 September 1868, Ogasawara, who had become Senior Military Magistrate with the Imperial expeditionary force, was killed by an enemy bullet at Aizu Castle.

⁹ Etō Shimpei (1834–1874) was a lower samurai from Hizen domain. As a loyalist partisan he had gone to Kyoto in 1862 without the permission of his lord, and was ordered into domiciliary confinement when apprehended. Not until 1867 was he pardoned. As Military Magistrate in Edo in 1868 he supervised civil administration and public finance. Later, in 1872, he became Justice Minister, but after resigning in the dispute over the plan to invade Korea in 1873 he became embittered toward the central government. As leader of the Saga rebellion of 1874, he died a rebel, and was pilloried.

¹⁰ Sokyō is the pen name of Yamagata Aritomo. Kido probably meant to write Shinagawa Yajirō.

Today at noon I had an appointment for a dinner . . . at the Seitokuji; and I hurried there by *kago* directly from the government chambers to visit with fellow guests Ise Shōsu, Kusanagi Ryūtō, Nagayasu Wasō, Ozaki . . . , and three or four other acquaintances who are Buddhist priests. We took our leave at 8 p.m. to go to the Kyōkyūrō for a few drinks. I returned to my inn by boat at 2 a.m. Only Shōsu stayed overnight at the teahouse. In the night, heavy rain.

25 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/4] This morning Nawa Yurumi,¹¹ who arrived in Osaka yesterday, came to seek my counsel about himself. So I gave him advice. I had an appointment with Gotō Shōjirō; and after 12 he came over to visit me. He strongly argued that the government should employ and promote able men regardless of their rank. I had been opposed to his proposal; therefore a heated argument ensued. I have always contended that able men are hard to find. Once a man is promoted to office, it is harmful in the political sense to remove him abruptly; so I am wary of appointing the man casually. When we are unable to give full confidence to the man whom we have selected, no advantage will come from having him in the position. Of course everyone agrees that if there is a right man, he should be appointed. Therefore it would be fine to appoint a man whose ability we know well. If we should select an inept man, this system of promotion would be a disservice to the nation, contrary to its purpose; so I argued the necessity for finding the able man.

In the midst of the discussion a letter arrived from Shōgaku who says that the Lord of Owari has requested that Lord Saionji be dispatched to the battle front in the Tōhoku. At 1 p.m. I went to the government office to report this to Prince Sanjō. He then ordered Lord Saionji¹² to take command of the Second Army, with Nagaoka Sakyōnosuke as his deputy; and the Prince was given the rank of Chamberlain.

Today I had an invitation to go to Kobe with Hiro'oka, so at 5 p.m. I went to the Sakaitatsurō to meet him. The other two men

¹¹ Nawa Yurumi (Kan) was an aide to Iwakura Tomomi. The character, *tsuna*, which appears in the diary is similar to *nawa*; and this seems to refer to Nawa Yurumi.

¹² Saionji Kimochi (1849–1940), a court noble, thus became a general at the age of nineteen, with a command on the Echigo front. In 1871 he went to France to study, with Kido's strong encouragement, for a decade. Saionji returned to Japan to become prime minister twice, and to be the last *Genrō*.

along on the Kobe trip were Shōsu and Kōnoike Ichibei. Our banquet was served in the Chinese style. The table service was unusually attractive; and our meat and cakes were exceptional. At 11 p.m. I returned to my inn.

26 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/5] At 4 o'clock, just at dawn, I heard someone banging on my front gate; and it turned out to be Yamagata Sokyō¹³ and Fukuda Yūyū¹⁴—the two of them. They had sailed back from Edo with Saigō.¹⁵ They report that the headquarters of the Kantō Commander has split into two factions—one arguing for lenient treatment of the enemy and gradual application of punishments, the other for speedy and harsh disposal of him, so the two men pressed me to hurry to Kyoto to assist Saigō in resolving this problem. I learned of Saigō's views from them, and I concur with them; I differ from him a bit only on the matter of the warships, and the two men who carried the message follow my opinion in regard to the warships. I had already decided to return to my home province; so we had a long and exhaustive discussion as to whether the more critical situation lies in the East or in the West. We finally decided that it is more important that I should go West—that I should go back to Chōshū with Fukuda Yūyū.

At 8 a.m. I went to the government offices for an audience with Prince Sanjō, and I told him about the situation in the Kantō. I passed along the two men's reports on the furious fighting in which the government army was engaged between 11 and 15 May and on the ultimate recapture of Utsunomiya. All the domains

¹³ Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922) was a lower samurai from Chōshū domain. He attended the Shōka Sonjuku, the academy of Yoshida Shōin, the ideologist of Emperor loyalism, in Hagi in 1855. In 1863 he became a staff officer for the Kiheitai, the legendary Chōshū army of irregulars recruited in part from outside the samurai class. After the Restoration, Yamagata became the father of the modern Japanese army. Sokyō was a pen name.

¹⁴ Yūyū is a pen name for Fukuda Kyōhei (1829–1868), another Chōshū samurai who served with the Kiheitai. He fought with the Imperial Army which smashed the Bakufu forces at Fushimi in January 1868; and he distinguished himself during the Eastern expedition of the government forces. Later in 1868 he died of illness, not yet forty.

¹⁵ Saigō Takamori (1828–1877), as chief of staff for the Imperial forces fighting in the Kantō, had just negotiated the surrender of Edo Castle. With Kido and Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō is regarded as one of the "three heroes of the Restoration." He was a samurai from Satsuma domain; and in 1866 had negotiated the secret Satsuma-Chōshū alliance with Kido in Kyoto to make the Restoration possible.

mains involved competed to be given the vanguard position, which finally was assigned to Satsuma; Chōshū and Ōgaki were in the second wave, while Tosa and Inaba men were in the third. The Satsuma vanguard took part in some especially heavy fighting, and suffered more than forty casualties.

While at the office I saw a letter which had been sent to Prince Sanjō from Hikone, reporting that in the fighting of 11 May Hikone casualties were very heavy, and that Itakura Katsukiya¹⁶ and his son were cut down at Utsunomiya Castle.¹⁷ Itakura and his son were not the leading traitors among Bakufu vassals, so it is most unfortunate that they should have met this fate. Not since the Keichō era (1596–1614) has a feudal lord died at the hands of an enemy from outside his domain. As I thought about the matter I recalled that the ancestors of the two men served as Shogun's Representative, or *Shoshidai*,¹⁸ in Kyoto, and completely dominated the Imperial family. I fear that their deaths are the products of old animosities over this. I withdrew from the chambers at 5 p.m. On the road home I paid a visit to Hōbai, as well as to Sokyō and Yūyū; and at dusk I returned to my inn. Hōbai pressed me to go out on the town with him by boat. Taking along Shōsu, we went to the Tomitarō to stay for the night. We enjoyed drinking with Nakai Kōzō and the French Consul at that teahouse.

27 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/6] In the morning I paid a visit to Komatsu to discuss with him the purpose of the Chōshū Heir's request for leave, as Chōshū is in alliance with Satsuma. Yamagata Sokyō came to visit, bringing me some high-quality linen cloth as a present from the Kantō. The proposal for the Chōshū Heir's return home has stirred up some controversy; and I ran around all day defending it. Yesterday I sent a long letter to Saigō in regard to the Kantō; and today I dispatched a letter to Shōgaku about the decision for my return to Chōshū.

¹⁶ The report of his death was false. Itakura Katsukiyo (1823–1889) was a particularly close adviser to Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu, and had served as Elder, or *Rōjū*, in the Bakufu government in 1862–1864 and in 1865–1868. He was a *fudai* daimyō at Matsuyama (50,000 *koku*) in Bitchū province. Itakura was prominent in 1862–1863 as the Elder in charge of settling the Namamugi Incident with the British; and he was the defeated commander in the Battles of Toba and Fushimi in January 1868.

¹⁷ Utsunomiya was the castletown of the Toda family (78,000 *koku*), located 69 miles (109 kilometers) north of Tokyo.

¹⁸ One of two Residents maintained in Kyoto by the Tokugawa Shogunate. Communications from the Emperor to the outside world had to pass through them.

I was summoned to appear before the Emperor, and received the following orders: “Kido Junichirō¹⁹: Whereas a crisis has developed over the handling of the Christian believers in the Nagasaki area, you are hereby ordered to take charge of the matter, and to depart for the city posthaste.” At 5 p.m., I withdrew from the government chambers, and proceeded to the Kikkawa mansion, then to the Chōshū military headquarters for an audience with the Heir Apparent. The Lord of Sanuki and the Heir of Iwakuni were also on hand; so I joined them for several cups of saké. At 8 p.m., I returned to my inn.

28 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/7] I went to the Temporary Palace at 6 a.m., the Hour of the Hare. The weather was splendid for the Emperor's return to Kyoto. To my surprise I received orders to accompany him to Kyoto, but I entrusted this responsibility to Komatsu and Gotō, commenting that I must refuse it because I have prior orders to leave for Nagasaki. Matsumoto Teizō, Nakamura Yoshinosuke, and Akagawa Keizō arrived in Osaka, with a mission to clear up the suspicion that prevails owing to the lack of communication between Chōshū and the Kyoto-Osaka area.

Yamagata Kyōsuke happened by; and we discussed internal and external problems at some length, concluding that bringing stability to our domain of Chōshū is an urgent matter. The three men went to the Chōshū military headquarters. I discussed strategy with Kyōsuke, and made decisions of future policy. Kyōsuke then left. At noon Komatsu came; and we discussed the return of the Heir and my own return to our home province; and my departure has been set back a day.

At 1 p.m., the Hour of the Sheep, I went to Ueda Saburōemon's for dinner. Fellow guests were Ise Shōsu, Hiro'oka Kyūemon, Kōnoike Ichibei, Fujii Shichirōemon, Nagayasu Wasō, and Ozaki. . . . At dusk all of us moved over to the Kawasarō. Yamagata Kyōsuke and Matsumoto Teizō came to visit me there. Kyōsuke was on his way to Kyoto and to Echigo, so he came to take my leave. We discussed how we could make clear to Satsuma the real intent of the Heir's and my own return home to Chōshū.

¹⁹ Kido Jun'ichirō was the named used by the author of the diary from 1866 to 1869, when he became Kido Takayoshi.

Kyōsuke took a fan out and requested my calligraphy on his departure, so I produced two lines with brush as a farewell gift:

Men of the world do not know the traveller's purpose

One warrior alone through the spring rains.

Teizō left with him. About 3 a.m., in the Fourth Watch, I returned to my inn.

29 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/8] In the morning Inoue Segai came, as did Matsumoto Teizō. Matsumoto said that he had gone before the Heir of Chōshū yesterday to tell him about the situation at home. At 11 a.m. I went to the Chōshū military headquarters where we discussed the matter of sending home one of the Chamberlains and the government official Kunisada, but did not reach a decision on the matter. Consequently, we requested that the Heir Apparent himself decide. At 3 p.m. I withdrew from the council; and, on the way home, I paid a visit to Ōshima Jisui. At 5 I returned to my inn. I had contended that the order concerning those to be attached to me for the Nagasaki trip was unreasonable, so Inoue Sōemon came to justify it. This evening my servant, Raikichi, returned here from Kyoto. When I first came down to Osaka, he was ill, and unable to accompany me. A letter arrived from Hirosawa; and enclosed in it were letters from Mihori Shunkō, Tokiyama Naohachi, and Priest Zen-shin.

(Note) The two letters from Mihori, dated 20 April and . . . April were delayed in arriving.

30 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/9] In the morning I did more than ten pieces of calligraphy on rice paper and forty sheets of . . . At 10 a.m. I went by boat to visit the Koike Lodge in the Tennōji temple by appointment. Guests who sailed together in the boat included Shōsu, Fujii Shichirōzaemon, Nagayasu Wasō, Hiro'oka Kyūemon, Kōnoike Zen'emon, Kōnoike Ichibei, and Ozaki—besides me. It rained last night, but finally the skies cleared up. While we were seated in the tea pavilion, however, it rained again, making the bluegreen moss and the green trees glisten with color.

Komatsu Tatewake's letters came in from Kyoto, telling me that the government has decided that I should go West tomorrow. The decision on whether or not to grant leave to the Chōshū

Heir Apparent will be made today or tomorrow. I believe that my efforts of recent days have finally borne fruit. The situation in the nation is uneasy, however; and whether the Heir goes or stays hinges largely on the seriousness of the crisis. I simply hope that future developments will not force us to disregard our agreement. After making an agreement with Lords Sanjō and Iwakura and the Satsuma Regent, Shimazu Hisamitsu, breaking it would be most unfortunate. The fate of the nation depends on the maintenance of unity among them. I tied up the letters which came in from Kyoto, and sent them off to Chamberlain Kashiwamura. At dusk we took our leave. We went together to the Sakaitatsurō, where Hiro'oka Kyū'emon, Fukubara Kyōhei, Sasaki, and some others were already seated. At dawn I returned to my inn.

31 May 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/10] In the morning Ōshima Jisui, Hiro'oka Kyūemon, Kōnoike Ichibei and his son, and Ueda . . . came. The Lord of Tsūshima²⁰ presented me with a tiger skin yesterday on the occasion of my trip to the West. I left my residence at 11, took a short break in Nishinomiya, and arrived in Kobe after 7 p.m. to stay the night at Tetsuya's. Segai had already been there, and had gone on to Hyōgo with Hōbai and caught up with them. Today I met Glover and Mackenzie²¹ in the Kobe station. Glover spied me in my palanquin, and came over to inquire after me.

1 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/11] In the morning I went to the Glover Trading Company; and I chanced to meet Godai Saisuke²² there, as well as Joseph Heco.²³ I talked with Glover

²⁰ The domain of Tsūshima, made up of several islands, lay to the west of Chōshū, offshore about midway between Japan and Korea. Chōshū had a particularly close relationship with Tsūshima, and Kido, as Chōshū's chief diplomat in relations with other domains, often negotiated with Tsūshima officials and loyalists.

²¹ A British merchant who had been the Jardine, Matheson and Company agent in Nagasaki, 1859–1861, but who was associated in business with Glover in 1868.

²² He was later known as Godai Tomoatsu (1834–1885), an early Meiji bureaucrat, and later a private entrepreneur. As a Satsuma samurai official he had purchased foreign warships for his domain before the Restoration, and he had arranged for men of his domain to study in England in 1865.

²³ To Westerners he was known as Joseph Heco because he published an autobiography in English under that name, but Kido called him Hikozō in the diary. His Japanese name was Hamada Hikozō (1837–1897). He had obtained American citizenship during his years in the United States, 1850–1859, after being rescued from

about leasing a warship, and he assented; but we have not yet concluded the negotiations for a contract. I did make an appointment for further discussions of the matter in Naniwa. This is in connection with the Chōshū Heir's return home. I also talked with the Chōshū Heir's return home. I also talked with Joseph Heco about affairs of his trading company as I want to involve Fujii and Yoshimatsu in its work. I met a Tosa man . . . and a Chikuzen man. . . .

Today Glover showed me a Yokohama newspaper which carried two articles on the defeat of the Imperial army. These are unreliable, so we need not bewail the matter. There was an earlier report that Satsuma troops of the Imperial army had advanced on Hachiman. I am a bit worried about the fighting near Edo, so I dispatched letters to Komatsu, Saigō, Ōkubo, Gotō, and Hirosawa. My main point was that we should mobilize our elite troops to drive out the remaining rebels as soon as possible, then issue reasonable orders on the disposition of the Tokugawa family and other matters. The war in the Kantō provides the best vehicle for realizing the aims of the Imperial Restoration. But, if we postpone action, losing our opportunity, we shall not have a second chance; therefore, I proposed that we develop a basic plan for national strength and enduring peace without dwelling too much on details. I made six or seven other points²⁴:

1. The ironclad warship. Some suggest that we pay \$500,000 in order to take possession of it. This we must not do. The old Bakufu government has already paid out \$400,000, leaving a balance of only \$100,000. The present government has a right to take possession of things which the old government ordered as a matter of course in light of the fact that the present government has already paid some of the debts incurred by the former government.²⁵

shipwreck by an American ship captain. Hamada Hikoō had returned to Japan as interpreter at the United States consulate, then became a journalist and a businessman. He had contacts with Kido at Nagasaki in 1866–1867 when Kido was there to buy arms for Chōshū.

²⁴ In the original diary these seven points are in characters half the size of the remainder.

²⁵ The ship was the *Stonewall*, a onetime Confederate ship, which the Bakufu had purchased from the United States government. "The American authorities then turned over to the Japanese Government a war steamer which the Shogun had previously purchased in the United States but which on its arrival at Yokohama had been retained by the American authorities in order that it might not be used by the Shogun's

2. On sending steam warships to Echigo. As the time limit for opening the port of Niigata has already passed, and negotiations have not been conducted to postpone the opening, five or six warships should be dispatched there quickly to establish control over Niigata in accordance with the international rules for open ports in wartime, at the same time aiding the Imperial army.

3. Imperial Orders to Hizen and Higo. Hizen and Higo have not yet fought for the Imperial cause; indeed, they have long been uncertain whether to put their efforts on the side of the Imperial government or of the Bakufu. Many Higo retainers, in fact, have worked on behalf of the Bakufu in the past. If these domains of whom the whole nation is doubtful fight courageously on the side of the Imperial army at this time, we can at once establish unity and overwhelm the rebels. That is why I propose this plan.

4. The money question. No official in the government has more expertise on economic matters than Mitsuoka Hachirō.²⁶ He is worried about the large gap between the nominal and the real value of our circulating currency; and he is awaiting the proper time to carry out a major reform of it. At present, however, a number of domains have been reduced to extreme poverty; and, if a major attack is launched against the enemy, they will expand in the hundreds of thousands overnight. I request, therefore, that a viable policy be developed for the broadscale loan of money and rice.

5. The flag question. I request that a single Imperial flag be adopted for the government forces, both the army and the navy.

6. Reduction of the number of attendants on feudal lords. Even

party to oppose the Restoration." (Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* [Reprint, Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1963], 404.) Fukuzawa Yukichi, who was in on the Bakufu negotiations, remained convinced that Japan had paid "twofold" for the vessel. When Yuri Kimimasa, Finance Minister in the Meiji government, told Fukuzawa how much trouble it was to raise money to pay the United States, "I let him know that the former government had paid in full, and that there was a balance still left in Washington." (Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Autobiography* [revised translation, Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1960], 168–169.)

²⁶ Mitsuoka shortly afterwards adopted the name of Yuri Kimimasa (1829–1909). In Echizen domain he had been an able samurai-statesman under Lord Matsudaira Yoshinaga, having set up an arsenal and promoted other modernization projects. In the new Meiji government, Yuri was a short-lived Finance Minister who did issue the first paper currency, but who was not quite the economic expert that Kido confidently predicted he would be. Yuri also drafted the Charter Oath of Five Articles in 1868 (revised slightly by Kido), and served as Governor of Tokyo in 1871.

though a lord may possess a domain producing a mere 100,000 to 200,000 *koku*,²⁷ he travels with several hundred men in his entourage, which impoverishes his domain. In the age of peace all of the lords have developed the bad practice of putting on airs. Having reduced themselves to penury through their vain, pompous display, they are unable at this time of national crisis to render service to the nation. Must we not lament such a state of affairs? I have, therefore, requested an edict limiting large domains to sixty or seventy retainers, medium domains to forty or fifty, and small domains to ten or perhaps twenty or thirty. I have previously petitioned for this; but I am urging it on the government again.

7. A Proclamation. The rebels under false pretenses now occupy the land which His Majesty should rule, and they bring suffering to the people. Many lords are playing a double game, so let the fact that the highest loyalty²⁸ lies with the Emperor be proclaimed and notice be given that, in time, after a careful investigation, we intend to punish those who have ignored the proclamation.

If the current situation prevails for another year, that the Realm will be reduced to poverty goes without saying, and in the end Imperial rule cannot be established. We must make every effort not to lose the opportunity which we have for decisive action today.

I sent a letter to Kashiwamura at the Chōshū military headquarters in regard to negotiations for leasing the warship from Glover. I sent a letter to Fujii Shichizaemon to argue the case for Joseph Heco's trading company; I want him to go into it along with Yoshimatsu Heishirō. After 4 I went to Hōbai's inn where we ate beef and drank some foreign liquor. Eight or nine years ago at the Yūbikan²⁹ in the Chōshū mansion in Edo, with the same Hōbai, I first ate some beef given us by Akane Chūsuke, but the taste was terrible. Therefore I had never eaten beef cooked in a Japanese way since then until today. This fresh meat was completely different from that which we ate the other time. Although I have been invited to dinners several dozen times by

²⁷ A *koku* was 5.12 American bushels of rice. Domains were rated by *koku* of rice production until their abolition in 1871.

²⁸ *Taigi*.

²⁹ The Yūbikan was the school for Chōshū samurai on duty in Edo. Kido served as principal of it from 1860 to 1862.

foreigners, because their preparation of the meat is different, I do not notice the offensive odor. I visited Segai; and with Hōbai we went to a certain teahouse in Hyogo.

2 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/12] At 9 a.m. I boarded the warship which is the same one I took earlier from Naniwa to Kobe. Its name is the *Kureperu*,³⁰ and its captain is a man of Echi.³¹ The wind was strong; and the sea rough; but after 12 p.m. we finally passed through the Akashi Straits, and in the distance saw Takamatsu Castle. At dawn we reached the Mitarai offing in Aki province. Passengers aboard the ship include Segai, Yūyū, Matsumoto Teizan, Fukubara Han of Chōfū, Kusanagi Ryūtō, Segai's wife, plus more than ten personal servants, Daikichi's younger brother, and . . . whom Fukubara brought along to visit me yesterday, and is today one of those aboard ship.

3 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/13] The sea was very calm. About 10 a.m. the weather cleared up; and shortly before 12 we passed Kaminoseki, and saw in the distance a steam warship sailing by. After 3 we anchored at Tatsugakuchi,³² and landed at once. I went to the Doiroku Inn, to which place Yamada Ichinojō, Yamamoto Jū, and Komai Sei came. I heard that Shinagawa Yajirō, Nomura Yasushi, Minami Tei, and Sakuma Sei had gone up to the capital provinces aboard the *Heienkan*, so the steamship which we saw off Kaminoseki was probably theirs. At night I went to pay my respects at the shrine to the war dead, the *Shōkonjō*,³³ then with Kusanagi and Fukuda I went to visit Sadanaga Yū,³⁴ at whose place we prepared tea, drank saké, and discussed the arts. (We examined one of the

³⁰ This is a phonetic reading of a foreign name which is given in the *katakana* syllabary in the diary.

³¹ He could be from Echizen, Etchū, or Echigo, but probably the latter since the port of Niigata was located in Echigo.

³² Literally "Dragon's Mouth," at the entry to Mitajiri (now known as Bōfu), the port city for Yamaguchi castletown which lay inland in Chōshū.

³³ One of several shrines in honor of those who sacrificed their lives in the Imperial cause at the time of the Meiji Restoration. The most famous of the *Shōkonjō* was the Yasukuni shrine at Kudanshita in Tokyo.

³⁴ Sadanaga Shōsuke (1832–1892) had retired from the family's salt business to devote himself to poetry and calligraphy in Mitajiri. An interested observer as a loyalist in national politics, he had sheltered Kido and Takasugi Shinsaku from time to time in the Bakumatsu period.

picture scrolls of country gardens in ten provinces, in the series painted by Chikuden³⁵ and Shunkin.) At 12 midnight I returned to my inn. Today aboard the warship I took a nap, feeling a cold coming on. This evening I heard that Maebara has recently assumed his duties in the central government, and that Nomura Uchū has been employed by the government.

4 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/14] In the morning I visited Yamada Ichinojō.³⁶ Borrowing a horse from the Seibutai, I rode out to return to Yamaguchi castletown. On the way I visited Mihori,³⁷ and asked him about the source of the dissidence which prevails in Chōshū toward the capital over matters within the domain and outside it. Some conflicts were caused by lack of communication and others because of difference of opinions. But when I talked over the whole situation with him in detail, he began to understand my position. Mihori said that although he has been out of government, in seclusion at his home, since April, he intended to return to his office for the time being for my sake. I do not wish him to assume the duties temporarily. So we could not come to terms, but I left his place because I did not wish to press him too strongly all at once.

I went directly from there to the Domain Office. The people at the Office seem to be completely unaware of the reasons for my return to Chōshū. Since the beginning of the year several letters in the Lord's own hand have been sent from Chōshū. Misunderstanding between Chōshū and the central government weighed

³⁵ Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835), artist from Fukuoka, was a special favorite of Kido, who owned many scroll paintings by him. Chikuden belonged to the Southern Sung School of landscape painters. He had been an associate of Rai Sanyō, whose popular histories with an Emperor loyalist point of view Kido had read—a link which might account for Kido's fondness for Chikuden paintings.

³⁶ Ichinojō is the early popular name of Yamada Akiyoshi (1844–1892), a Chōshū soldier-statesman who was particularly close to Kido. Yamada had studied at Yoshida Shōin's school in 1857, participated in the major military actions leading to the Restoration, and distinguished himself later as Minister of Justice and in the establishment of a new legal code for Japan. Yamada was commander of the Seibutai, a farmer-soldier unit, which provided Kido's horse for the ride from Mitajiri to Yamaguchi.

³⁷ Mihori Kōsuke (1841–1871) was a Chōshū samurai who was particularly close to the Lord and his Heir. Mihori served the Chōshū Heir Apparent as Page, or *Kinji*, as early as 1862; and he rose to the rank of Councilor, or *Sansei*, in 1867. In Edo he studied swordsmanship with Saitō Atsunobusai who was also Kido's swordmaster. Mihori had taken part in the Chōshū attack on the Kyoto palace in 1864; and he had commanded a force against the Bakufu armies in 1865. After going to Europe in 1869, Mihori died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty. His pen name was Shunkō.

heavily on my heart, so I made a great effort to obtain permission from the central government to return to Yamaguchi. The Heir Apparent of Chōshū will also return in a few days; but today it seems as if I made the effort for nothing. After a while, a chamberlain came to tell me that the Lord had summoned me, so with a retainer from the Executive Bureau, or *Gondōkyoku*, I went before His Excellency; and I reported to him on the great need for unity today when we are in a precarious situation, lest our great opportunity be lost. The Lord understood my position, and the government officials did not disagree. I withdrew from his chambers at 5 to return to my home. Nakayama Sumi and Suzuki Nao came to the house; and my wife joined us for saké. At 10 p.m. we went to bed.

5 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/15] Callers throughout the day. Fujita Yojiemon, Hattori Han, Obata Heizan,³⁸ Takeda Yū, and Hayashi Hanshichi³⁹ came by. At night both Shunkō and Yūyū came. We discussed the current problem at length, and I again advocated that Shunkō take up office. It is half agreed upon, but two or three aspects remain to be decided. To bed with the two.

6 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/16] Throughout the day callers came without end. Oka Yoshi, Takeda Yū, and others arrived. Today, because of my illness, I could not go out.

7 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/17] The house was crowded with guests. At 10 a.m. Nomura Yahachi came to report that the Chōshū Heir had arrived at Mitajiri. At 4 p.m. I went up to the Domain Office for an audience with the Lord. I told him about the situation in the Imperial Government and in the major domains, explained why the great lords should do their utmost for the Imperial Government following the principle of *taigi*

³⁸ Heizan is the pen name of Obata Takamasa (1817–1906), a Chōshū samurai. Like Kido he studied swordsmanship in Hagi with Naitō, served the domain in both Edo and Kyoto in the 1850s and 1860s, and held military commands in the wars of the Meiji Restoration. Afterwards he served in local government in Yamaguchi Prefecture and elsewhere; and in 1876 returned to Hagi to develop the *natsu mikan*, the sour summer tangerine, as an important crop.

³⁹ Hanshichi is the early name of Hayashi Tomoyuki (1823–1907), a Chōshū samurai who became an important Home Ministry official.

meibun—that the highest loyalty of all should be to the Emperor—lest we lose the opportunity before us, and discussed the urgency of the Lord's visit to Kyoto. Today the Kokura envoy, Shimamura, had an audience with the Lord. Akagawa Keizō and Nakamura Hōzō have returned from Kyoto; and I met them at the Bureau of the Chamberlains, or *Jigyo-kyoku*. I took my departure from the castle after 5.

I called on Ōtsu, but he was out. At noon today Ogawa Ichi and Kawano Tome came. Kawano Tome has received orders to proceed from Hagi to Echigo on board the *Boshinkan*. He is anxious for the arrival of that Satsuma warship; and so he came to report that to me and returned to Hagi today.

I returned home in the evening. I wrote a letter to send to Fukuda Yūyū. Suspicion is rife among the people here. Even at a time like this people are tireless in making their petty complaints; and I grieve that there is so much dissidence in my Chōshū. As I observe the fickleness of the people, I am deeply concerned about whether we can carry into effect the great undertaking of the Restoration. As I was so overwhelmed with emotion, I wrote a poem of twenty-eight characters and sent it along with the letter to Old Yūyū. Just at that moment the threatening clouds lowered to surround me with darkness; and the gloom enveloped both Heaven and Earth so that I could not distinguish between East and West.

Just as in the world of men,
So, in the season of the yellow jasmine⁴⁰
Whether it will be cloudy or clear one can never know.
Amidst the clouds of suspicion which now prevail,
I am anxious lest we miss the opportunity of seven hundred years.

8 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/18] Fukuda Kyōhei⁴¹ came; and we discussed the current situation, finding a great number of deplorable things about it. Before noon the Chōshū Heir returned to his mansion in Yamaguchi; and I paid respects to his procession from afar in front of the Tokuyama mansion. After

⁴⁰ "Flower which welcomes spring—." The *Ōbai* is a symbol of a beginning.

⁴¹ The same man as Fukuda Yūyū, mentioned earlier.

3 p.m. I visited Heizan. Old Obata was there; and we had a few drinks. Today I met Suzuki Hikonoshin's daughter who had come in from Edo with the mother of Yamada, her husband, and with their child. She said that she had decided to come West because of the uncertainty of things in the Kantō. After 7 p.m. I returned to my house. Yoshitomi came, and stayed overnight, then left. Today I received a gift of carp from the Domain Lord.

9 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/19] In the morning the master *tsuba* craftsman Terado Ichirō came. I requested him to do metalwork in gold for my small sword and dagger. He brought a sketch for metal work to be done in silver for my long sword. I also entrusted him with making *menuki*⁴² hilt ornaments in the shape of deer and *tsuba* for both the small and the large swords and to design an ornament of horses and deer for the end of the scabbard, the *kojiri*. Several days ago I had also asked him to make me a *tsuba* with paulownia flower design.

After 10 I went to the Domain Executive Chamber or *Sei-jidō* where the Lord ordered me to be his envoy to Mihori Shunkō, so I visited Mihori and brought him back to the Chamber. The Lord and his Heir summoned Shunkō to admonish him for his withdrawal from political activity and to make known their wish that he should exert himself more in the future in important affairs of the nation. Shunkō had retired from political activity for personal reasons, and today he went up to the Chamber for the first time since the beginning of the year. At 5 p.m. I left and went to visit the site of Old Yamada Seizan's place⁴³ and passed by the homes of Kakinami and Hattori. I had drinks with them and a round of *go* with Kakinami (a draw). From there I went to pay a visit at the inn of Kusanagi Ryūtō; and at 8 returned to my home. Yesterday I had invited Heizan and his wife

⁴² The *menuki* is placed on the hilt above the rivet which attaches the hilt to the sword blade.

⁴³ Seizan is the pen name of Yamada Uemon (1813–1867), Kido's mentor in Chōshū domain politics. A specialist in military science, Yamada had served at Uraga in defense against Perry in 1854 (when Kido was a young samurai on duty there); and Yamada had later taught in the Chōshū Domain Military Academy. From 1862 onward he held a variety of important political posts, and was the senior Councilor, or *Nansai*, in 1865–1867 when he collaborated with Kido on major political reforms in Chōshū. Yamada died of illness in late 1867, on the eve of the Meiji Restoration.

and the daughters of Yamada and Suzuki over for tonight. We had some sakè, then I went to bed.

10 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/20] Heavy rain. Heizan's party came over, then at noon all of them left. Old Heizan composed a poem; and I followed him with:

In rain or shine I love to watch

The grasses and leaves as they grow luxuriantly amidst the mountain's haze

Where from time to time the nightingale takes flight.

In the afternoon Kijima Kamenoshin and Nakamura Yoshizō came to visit, and after a while so did Fukuda Kyōhei. Kyōhei goes from here to Shimonoseki and from there to Echigo, so he came to bid me farewell. Also, he is much worried about matters in the Palace in Kyoto and about the current situation in Chōshū; and he is eager for me to go up to Kyoto. We had a good many drinks together. Kusanagi Ryūtō and Abe Heiemon followed one after the other; and Yamada Ichinojō turned up unexpectedly. Kijima and Nakamura were the first to leave; and at dusk Fukuda Kyōhei also departed. Later that night Yamada returned home while Ryūtō and Abe stayed the night. Ryūtō composed two poems.

11 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/21] This morning I went up to the domain government offices. After I left there I went with Sugi Donpō⁴⁴ to visit Obata Heizan; and from his house we went together to the home of Terado Ichirō, the master sword guard craftsman, to look at the gold fittings for the small sword—which I had previously asked him to make. Up the hill from Terado's shop lies the grave of Old Seizan, at which I paid my respects. For many years the old gentleman devoted himself to state affairs; and his contributions to the nation were many.

⁴⁴ Donpō was the pen name of Sugi Magoshichirō (1835–1920), one of Kido's closest associates. Less than two months earlier Sugi had returned to Chōshū triumphant from military engagements in Harima, Mimasaka, and Himeji provinces. In his youth as a Chōshū samurai Sugi had studied with Yoshida Shōin. In 1862 Sugi had gone to England and France with a Shogunate mission on the nomination of the Chōshū Lord; and in 1864 the retainer had negotiated for Chōshū with the four-power fleet which attacked Shimonoseki. Afterwards, in 1871, he became a prominent official in the Imperial Household Ministry, and occupied a position quite close to the Meiji Emperor.

Our Lord had been falsely accused of treason to the Emperor, and he was still under a cloud when unfortunately the old man became a guest in the realm of the dead. Old Seizan possessed a sense of justice and uprightness of the kind never since seen. Today I go about Kyoto and frequently have audiences with His Majesty the Emperor. But in times past I endured adversity with this old man. Together we argued the cause of our domain and laid plans to sweep away our enemies throughout the Empire. To take advantage of our opportunity in 1865 I did all in my power to ally us with Satsuma and to employ Murata Zōroku⁴⁵ to take charge of the domain military administration and to bring about a complete military reform in Chōshū. At that time the only person who backed me was the old gentleman Seizan. Remembering that, I was so filled with emotion that I stood rooted to the spot, unaware that tears had begun to flow. Today when public opinion is sharply divided and solutions to our problems are nowhere in sight, would I be so troubled as I am if the old gentleman were still alive? Yet if we look from the present to the past the great purpose of the loyalist warriors who died miserably over the years out of loyalty to the Imperial ancestors will promote the welfare of our people for ages to come, so I must endure my troubles and worries.

After a time we went to the place where Sugi lives, then left together before going our separate ways. I visited Inoue Gorō-saburō, called on Abe Heiemon, and as evening came on returned to my home. At night I searched in an old box and found there the letters of Kusaka⁴⁶ and Takasugi.⁴⁷ The situation today, indeed, has not come about by chance.

⁴⁵ Murata Zōroku is the early name of Ōmura Masujirō (1823–1869), an eminent student of the Dutch Learning from Chōshū. Born near Ōgori, south of Yamaguchi castle town, to a rural physician, Ōmura studied in Nagasaki and Osaka with the renowned Dutch Learning scholar Ogata Kōan and others before returning for a brief attempt to carry on his father's medical practice. His real interest was in military science, however, so he secured employment with the Lord of Uwajima in Shikoku to reform his military establishment, lectured at the Bakufu Kōbushō on military science before returning to Chōshū in 1865 to serve as a professor of infantry, cavalry, and artillery tactics at the Meirinkan, and put Chōshū on the road to military greatness. In 1869 he was the victim of an assassination plot by traditionalist samurai dissatisfied with his Westernizing reforms at the national level, and expired a few months later.

⁴⁶ Kusaka Genzui (1839–1864) was the prototype of the Chōshū *shishi*, pictured ordinarily with an expression of grim determination wearing the *hachimaki* headband. Kusaka died at the age of twenty-five. Wounded in the hopeless Chōshū charge on Hamaguri Gate of the Kyoto Palace in 1864, he committed suicide.

⁴⁷ Takasugi Shinsaku (1839–1867) was the celebrated Chōshū military leader

12 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/22] Heavy rain. In the morning I visited the house of Hirosawa who is away, and found that his wife is well. Braving the rain, I stopped by Miwa Sō's and Mandai's, visited Heizan, and at 10 went up to the government offices for an audience with the Chōshū Heir, who inquired about the situation in Kyoto. I heard today that Mr. Sugi will join the Imperial Government. Not having been informed of it officially, I am very suspicious as to what is now going on. After 3 I withdrew from the offices, to keep my appointment with Chamberlains Hayashi, Kashiwamura, and Sugi, the three of them, who came to my place along with Old Heizan. As evening came on, the tempo of the rain stepped up. The torrent in the mountain stream was stronger than I have known it since I have lived at Itoyone.⁴⁸ We had a few drinks; and, after the lapse of some time, Hayashi, Kashiwamura, and Heizan went home in spite of the rain. Mr. Sugi stayed the night.

Today, an official letter came from Mr. Saka Shōzō, who is in charge: "While . . . is serving as a levied samurai, or *Chōshi*, with the central government, you have the permission to take your wife and family along. The foregoing is hereby ordered; and you are requested to comply. 12 June 1868." At night I brought out some old poems, and discussed with Sugi the quality of their phrasing.

13 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/23] Fair. In the morning Sadanaga Yunōsuke came. Then Ōtsu Shirōemon followed him; and we had a few drinks and chatted before they left in the afternoon. Yesterday a message came to me from the central government that Mr. Sugi would go up to join the Imperial Cabinet, the people there thinking that I had not been informed.

whose coup in 1865 set the stage for recalling Kido from exile to take charge of government. To stage his coup Takasugi used the Kiheitai which he had organized near Shimonoseki in 1863 as the prototype of irregular farmer-soldier units. Kido and Takasugi had grown up together in Hagi castletown; their boyhood homes are no more than a block apart. Takasugi died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-nine on the eve of the Meiji Restoration.

⁴⁸ Itoyone was a village adjacent to Yamaguchi, and it was the location of Kido's house. The site is picturesque, in a narrow valley beneath high mountains. Today a Shinto shrine stands on the spot. It is the Kido Jinja, dedicated to the spirit of Kido Takayoshi himself.

Along with my reply which I wrote, I sent a letter to Mihori inquiring about his illness. Mihori still seems to be discontented, but I did not understand his position fully from his reply. The proprietor of the plant nursery came, and he put in some early azaleas. Terado came also; and I entrusted him with repairing the spout on my favorite drinking gourd, and my prized imported hand lamp. In the evening I went to Yuda⁴⁹ where I met three friends, Kijima, Nakamura Yoshi, and Yamada Ichinojō. We discussed the current state of affairs; and grieved that there is no end to controversy when the nation is in such a state of crisis. At night Sugi, Sadanaga, and Yoshitomi came. We talked for a while, then I returned home before ten. Today Kajiwarara Haruto⁵⁰ returned from Kyoto. Hirosawa Shōgaku's letter arrived.

14 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/24] In the morning Yamada Shichibei, Inoue Gorōsaburō, Mihori Shunkō, and other guests came, filling the house. After a while they all scattered, and Shunkō alone remained. We discussed the current situation at length, then I went up to the Domain Office. There I submitted a four-point proposal stressing that men of ability should be promoted, and that the government must take the final step to bring peace to the land by establishing a master policy of dispatching more troops to the front and the like. At 5 I took my leave, visited Ueyama, then went to Obata's. At the time Nakamura was there, so I went with them to the Odamura for a few drinks. At dusk I left to return home. I wrote letters to Komatsu and Hirosawa. Just then rain began to fall; and the sky blackened. Obata, Kakinami, Fujita, and Nakamura came; and we drank saké, composed poems, and played *go*. They stayed overnight during which time we all talked together. The Satsuma envoy Kifuji Kakudayu came, bringing a letter from Komatsu.

15 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/25] The sky looked threatening, but it did not rain. This morning I had a few drinks with my guests and dispatched some letters to Kyoto. The Chōshū Heir ordered me to report to him, so I left the house with my guests

⁴⁹ Yuda was the nearby hot-springs resort, now a part of Yamaguchi City.

⁵⁰ It is written as Sugiwarara Haruto in the diary, but Professor Itagaki Tetsuo of Yamagata University believes that Kajiwarara was intended.

about 11; and half of the group separated from me along the way to go to Matsubara's. I went up to the domain offices for an audience at which the Heir questioned me about details of my four-point program. I discussed my intent, then made comments on the structure and the recent operation of the domain government, after which I withdrew. As the Chōshū Heir was a little bit under the weather, he did not hold an audience for the Satsuma envoy. That man, therefore, went directly into his audience with the Chōshū Lord, then withdrew to his inn. About 4 I visited Kifuji; and on the road home paid a visit to Matsubara Otozō, called on Nomura, and at dusk went to Mr. Sugi's in regard to my four-point proposal. With Sugi I went to Takeda's; and after 10 I returned to my inn. Shirai Ryōzaburō and Hirakawa Shinnojō came to request permission to go to the Kantō; and Sawa Hanzaburō asked, rather insistently, that he be allowed to make an extensive tour of the country. As I am about to leave for Hagi castletown tomorrow, I wrote a letter to Mr. Sugi entrusting him with taking action on these requests; and I shall send it to him tomorrow. Mandai Ribi came to stay the night; and I intend to entrust my house to him during my absence. Yesterday Miwa Sō came; and this morning his younger brother was here to repay some money.

16 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/26] At 10 I left Yamaguchi castletown⁵¹ accompanied by Ōtsu and Kusanagi Ryūtō. At 3 we reached Sasanami, had lunch, and drank from a gourd. We happened to meet Shishido Bingonosuke who had come from Hagi; and he sat with us and talked for a while. At dusk I entered Hagi, and visited Yamagata Yahachi. The Hokudō temple was filled with guests for the sixty-second anniversary celebration of the founding of the temple. Those in charge invited me to stay for the festivities; and, inadvertantly, I became very drunk, finally staying overnight at the temple. Kusanagi and Ōtsu went on to Kashima Masa's inn to stay. I had entered Hagi ahead of these two to look for a place for them to stay; but, in my extreme intoxication, forgot all about it.

17 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/27] I went to Kashima's

⁵¹ Kido here uses the name of the castle to stand for Yamaguchi castletown.

to visit Kusanagi Ryūtō and Ōtsu; then I went to the Wada place,⁵² where I found that my younger sister and nephews are in good health. I called at the Takasugi, Yamada, and Nakamura households, and all are doing well. At night I paid another visit to Kusanagi Ryūtō, and went with him to Munakata's. At midnight Soshiki Sōsuke, Ogawa Hikozaemon, Naganuma Tarōbei, Amano Junta, and Ōtsu Shirōemon came. We emptied many bottles of sakē; and finally the dawn came. The result was that I got into a big argument with Amano. Okudaira Nisui also came to spend the night. Yamagata had already decided that I should be put up at Munakata's inn.

18 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/28] In the morning Sōshiki Sosuke, Amano Junta, and Kodama Unume arrived. Shinagawa and Komai also came. I left at 4 to go to the Wada house. I paid my respects at the Kasuga shrine,⁵³ then called on Katsura Utanojō. This evening I had an appointment to go to Hisayoshi's. When I arrived, I found that Yamagata Yahachi, Okudaira Nisui, and Ōtsu Shirōemon had arrived ahead of me, and were already seated. Soshiki Jirōbei came to visit. Isahaya and Fukubara of the Kanjōtai⁵⁴ invited me to see them; but I did not have time today, so I made an engagement for tomorrow evening. At 10 p.m. I returned to my inn, visiting the Wada house on the way. Tonight a very heavy rain fell, as if the heavens had opened up. Nisui also came over, and stayed the night.

⁵² Wada was the original family name of Kido, who was born Wada Kogorō, so this was his boyhood home; it commanded from the upstairs study a view of the humpbacked peninsular mountain at the base of which stood Hagi Castle. The house is a rambling two-story mansion, attesting to the affluence of Wada Masakage, Kido's father, a domain physician whose income was only twenty *koku*. There are two *genkan*, entrances to the house, however, one for warrior patients, but the other for commoners who provided the income that made the Wada family comparatively well-off. The house, in Gofuku-chō, Edo Lane, a narrow street in the samurai quarter, still stands as part of a historic preservation project which has kept the neighborhood intact much as it was a hundred years ago. On a typical day schoolchildren crowd the narrow street before the house to listen to their teachers declaim on the achievements of Kido. The younger sister here referred to is Kuribara Haruko; and the nephews included her sons Shōjirō and Hikotarō, who were successively adopted to become Kido's heirs.

⁵³ The Kasuga Shrine, southwest of the Wada house, housed the tutelary deity of the Mōri family, feudal lords of Chōshū.

⁵⁴ Kanjōtai was a military unit made up of middle- and upper-class samurai from Chōshū. It was one of the *shotai*, including non-samurai soldiers like the Kiheitai; but whereas lower samurai influence was strong in the Kiheitai, men of higher classes predominated in the Kanjōtai.

19 June 1868 [Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/29] The 150th death anniversary of Suishō Yōhō passed while I was in Kyoto, hence I could not attend. Today a special memorial service was held for my benefit; Yamada Kyū was also present. Afterwards Kodama Shōsuke paid me a visit, stayed for a time, and so took the noon meal with me. At 4 I worshipped at the Tokurinji.⁵⁵ I visited Terauchi, found Obata was out, and also called on Ogawa and Saeki before returning to the Wada house. Ōtsu and Kusanagi Ryūtō who had gone to Ōta Kashichi's sent word over from time to time that I should join them. After dark I did go to Ōta's. Old Hisayoshi and Shindō Matazo were present there, but Kusanagi Ryūtō had returned to his place in the company of Kodama Shōsuke. Tonight I had my engagement with several warriors of the Kanjōtai, so I left Ōta's early to go back to my inn. Old Terauchi, Fukubara, Isahaya, Soshiki, Harada, and several others were there ahead of me. Today I admonished the men against discussing national political affairs over cups of saké. But the warrior Isahaya,⁵⁶ in his intoxication, loudly criticized Yamagata Yahachi, upsetting me. Before I realized it a big argument had developed. We drank until dawn, and finally I became drunk and fell asleep so that I was unaware my guests had departed.

Today I bought a short sword made by Yoshikuni of Hizen from Awaya Yaemon. (It belonged to Fujii Yurikichi; Awaya asked forty yen for it.)

⁵⁵ Kido's adoptive mother and father were buried in the graveyard attached to the Tokurinji temple which was located about 750 meters southeast of the Wada house.

⁵⁶ Isahaya Motokiyo (1843–1919) was a Chōshū samurai who had fought with distinction with the Kanjōtai on the Echigo front in 1868. In the early Meiji period he was a focal point for discontent by members of the *shotai* who believed that they had not been sufficiently rewarded for their military achievements; but in 1876 he covertly worked with the government against the leaders of the Hagi rebellion including Maebara, who was also linked to the Kanjōtai.

Fifth Month

20 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/1] Fukubara stopped by to apologize for getting into a big argument last night contrary to his promise. We had had several more drinks when, without realizing, it he became very drunk and began insulting [Yamagata Yahachi] again. I regret that the Kanjōtai people, as compared with those of the other *shotai*, do not stick by their promises.

At 2 I left my inn to worship at several temples, Kaichōji, Ryūshōin, Myōgain, and Hongyōji; then I went to the Wada house again. Tonight Yamagata Yahachi, Soshiki Sōsuke, Amano Junta, Okudaira Nisui, and Kodama Unume gave a party for me; and I had farewell drinks with Kawamura Shichirōemon. At dusk I worshipped at the Kanaya Tenjin Shrine,¹ then went directly to Kawamura's house where seven or eight guests had gathered. I drank so much that I was unable to sit upright. At 1 a.m. I returned to my inn.

21 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/2] In the morning Yagi Hayao came. He has invited me to his place several times in recent days; but I have been so busy that I could not go. Today he pressed me so much that I made an appointment for noon. At 10 I left the inn to go with Sugi to visit Kusanagi Ryūtō. I went to Wada's again, and reached Yagi's at 2. Ōtsu and Sugi were already there. We had a few drinks, chatted, and at 5 I left with them to call on Nakamura who was not home. I then went to Kawamura's where the Harada family who live with them are preparing for their first Boy's Festival.² We had some drinks; and at dusk I returned to the

¹ Kanaya Tenjin shrine lies south of the Hashimoto mouth of the Abu River, whose two mouths encircle Hagi before entering the Sea of Japan. The shrine was dedicated to Tenjin Sama, or Sugawara Michizane (845–903), the ill-fated courtier whose spirit became the deity of learning. Schoolboys pray at shrines to Tenjin Sama for success on examinations; and Kido in his youth may well have made supplication at this very shrine for academic success.

² *Tango* is the Boys' Festival which takes place on the fifth day of the fifth month

Wada house. After dark Kusanagi Ryūtō and Kodama came over.

Yesterday word came suddenly from Mr. Sugi in Yamaguchi that I am to return to the Chōshū castle there; I decided to depart tomorrow. In reply to my inquiry, however, Mr. Sugi wrote that because I am suffering from boils, the Heir granted me an extra two days of leave, so I have postponed my departure until the day after tomorrow, the 23rd.

Today Isahaya and Fukubara visited me repeatedly to express their regret to have displeased me by getting into that big argument while we were drunk the other day; and they begged me to join them for another sakè party. I could not disregard their good intent, so I went again to the Kanazakiya. We had a great deal of sakè, and all of us became intoxicated before leaving. I was favorably impressed with the penitence of the warriors. We discussed the current state of affairs, and we talked about the past including some talk about the times of Old Seifū.³ On the way to Yagi's I passed by Mr. Murata's old house, and saw there his beloved pine. As I thought about times past, I was overwhelmed with emotion; and I shall endeavor to erect a memorial stone to the old gentleman beneath his pine. After 12 I left the Yagi house with Ōtsu to visit Kusanagi Ryūtō, and I talked with him briefly about the monument, going directly to my inn from there.

22 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/3] Yamagata Yahachi, Kinashi Heinoshin, Naganuma Tarōbei, Kinashi Ren, and Ogawa Hikozemon came to visit. Last night in conversation with the warriors, we talked about the deeds of old Murata Seifū. I have always admired that old gentleman. I have scrolls of two poems by him, one an eight-line Chinese verse, or *rishshi*, about the non-completion of his policies to meet the national crisis, and the other a Chinese quatrain, a *zekku*, on his joining in the grand review at Hagadai; and I am much moved by the depth of his feelings.

(of the lunar calendar). To celebrate it for the first time after the birth of a son was a signal event in a family's history.

³ Murata Seifū (1783–1855) was the Chōshū samurai-statesman who carried out the landmark reforms of the Tempō era (1830–1848) and after, putting the domain on a sound fiscal basis, reforming the military, and preparing it to participate in national politics. Murata stressed the promotion of "men of talent," and Kido made his start as a young Chōshū official under Murata.

I have long wanted to build a monument under his favorite pine tree, but I have not yet done so. In a few days I am going to Nagasaki, then directly back to Kyoto, not returning here on this trip. For that reason I want to erect the stone before I go, and I made plans on the spur of the moment. A stonecutter obtained a stone for me; then I went to the present owner of the pine tree, Inoue Tōjin, to tell him of my long-held intention; and Tōjin gladly gave permission. I entrusted the completion of the monument in honor of Old Seifū to Naganuma Tarōbei and left. I wrote the phrase "Seifū's pine" for the face of the stone; and prepared for the back the following inscription: "Murata Seifū was born in an era of peace and tranquility. Practiced in the military arts and cultivated in the literary arts, he swept away the reactionary customs of the age, and renewed the spirit of the warrior within our domain. Must we not then admire his virtues in our own day? In the summer of 1868, when I had returned from Kyoto, I passed by his old garden and saw his beloved pine. Regretting as I do that he is no longer with us, I have built this monument, and admonish those who come after against cutting his tree. On behalf of the old gentleman, I write here a poem in the Chinese *zekku* fashion, following his manner:

Now that I have taken office with the central government
occupying the heights

I am ready to sustain the thrust of sword and spear against
me.

But when will our learned Elder Statesman⁴ return to his native town?

The old plum tree by his library is in bloom again. In this fifth month of the Year of the Emperor's Restoration. Respectfully composed by Kido Ōe Takayoshi."⁵

Tonight Kinashi, Kunishige, and Ōtsu came to stay.

23 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/4] I made preparations to return to Yamaguchi Castle. We are having a great deal of rain this year; and during the season of the plum rains it falls ceaselessly. The only days without rain were yesterday and the day before. Routine

⁴ The "learned Elder Statesman" is Murata Seifū.

⁵ Ōe derives from Ōe Hiromoto (1148–1225), a court noble who played a major role in founding the Kamakura Shogunate. The Katsura family into which Kido was adopted as Katsura Kogorō traced its ancestry to Ōe.

visitors continue to come; and a great many people appeared to use up my free time. During my long stay here I acquired three scrolls by Sanyō,⁶ a book with small pages, and an illustrated book assembled in half-sized pages. Kinashi, Kunishige, Ōtsu, Soshiki, Okudaira, Kodama, and Naganuma came to see me off. This morning Amano Junta came to bid me farewell, read my *zekku* poem, and left.

After 3 I left my inn, went to the Wada house, and paid my respects to the tombs of my father and mother before starting on my journey. Taking Shōjirō⁷ along, I reached Sasanami at dusk and stayed all night there. Kusanagi Ryūtō stayed in the same inn. The weather was changeable today, first cloudy, then clear.

24 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/5] After we left Sasanami early this morning, the rain poured as if the heavens had opened up. After 11 we finally reached our home in Yamaguchi. From start to finish, the heavy rains continued and made the road into a river in several places. At 4 Nomura Uchū⁸ came; and we talked about recent events in Kyoto.

25 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/6] Today was the death anniversary of my elder sister,⁹ and I burned incense in memory of her this

⁶ Rai Sanyō (1780–1832) was the popular historian whose *Nihon gaishi* (1827) in three volumes promoted reverence for the Imperial family. The book helped make the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Kido was introduced to it by his father, Wada Masakage, the scholar-physician. Throughout his life Kido collected Sanyō memorabilia.

⁷ Shōjirō (1858–1885), who was ten years of age at this time, was Kido's adopted son. The first adopted son, Katsuzaburō, had been killed in the Chōshū raid on the Kyoto Palace in 1864. Both were nephews of Kido, Katsuzaburō the son of an elder half-sister, and Shōjirō the son of Kido's younger sister Haruko whose mother was the same as his. Kido arranged to give Shōjirō a cosmopolitan education later, putting him in the home of an Englishman in Yokohama for a year in 1870, before sending him to Brighton, England, to study, 1871–1873. After Kido's death, Shōjirō, who had not yet married, died at sea off Ceylon from tuberculosis en route home from his military studies in Germany. The family headship then passed to Shōjirō's elder brother, Kuribara Hikotarō, who assumed the name of Kido Takamasa.

⁸ Nomura Uchū (1842–1928) was a Chōshū samurai who was a domain military officer in 1868. A former principal of the Meirinkan, the *han* school, he travelled in Europe in 1871, and became an official of the Education Ministry. His later name is Nomura Motosuke, or Sosuke.

⁹ Wada Yaeko was an elder sister by a different mother. She had died in Kaci 1/5th month/6th day, or 6 June 1848. Her husband, Wada Bunjō, had been adopted into the family before Kido's birth to carry on the family medical practice. She was the mother of Kido's ill-fated adopted heir, Katsuzaburō. (Tsumaki Chūta, ed., *Shōgiku Kido den* [2 vols., Tokyo, 1927], I, 3–4).

morning. Mihori Shunkō came. In the afternoon I went up to the Domain Government Offices for an audience with my Lord. Donpō and Heizan came to visit and stayed for a while before leaving. Donpō presented me with a seal. (He had several unpleasant things to say about other people.) Heizan gave me a picture scroll by Hankō. (It depicts a peony.) After staying for a while the two men departed. Terado Shōbei¹⁰ came, having finished making all of the metal parts for the short sword.

26 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/7] Fair weather. A great many preparations have to be made for the trip; and they remain unfinished. Indeed everything is in confusion; for I have not had a single quiet day to myself at home without going out somewhere. I deplore this, and today I must regret that I have not done what I intended to do.

Shōjirō took a tumble while mountain climbing and fell onto a rock, injuring his mouth. A certain Dr. Ta. . . came to give him acupuncture treatment with two needles. I had intended to take him along to Nagasaki, and I have already obtained the Lord's permission. I regret no end that this should happen.

The Heir summoned me; and I went up to the Domain Government Offices for an audience in the afternoon. He questioned me about reforming the political system of the domain; and I gave him my opinions. I bade farewell to my friends and returned home at 4. In the evening I visited the neighbors and the Hirosawa house where the master is away, then set out. I had farewell drinks at the Kawaraya with Yamada Shichibei, Matsubara Otozō, Sugi Magochirō, and Nomura Uchū as well as other lesser officials of Yamaguchi, Mitajiri, and the Meirinkan, also the Abe family—proprietors of the Mandaiya;¹¹ and after 8 I parted from them. I reached my inn . . . in Ōgori after 12. En route I paid my respects at the tomb of Old Asada.¹²

¹⁰ Terado Shōbei is either the same man as the *tsuba* master craftsman, Terado Ichirō, mentioned earlier, or a member of his family.

¹¹ References to Mandai on 12 June 1868 and to Mandai Ribe on 15 June 1868 seem to refer to the same family of innkeepers, Mandaiya.

¹² Sufu Masanosuke (1824–1864) was Kido's chief mentor in Chōshū politics, an emotional man who committed *seppuku* at the age of forty-one. Originally an 80-*koku* samurai of Ōgumi rank, Sufu had aided Murata Seifū in his reforms of the 1850s, but was put out of office in 1862 for his violent personal denunciation of the Lord of Tosa. His name changed to Asada Kōsuke, he came back with the encouragement of the Lord

Today I obtained a sword made by Tōma Kuniyuki. (Originally Tokuda Naojirō gave it to a temple; and I bought it at a price of 100 *yen*.)

27 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/8] Fair weather. In the morning Kitagawa Seisuke and Terashima . . . came. "Uncle" Mura and . . . Taizō also came to visit; they are persons whom I knew twenty years ago at the Wada house.¹³ Akimoto Gentarō, Akimoto Shinzō, and Hayashi . . . also came; and we talked about the past and discussed the future. The people of Ogori are as cordial as they were in the old days. I shall not forget their kindness. I presented them with long scrolls or *tanzaku*¹⁴ bearing *waka* poems by Lords Sanjōnishi, Sanjō, and Higashikuze.¹⁵ At 9 I took my leave, and at 2 I reached Funagi. I had my midday meal at Ōba; and at dusk I reached Yoshida where I paid my respects before the grave of Tōgyō;¹⁶ and I visited Baisho.¹⁷ Today I travelled with Ryūtō. At Atsu Kyō's I did calligraphy on half-size paper.¹⁸ I tumbled a bit at the . . . in Yoshida and after 7 I set out reaching Chōfu about midnight. Because the road to Shimonoseki has been heavily damaged by the rains and was impassable for *kago*¹⁹ or horses, I had to spend the night in Chōfu.

28 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/9] At 3 I reached Shimonoseki and went to the Domain Trading Office, the *Koshinigata*.²⁰ Mr.

of Chōshū, who regarded him as a restraining influence on loyalist extremists. Put under house arrest for a drunken visit to Takasugi Shinsaku, who was in jail, Sufu committed *seppuku*, on 26 October 1864, in atonement for radical policies which failed—the Chōshū attack on foreign ships at Shimonoseki and the raid on the Hamaguri Gate of the Kyoto Palace.

¹³ These men were evidently servants in the household of Wada Masakage, Kido's father.

¹⁴ *Tanzaku* were long strips of paper especially for writing poems.

¹⁵ These men are three of the seven radical court nobles who fled to Chōshū in 1863.

¹⁶ Tōgyō was the pen name of Takasugi Shinsaku. See note 47 for 11 June 1868 (Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/21).

¹⁷ Baisho was Takasugi's mistress, a woman well known to present-day readers of historical romances and TV dramas.

¹⁸ *Hansai* referred to paper half the size of that used for the ordinary *kakemono*. *Hansetsu* is a synonym.

¹⁹ An ordinary palanquin, or sedan-chair.

²⁰ *Koshinigata* was the Chōshū *han toiya*, or wholesale agency. (Albert M. Craig, *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration* [Harvard University Press, 1961], Glossary, p. xxix.)

Kubo, Katayama Kan'ichi, the artist Seiho, Aoki Gumpei, Yoshitomi Tobei, and Unsen came. We had some sakè, and in the evening went to the inn Fujiryū. During the evening Ryūtō and Yagorō arrived as did Baisho. I went with Mr. Kubo to visit Yūyū who is about to leave for Echigo; and we had several drinks on the occasion of his departure. We pledged to meet someday at Edo Castle in the East.²¹ Ryūtō and Baisho came along with us; and at 7 we took our leave to return to the inn.

29 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/10] In the morning Ryūtō and I went to visit Unsen; then I paid a call at the Saekiya. I left there to go to Okehisa to meet Kichi, my amah. This old lady devoted herself to our family's service for many years; she was a very kind person. Then I went to the Akebono-tei together with Ryūtō, Unsen, Seiho, Komatsuya Shōji, Kubo—six or seven of us. We passed the time composing poetry and drinking sakè. At 2 I took the road back to my inn and visited Yamada Ichinojō and Katano Tō. Yamada then came to my inn to bid me farewell. He has joined with the naval forces, and will go to Echigo.²² After 4 I went aboard our warship; we cast off our moorings and set sail. As it became dark rain fell.

30 June 1868 [Meiji 1/5/11] At dawn we passed through the Sea of Genkai and the Karatsu offing, reaching Nagasaki at 1 p.m. Throughout the day there was a light wind; and the drizzle has not let up since last night. I went to the Morofujiya on Bungo Street, Segai's inn; and after that to Aoki Hisashichi's place on . . . zen Street—at which I stayed for the night.

1 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/12] Light rain. In the morning Sasaki Sanshirō came; and Segai also came to talk. In the afternoon I went to the old office of the City Magistrate²³ in the west part of the city, and had an audience with Prince Sawa.²⁴ I saw Sasaki

²¹ In fact Fukuda Yūyū died of illness later that same year before the meeting took place.

²² Yamada was an army man, one of the first Brigadier Generals in the new Imperial Army. Either he served as liaison with the navy, or in the largely undifferentiated military structure of Chōshū *han* he served in the navy.

²³ *The machi-būgyō* was an official appointed by the Bakufu to govern Nagasaki which was under the direct rule of the Shogunate. I have translated this term as City Magistrate.

²⁴ Sawa Nobuyoshi (1835–1873) was one of the seven radical court nobles who fled

again, and also met a man of Ōmura,²⁵ Kusumoto Heinojō.²⁶ Although we are old acquaintances, several years have elapsed since we have seen one another, so it was as if we had just met. On the road back I went to the homes of Sasaki and of Nomura Sōshichi, and I also stopped by Segai's inn. Several geisha came in; and we threw a little party. Aoki Gumpei, Yoshitomi Tōbei, Matsuoka . . . , and Aoki . . . also came. Shōjirō, whom I entrusted to Matsuoka and Aoki yesterday, went to the hospital today to have the stitches taken out of his mouth wound. About 5 Otomi and Baisho arrived from Shimonoseki, saying they had caught a ride on Glover's mail ship.

2 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/13] In the afternoon I went to the West Municipal Office where Prince Sawa, the Lord of Ōmura, Sasaki Sanshirō, Nomura Sōshichi, Kusumoto Heinojō, Inoue Monta, and I were present for a conference dealing with the problem of what to do with the Christians. There is a slight different of opinion between the Governor-General and other concerned people here as compared with the intent of the orders from Tokyo. We spent some time on the matter, but did not come to any decision. I thought to myself that, because the decision reached here will have a great effect on our future, no one will be particularly inconvenienced if we put off deciding today. Only if we procrastinate in a state of indecision, and do not resolve the issue at all, will harm be done. For the sake of our future, then, I want to ask some questions and find out what is proper. Then we can decide on most aspects of it, leaving only a few questions unresolved. I believed it best that we consider the matter carefully

from Kyoto to Chōshū in 1863. Kido may have met him at that time. In 1868 Sawa went to Nagasaki with the title of Governor-General for Kyushu, and, in the month prior to Kido's arrival, the court noble had been given the title of Governor of Nagasaki. During his brief career with the Meiji government Sawa specialized in diplomatic problems, and later served as Foreign Minister.

²⁵ Ōmura *han*, 27,500 *koku*, was headed by a *tozama* daimyō, and its castle was located in Hizen province not far from Nagasaki. Ōmura men had been notably active in the loyalist movement, and many of them joined the new Meiji bureaucracy.

²⁶ Heinojō was an early name of Kusumoto Masataka (1835–1902), who had just been appointed *Hanji*, or Magistrate, in the newly created Nagasaki city government. He was an upper-class samurai of nearby Ōmura domain, a loyalist who had guided his lord into alliance with Satsuma and Chōshū. Later he became one of the powerful bureaucrats in the Home Ministry under Ōkubo Toshimichi. After leaving government service, Kusumoto was elected to the House of Representatives in 1890, and there assisted with the formation of the progressive parties of Ōkuma Shigenobu.

between today and tomorrow; and I told the Governor-General so.²⁷ With that we all withdrew.

In the evening we strolled downtown in Tsukiji by the Glover Trading Company and other firms. At night I went to the Morofuji—Inoue's inn.

3 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/14] In the morning I went to visit factories and shipyards; and in the evening I went to the West Municipal Office where we reached decisions on the matters which we had not resolved yesterday. In the end we decided to put several dozen of the Christian ringleaders in the custody of Tsuwano domain,²⁸ to send steamships to this port of Nagasaki to transport any others who require it, and to fix a time for their arrest. We gave orders, therefore, to investigate each of the ringleaders.

In the evening I had an appointment with the Dutchman Bauduin,²⁹ and at 6 I went with Inoue Segai to Dejima³⁰ to meet him. The interpreter . . . accompanied us. This morning Watanabe Noboru³¹ and the Hizen man, Kusumoto Heinojō, came.

²⁷ When Sawa became Governor of Nagasaki City, *Fuchiji*, on 12 June 1868 (Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/22), his previous title of Governor-General for the Pacification of Kyushu, *Kyushu Chimu Sōtoku*, seems to have lapsed. If so, Kido's use of the title Governor-General was anachronistic. (Ōtsuka Takematsu, *Hyakkan rireki* [2 vols., Tokyo, Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai, 1927], I, 170.)

²⁸ Tsuwano *han*, 43,000 *koku*, in Iwami province, or modern Shimane prefecture, was under the Kamei family, *tozama* daimyō.

²⁹ Anthonius Franciscus Bauduin was a Dutch naval doctor who was in the service of the Japanese government from 1862 to 1870 except for a brief return to Europe in 1866. His specialty was ophthalmology, on which Kido's father had lectured at the Chōshū *han* medical school; and Bauduin taught medical science in the Yoseijo in Nagasaki. Later, when Bauduin moved his practice to Osaka, the ailing Kido often consulted the Dutch physician for medical advice. It was in Osaka that Bauduin treated the gravely wounded Ōmura Masujirō in 1869 before that victim of assassins expired.

³⁰ Dejima was the artificial island which had served as the headquarters for the Dutch trade with Japan during the long years of Tokugawa isolation. It was located in Nagasaki harbor.

³¹ Watanabe Noboru (1838–1913), Ōmura *han* samurai, had been a close friend of Kido since the two studied swordsmanship together at the academy of Saitō Yakurō in Edo in 1854. Later, in 1865–1866, Watanabe went on missions between Satsuma and Chōshū with Sakamoto Ryōma to seal the alliance which made the Meiji Restoration possible. In 1868 Watanabe was placed in charge of an investigation of several *gun* in Nagasaki prefecture, probably to check on the Christians; and the following year with the central government he supervised the punitive measures against the Christians and against counterfeiters. After a long career in the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry, he left office in 1898 to promote a revival of swordsmanship and the warrior virtues throughout Japan. He was the younger brother of Watanabe Kiyoshi.

4 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/15] This morning I had an appointment to review drill by the rifle units here; but it was postponed on account of rain. In the afternoon the Englishman Aston³² came, and we had a long talk. He was aboard an English warship during the Shimonoseki war in 1864, the Year of the Tiger; and he stayed in Shimonoseki throughout the affair. We are, therefore, old acquaintances. One time when our soldiers stationed in Shimonoseki were wounded in the fighting on the Kyushu front,³³ they received medical treatment from an English doctor, all the arrangements made by Aston.

This evening I had an appointment with a man from Ōmura. A certain Ichinose of that domain called for me, and accompanied me to the Geiyōtei. Several men of his domain were already on hand. We had saké and food served in high style, talked over the present state of things together, and all became intoxicated. After 7 we returned to my inn where we were attended by eight or nine geisha.

5 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/16] I went with Segai to keep our appointment with Glover. He told us the news from Edo—much of which I disbelieve. Two men of Ōmura domain, Mitake Yūsaburō and Yukawa Tetsumi, came. They are going to accompany me on my forthcoming trip. Satō Rintarō also came; and he asked for a ride on my ship to Naniwa. In the evening I went to Ikenoshō with Unsen. I bought a teacup holder and a jeweled cup. I did not acquire any unusual thing on this trip. I bought two hanging scroll paintings by Chinese artists. On the way home I visited Segai's inn; and at midnight I returned to my inn.

6 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/17] In the morning I went to the hospital; and the Dutch doctor . . . who examined me last fall took another look at the painful place at the root of my tooth. He gave me two kinds of medicine—one to take internally, and the other to

³² William G. Aston (1841–1911) came to Japan in 1862 as a student interpreter at the English legation. In 1868 he was a translator and interpreter at the legation, often working jointly with Ernest Satow. Kido met him often. Aston was regarded along with Satow and B. H. Chamberlain as one of the three great foreign scholars in Japan in the Meiji era. He translated the *Nihongi* (1896); and he wrote works on Japanese literature and Shinto.

³³ The fighting on the Kyushu front probably took place during the Chōshū wars with the Bakufu, 1864–1866.

apply to the outside of the tooth. Today I met Nagayo Sensai³⁴ of Ōmura domain for the first time. I went with Yoshitomi Tōbei to his place. A little before noon I had refreshments at a teahouse on Inariyama with Segai, Yoshitomi, and Aoki; then we went to Fukuya to eat Western food. Baisho and Imada came along. I took a nap after the meal, then left. As I had an appointment with Sasaki, Nomura, and Kusumoto at 4 I returned to the inn where the three were waiting for me. We had a few drinks, then talked about affairs in Kyushu in detail. Rain fell today.

7 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/18] Heavy rain throughout the day, so I stayed home. In the morning Yoshida . . . came; and at night I visited Segai.

8 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/19] I went with Segai to Ōura³⁵ to buy some Western utensils. A lady from the West has opened a store there, so we included her place in our shopping. On the way home I visited Consul . . . and Aston also came to see him. They begged me to stay, so we discussed current political trends. At 4 I returned home. Today's weather was changeable—sometimes clear, sometimes cloudy.

9 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/20] In the morning I went to the West Municipal Office for an audience with the Governor-General and to meet three military staff officers. We discussed what to do about the Christian matter, and came to a rough agreement on which we shall set to work tomorrow. We also discussed future foreign relations, and various aspects of the finances of this district.

This morning Nomura . . . who is organizing the troops came to urge me to watch their monthly training exercises, so I went to the parade grounds after 12 to have a look at the exercises of infantry and artillery troops, small-arms firing, and close-combat

³⁴ Nagayo Sensai (1838–1902) was the son of the chief samurai-physician in Ōmura *han*. Kido was also a *han* doctor's son. Nagayo studied medical science with Ogata Kōan in Osaka; and in 1868 he had come to Nagasaki to set up a Medical College. Later, in 1871–1873, he travelled to America and Europe with the Iwakura mission, working under Kido to do the studies which resulted in Japan's system of national public hygiene, including the vaccination law.

³⁵ Ōura was a section of Nagasaki famous for its Western shops. Nearby was Glover's house (later appropriated by the Chamber of Commerce as the fictitious Madame Butterfly's house), as was the Ōura Catholic Church, which the French missionary, Petit Jean, had erected in 1865.

tactics. The most experienced troops in the country were on the parade ground. The only unfortunate thing is that no one knows how they will perform when they actually fight. At the end of it we went to the photography studio to have pictures taken of me and Shōjirō, as well as of Ryūtō and others sitting with us. In the evening we went to the . . . restaurant to have a few drinks. Seven or eight Western guests came into the garden of the restaurant, and they played with their dogs by having them run after things. At 7 I returned to my inn, and visited Segai again. The weather today was the best of the month.

10 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/21] In the morning, more rain. At 12 I went to the West Municipal Office. The members of the Christian party were finally summoned to appear there today. They had been meeting at the house of one of their ringleaders since yesterday to discuss whether to appear or not, and in the end all of them obeyed the order. About 6 the sentence was announced to the group; and arrangements have been made to put them aboard a Kaga steamship and to have it sail tomorrow. We decided on July 3 in great secrecy to transport them aboard the Kaga steamer; and we ordered that preparations be made to receive them. Today we dealt only with the leaders. Of a hundred and some Christian leaders who will be transported first, fifty will be sent to Chōshū, thirty to Tsuwano, and twenty to Fukuyama.³⁶ I left before the meeting ended, and returned to my inn.

Glover came to visit. It seems that an English warship came in from Hyogo yesterday; and he told me the news which it brought. For one thing Aizu men have slipped into Kii province to hide, he says, and Tosa and Chōshū troops have gone in search of them.

Today in the afternoon a heavy rain started to fall; and it had not let up as evening came on. At dusk I had an appointment with Aoki Gumpei; and I went with Ryūtō to Gumpei's inn. From there we went to together to the Shōchikubairō. Segai, Baisho, and Yoshitomi³⁷ also came; and seven or eight geisha from

³⁶ Fukuyama *han*, 110,000 *koku*, in Bingo province, now a part of Hiroshima prefecture, was under the Abe family, *fudai* daimyō.

³⁷ Yoshitomi Kan'ichi (1838–1914) was a Chōshū loyalist who was close to Inoue Kaoru. In 1864, when Inoue was the victim of a near-fatal assassination attack in Yamaguchi at the hands of the pro-Bakufu party in Chōshū, it was Yoshitomi who nursed him back to health. In 1865 Yoshitomi organized the irregular army (*shotai*) called the Kōjōtai, which Inoue headed.

around the Maruyama area were present to wait on us. The owner of the house is an acquaintance of mine from the summer of 1865, the Year of the Ox, at the Iseshō in Shimonoseki. We all became drunk; and I went back to my inn after 11. The owner of my inn then set out a spread of food with sakè. I could not refuse his kindness; and all of the people present enjoyed themselves. Before we knew it, the cock had crowed to announce the dawn.

11 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/22] This morning we made preparations to lift anchor to depart for the East, but a violent storm from the southwest made it impossible for us to cast off. About 12 I went to the Office of the Governor-General to say my farewells. The Kaga steamer set sail this morning in spite of the storm.

Segai has coveted my long sword for a good while; and today he pressed me so insistently that I took it off and presented it to him. I did not give him permission, however, to give it to anyone else; and we agreed that someday he would return it to its case at my house. Segai also requested a poem, so I did some Chinese prose verse in the pentameter style, and handed it to him along with the sword.

Once having acquired my good sword Koryūsen,³⁸

For ten years I entrusted my life to it.

It protected me on the main thoroughfares of the Empire;

I used it to clear the way through copse and thorny path.

For many years there was tumult in the land;

And I took this sword with me on distant missions.

Like a friend it accompanied me through those difficult days;

With it strapped to my waist, somehow I stole through enemy territory.

When spring rains darken mountains and field,

Oft have the dreams of my youth come to naught.

When autumn winds shatter the grass and leaves,

My sword cries out in its scabbard on behalf of

The great eternal code which weights heavily,

My own fame and wealth are insignificant.

Yet when troubles came without end,

I always endured them with an upright heart.

Long have you coveted this sword;

³⁸ Koryūsen means "Old Dragon Springs."

So without hesitation have I unbuckled it from my side to present to you.

Last night news arrived, alas!

That rebels in the East have advanced again.

My faithful sword! Your mission is not yet done.

Now we part, I to stay in the West, you to go East,

I beg you to adhere always to your purpose

That you devote yourself without surcease to the cause.

While the country is not yet pacified!

While tumult reigns all about,

Give this sword renown!

"I present you with this sword, and the poem to accompany it, Mr. Inoue."

At night I called at Segai's inn to say farewell. There I put aside my personal feelings at the time of our separation, and gave him advice from the bottom of my heart. After 10 I returned to my inn, and made preparations for boarding ship. The only highly prized articles which I acquired during this trip were Itabashi's painting of orchids and bamboo and a landscape by . . . , nothing else worth mentioning.³⁹

12 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/23] We boarded the warship after 4, and raised the anchor at once. Mitake and Yukawa of Ōmura domain came along with us. Watanabe Noboru and others had pressed me to take the two men; so I could not well refuse them. The ambition of the two is to go to Mitajiri to study English under Toda.⁴⁰ Satō Rintarō of Tosa domain is accompanying us to Naniwa. Between 7 and 8 the sea became very rough; and two or three times high waves poured into the ship. The jars and cups were all broken.

About 11 we put in at Hitsunoura to anchor. Tatara Kōhei came to visit me on board ship; so we landed to go to his house. All of the people travelling with me gathered there; and we had a few drinks. I had previously heard about Kōhei from Sugi Donpō—that he was an active loyalist. He knew of me by reputation;

³⁹ This passage is incomplete in the original diary, hence unclear. Kido obviously referred to the two Chinese paintings which he acquired in Nagasaki.

⁴⁰ Toda Kamenosuke was a Chōshū samurai who had mastered the foreign learning. Reportedly he read Dutch, English, French, and German. He taught military science at the Meirinkan, the *han* school; but in 1868 he opened the Toda Academy in Yamaguchi, as a private school for teaching English.

and he asked me to write something for him, so I did two or three pieces of calligraphy for him.

13 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/24] We pulled up the anchor at 5 a.m.; but after we had run for seven or eight miles ["two or three *ri*"] we had trouble with the boiler,⁴¹ and had to return to Hitsunoura. I went back to the same inn at which I stayed yesterday, and there wrote letters to Sugi Donpō, Yamamoto Jūsuke, and Inoue Bunda. About 3 the ship was finally repaired. Most of the seamen and people in charge of sailing this ship are inexperienced. We decided to wait until dawn tomorrow to make our departure; and we changed over to the best teahouse on the west side of Hitsunoura, and there I had drinks with Ryūtō, Seiho, Unsen, and Munakata. At night we returned to the ship.

14 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/25] At 6 a.m. we pulled up the anchor; and at 5 p.m. we reached Shimonoseki. Out on the high seas we met a Chikuzen warship which was returning from the northern provinces. On board our ship I composed two poems.

In Shimonoseki we stayed at the Kushimasa inn. This evening Yoshitomi and Munakata invited me over; and we held a farewell party in the rear pavilion of the Miyaya.

15 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/26] In the morning I wrote a report to the Yamaguchi government; and in the afternoon I went to the Hachiman shrine to pray. I had a farewell party with my artistic friends at the Myōchinsō. More than ten of our circle were present, including Kubo, Yoshitomi, Unzen, Seiho, Ryūtō, and Kōki; and I went to Kōki's to stay for the night.

16 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/27] We pulled up the anchor after 5 a.m., and arrived in Mitajiri at 10. There we went to the Tsunokuniya where I entrusted Shōjirō to our servants, Matatarō and Kichijirō, for his return to Yamaguchi. Those who came to see me were Matsubara Otozō, Masaki Taizō, Takeuchi Shōzō, Mitsuda Saburō, Fujimoto Tetsunosuke, Aritomi . . . , Fujimatsu Tanosuke, Edoya, and five or six others. The American

⁴¹ The word *kētoru* is the Dutch word *ketel*, or boiler. (Marius Jansen to translator, Princeton, October 18, 1979.)

Bettle⁴² also came. Tetsunosuke brought along a handbasket on which Chikuden⁴³ had done a painting, the one which Okatake Jirō had promised to me previously. After 4 I returned to the warship; Seiho is again accompanying me on this voyage. The east wind was very strong, and raging billows poured into our ship.

17 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/28] The sea was very calm. At dawn we passed off Aki province,⁴⁴ and at dusk we arrived in the Harima Sea. Along the way we met a steam warship belonging to Satsuma. The weather today was superb; and the landscape of the provinces of the Sanyō Circuit and of Iyo in Shikoku was spectacular.⁴⁵

18 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/29] At dawn we reached Kobe, and I landed to pay a visit to Hōbai, who outlined news of the Kyoto area for me. The thing which I regret most is that Himeji⁴⁶ and Matsuyama⁴⁷ were pardoned for the high crime of treason against the Emperor on payment of an indemnity. This is one thing which will not help to build the foundations of Imperial rule. The reason that the bodies of thousands of soldiers lie bleaching across a thousand *ri* is that those men devoted themselves to fulfil the moral obligation which a subject bears toward the Emperor. Hundreds of thousands of *yen* will not buy back the life of a single man; yet the leaders of those domains were pardoned for the highest crime a subject can commit by the payment of a fine. I am at a loss for words. The Imperial benevolence may be used, of course, to commute the most severe form of death penalty, or to keep the family alive for the sake of the ancestors. But now that things have come to such a pass, what will Aizu⁴⁸ and Shōnai⁴⁹ do? The failure of the

⁴² In the diary the name is given as *Betaru* in *katakana*; but I have not found a similar name among Americans known to have been in Japan at that time.

⁴³ Tanomura Chikuden. See Note 35 for 3 June 1868 (Meiji 1/Intercalary 4/13).

⁴⁴ Aki province is in modern Hiroshima prefecture.

⁴⁵ The Sanyō Circuit was made up of the provinces on the southern shore of Honshu at its western end along the Inland Sea. Iyo province was one of the six provinces of the Nankai Circuit in Shikoku, or modern Ehime prefecture.

⁴⁶ Himeji *han*, 150,000 *koku*, in Harima province, which is in modern Hyōgō prefecture, was under a *fudai* daimyō.

⁴⁷ Matsuyama *han*, 150,000 *koku*, in Iyo province, or modern Ehime prefecture, was under a *kamon* family, hence close to the Bakufu.

⁴⁸ Aizu *han* had its castle at Wakamatsu in Iwashiro province, in modern Fukushima prefecture. Its *kamon* lord had 280,000 *koku* of land; Aizu was one of the diehard defenders of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

⁴⁹ Shōnai *han*, 140,000 *koku*, was under a *fudai* daimyō, with a castle at Tsurugaoka in Dewa province.

Imperial house to enhance its authority derives directly from such acts of leniency. The unbroken line of the Imperial family is coeval with Heaven and Earth; respect for the Imperial household of our Divine Land is without parallel in the world. Yet such a grave crime as treason is punished with a mere fine, after the manner of Western law. How I deplore this incredible decision! Under the circumstances I am in no hurry to enter Kyoto.

At 12 I boarded the warship; and we reached Tempozan at 1. I paid a visit to Joseph Heco; and I also met Mackenzie. After 3 we arrived at the villa of Konōike Ichibei in Nakanoshima. The Lord of Chōshū went up to Kyoto yesterday, attended by Old Kitagawa.⁵⁰ I paid a visit to Komatsu, then visited Fujii. At 8 I returned to my inn.

19 July 1868 [Meiji 1/5/30] In the morning I paid a visit to Gotō, and had a pleasant talk with him lasting half the day. On the way home I visited Ryōgan. At night I went with Ryūtō and Seiho to see Tetsu'un. By chance Hirose . . . was there; and I met him for the first time. After a while we left; and the three of us went off to the Kinkokudō. Following our boat ride in the middle of the night, I returned to my inn.

⁵⁰ Old Kitagawa is probably Kitagawa Seisuke (1826–?) a Chōshū samurai, expert in Western artillery, involved in organizing the *shotai*, and loyal to the Lord in the 1870 samurai rising.

Sixth Month

20 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/1] In the morning my place was full of guests. Because Gotō and I had not finished our discussion yesterday, he came back to talk some more. At 2 I paid a visit to Fujii; and we went to a detached room at his place for some drinks. At night we went together to the Kawasarō, returning at dawn. The merchants are much exercised these days over the suspension of payment of silver for our paper currency. Yesterday Kō-noike and Inoue¹ came to argue about this at length.

21 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/2] I boarded ship at 6, passed Hirakata² at noon, and reached Fushimi as night was coming on. I stayed overnight at the Kikkōya. Although there was a strong south wind which filled the sails of our ship today, the current against us was so strong that we could not easily make headway upriver. Between Osaka and Fushimi the west dike of the river had collapsed in more than ten places because of the high water.

22 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/3] At 6 I entered Kyoto, and went to the Chōshū military headquarters on Rokujō for an audience with the Lord of Chōshū. On my way back I visited Chamberlain Kinashi, and also paid a visit to Hirosawa at his inn. Mihori and Minami were there. In the afternoon I went to my place in Kiyamachi;³ and at night I took a walk between Nijō and Shijō with Old Kitagawa.

¹ This appears to be Inoue Kaoru, but only the character for the first syllable appears in the diary.

² Hirakata was an important city on the Yodo River in Kawachi province. Boats sailing between Osaka and Fushimi often stopped there.

³ Kiyamachi was the section of Kyoto most familiar to Kido. Located east of the Imperial Palace, it was the place in which the inn favored by Kido was located, and it was there that he built his own house on the banks of the Kamo River just before his death in 1877. The inn is still open, called Ikumatsu Ryokan after Kido's geisha wife who first lived with him there.

23 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/4] In the morning guests swarmed in. Ōkubo Ichizō⁴ was one of them. He will accompany his Lord⁵ to Edo tomorrow. At 10 I went to the cabinet offices with Hirosawa. There Lord Iwakura invited me to his side for a quiet discussion. We talked confidentially about the recent situation in the West, the shape of things in our own country, and the management of our problems hereafter.

Today there was an Imperial Proclamation conferring on me the position of *Sanyo*, Junior Councilor, with the Fourth Court Rank, Junior Grade. I did accept the office of Junior Councilor but I deferred acceptance of court rank. At 4 I returned to my place. At night Old Kitagawa and I took a stroll around Sanjō Bridge. In the evening Nagaoka Kenkichi came to my place. I met the Abbot of the Kōbai-in for the first time.

24 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/5] At 8 I went to the Palace. The Lord of Satsuma was supposed to depart for the East today; but when Saigō arrived in Kyoto under orders from the Commander-in-Chief, and reported on the situation in the Kantō, suddenly the Lord was ordered to delay his journey East. Troops were dispatched along the two main roads into the Tōhoku region.

In the evening rain came down in torrents as if the heavens had opened up. I went out to the Seigadō and the Raisandō. At night, with Old Kitagawa and Ryūtō, I paid a visit to Sessō; but he was not home. We went to the Kikuchūrō for a few drinks; and at 12 I returned to my inn.

25 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/6] In the morning Sessō and Aizan

⁴ Ōkubo Ichizō was the early name of Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830–1848), who is grouped with Saigō and Kido as one of “the three heroes of the Restoration.” A 150-*roku* Satsuma samurai, Ōkubo attracted the attention of Lord Shimazu Nariakira in 1851, and by 1862 the young retainer handled much of his lord’s detailed paperwork. Ōkubo’s career was remarkably like Kido’s. Both were moderates in the loyalist parties in their respective *han*, and served as bridges between their *han* lords and lower samurai extremists. Together they negotiated the secret Satsuma-Chōshū alliance in 1866 preparatory to restoring the Emperor to direct rule in 1868. They collaborated to abolish feudalism in 1871. The two men travelled abroad with the Iwakura mission to America and Europe, 1871–1873, and returned to engineer the victory of the Peace Party over those who wished to go to war with Korea. After 1873 Ōkubo emerged as the dominant figure in the Meiji oligarchy, while Kido’s star dimmed. Home Minister Ōkubo proved to be the steadier and more persuasive politician, though a cool and remote one, while Kido was the more colorful and passionate advocate of the interests of those affected adversely by the rapid pace of modernization.

⁵ Shimazu Tadayoshi was then Lord of Satsuma.

came, as did Mōri . . . of Tosa and Aoyama Shōsaburō of Echizen. We drafted a proposal for severe punishment of assassins. Today I had an appointment with the Abbot of the Kōbai-in. With Old Kita I went to Sōshitsu’s house.⁶ The architecture of the house was superb. A scroll painting of the Gion Festival was hanging in the *tokonoma*, or alcove, of the house. It was the one which Lord Nobunaga⁷ had ordered painted when he restored the Gion Festival;⁸ and then Lord Nobunaga presented it to this family. It is not mere coincidence that I saw this scroll in this tea-room on this day. A statue of Sen no Rikyū⁹ was there. The head was sculpted while he lived, and the body was added later. I drank two cups of powdered tea. In the afternoon I went over to the Kōbai-in with the Abbot, took a nap, and, when I awoke, had a few cups of saké and drank some more powdered tea while chatting with the Abbot. I felt as if I had shaken off the cares of the world this day.

On the way home I went to Lord Iwakura’s by appointment; and we discussed several confidential matters until 10 at night. He gave me saké and dinner. I met Nawa Yurumi¹⁰ and at 11 p.m. I returned to my inn. A Morioka man, Kitada Sadaji, came over to report that a steward of his domain had gone to Sendai where he concluded a pact with the Bakufu remnants. The man was worried about the troubles of the nation; and he seemed particularly hard-pressed because of the flight of a comrade named

⁶ Sen no Sōshitsu (1622–1697) was the founder of the popular Urasenke school of tea ceremony; and each successive head of the school bore the name of Sōshitsu. Sen no Sōshitsu XV is now in office.

⁷ Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) was the first of the three sixteenth-century unifiers of Japan. Nobunaga was killed at the Honnōji temple in Kyoto in 1582 by a discontented retainer.

⁸ The Gion Festival in Kyoto is one of the three greatest festivals in Japan. It originated in the ninth century when the head priest of the Yasaka Shrine organized a procession of decorated shrine wagons to ward off a pestilence ravaging the city. There is a *yoruri* play about Nobunaga’s relationship to the festival.

⁹ Sen no Rikyū (1521–1591) was the founder of the dominant Senke school of tea ceremony. He was patronized by Nobunaga and by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who put him in charge of his great Kitano tea party in 1588 and ordered him to revise the rules of tea ceremony to make it practicable even for townsmen. Later Hideyoshi ordered Sen no Rikyū to commit *seppuku*—allegedly for his arrogance (since Rikyū had a statue of himself placed before the Daitokuji temple gate), but possibly because Hideyoshi coveted Rikyū’s daughter.

¹⁰ Nawa Yurumi was also named Nawa Michikazu (1837–1873); he was a Chōshū man who at this time was in the service of Deputy Chancellor Iwakura Tomomi. Nawa died in Boston at the age of thirty-six. In the diary Kido used the earlier ideographs for his name.

Medoki Takanoshin from his domain; therefore I felt obliged to accept his request, and gave orders that Kitada should be put up in the Ikedaya.

We had a report from the Odawara area today that the domain there has surrendered to the Imperial forces; and there is the opinion that things have quieted down in Suruga, Tōtomi, and Misawa provinces in the Tōkaidō. In the evening rain came down in sheets again.

26 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/7] In the morning I went up to the Palace at the usual time, and after 2 I returned to my place. I was the only Junior Councilor who went to attend on his duties at the office today.

27 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/8] I went to my post of duty at the usual time. The Emperor appeared for a conference to consider the matter of the Satsuma Lord's¹¹ return home. In the end it was decided to grant him leave. The plan is for the Lord, within thirty days of his return home, to lead a large contingent of troops from his province to the Kantō. Saigō also will accompany the Lord back to their province. I returned to my home at the usual time. At night I visited Hirosawa and Terauchi; and we went to the Kashiwatei.

(Note) It was yesterday that I visited Hirosawa and Terauchi.

28 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/9] I went to my post of duty as usual; and at 3 I returned to my inn. On the way I stopped to visit Sessō, but he had already returned to his home province. My greatest disappointment in quite a while is the fact that I was unable to have a quiet talk with him after I came back to Kyoto.

(Note: Everything hereafter took place on [27 July].)

I intended to visit Old Shōsu, but Kōseki, the old gentleman next door, invited me over; and the chief retainer of Iga, Tōdō Izumo, who was there, pressed me to come. In addition, several other men from that domain and Fujii Teisuke came. Seigadō was in attendance on us, as was the lady Shōhin who is fond of painting and plays the *gekin*, the Chinese moon guitar. Shōsu and Hirosawa

¹¹ Shimazu Tadayoshi, the son of the more famous and powerful Shimazu Hisamitsu—who was Regent but never Lord.

also came; and we promised to meet at the Matsumototei tomorrow evening. I had an appointment with a man from Iwakuni tonight, so I went to the Kashiwatei for it. A report has come in today in regard to the battle of Shirakawa on the Ōu front; and although the government army has frequently won victories, in facing a large enemy force with few troops, our army is exhausted and has made an urgent request for reinforcements.¹² A letter also came from Iwakura. I reported back, requesting again that I go to the Kantō to help with the war.

29 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/10] This morning Mihori Shunkō came, saying that Saigō had gone to the Chōshū military headquarters in Rokujō to report on recent developments. Shunkō came to transmit official orders to me. I disagree with many of Saigō's views strongly, but shall keep quiet for the time being. I went to my post of duty before 12; and I returned to my inn after 2. En route I visited Seigadō and Raisandō.

After 4 Shōshu, Seiho, Kōseki, and I went to the Matsumototei. (Note: From "after 4" occurred on [July 28].) The samurai whom I met yesterday from Tōdō's domain were there. We emptied many saké cups, and the place was in an uproar. As the night wore on each of us enjoyed ourselves with calligraphy and brush painting. Shōhin came again. The chief retainer of Izumo (whose pen name is Tatus'un), an art afficianado, Hirosawa, and Terauchi also came.

(Note: This paragraph is [29 July].) In the morning I went to my post of duty at the usual time. We made inquiry into the degree of loyalty of the various domains of Mutsu province,¹³ and on the basis of our information decided what to do with each of them. I proposed that we raise a large government army and develop a comprehensive strategy to suppress the rebel movement. Moreover, if we do not take a long-range view of things, as to how it will be a hundred years after the pacification of the rebels, we shall not be able to build a firm foundation for our nation, particularly in the light of the spirit which prevails today. Much of today's discussion was puerile. I talked over our future policies

¹² Kido wrote a moving *tanka* poem about those who fell at Shirakawa when he visited the battlefield in 1876 in attendance on the Emperor Meiji.

¹³ Mutsu province, or Ōshū, embraced the modern prefectures of Iwaki, Iwashi, Rikuzen, Rikuchū, and Rikuoku.

at length with Soejima, and find that he agrees with my assessment. I withdrew at the usual time. En route home I paid a visit to the greenhouse, and bought two or three plants and trees. The rain came down in sheets as if poured out of a bowl. At night Zenshin, Seiho, and I went to the Kikuchū in Sambongi, and I returned home at midnight.

30 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/11] In the morning I went to Lord Iwakura's mansion in response to his invitation. We discussed confidential matters relating to the Emperor's trip East. Before noon I went to the Chōshū military headquarters in Rokujō, where I reported on recent developments, and a decision was made to dispatch more troops to the front. I prepared an official report to send home to the domain government. At night a person who lives in the . . . mansion entertained me and others at dinner in the Nakamura. More than ten people were present. Today Gotō Shōjirō's letter came, giving news on domestic and foreign affairs.

31 July 1868 [Meiji 1/6/12] I went to my post of duty at the usual time. His Majesty the Emperor was present; and he consulted us on the matter of relief for the impoverished. Present at the meeting at the Goendōri, the veranda next to the Imperial quarters, were Deputy Chancellor Iwakura; five Senior Councilors—Nakayama,¹⁴ Tokudaiji,¹⁵ and the Lords of Tosa,¹⁶ Echizen,¹⁷ and Uwajima;¹⁸ and three Junior Councilors—Fukuoka, Iwashita, and me. I was ordered east posthaste to prepare for the Emperor's visit to the Kantō; I accepted this important assignment with a great deal of trepidation. At 3 I returned home; and at night Kōseki, Shōhin, and I had a little get-together.

1 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/13] I did not feel well, so I stayed

¹⁴ Nakayama Tadayasu (1809–1888) was a court noble who had inherited the mantle of Imperial Restoration from his great-grandfather. Nakayama's second daughter, Yoshiko, had been the lady-in-waiting who gave birth to Emperor Kōmei's child, Mutsuhito; and Nakayama, therefore, was the grandfather of the Meiji Emperor. In 1868 Nakayama was very active politically; as he retired from the center of the stage he was assigned supervision of Shinto institutions.

¹⁵ Tokudaiji Sanenori (1838–1919), court noble, long served the Emperor Meiji as Grand Chamberlain. Tokudaiji was the elder brother of Saionji Kimochi.

¹⁶ Yamanouchi Yōdō.

¹⁷ Matsudaira Shungaku.

¹⁸ Date Munenari.

home all day. At night Kōseki came over. Lord Iwakura, the Deputy Chancellor, came to visit. As my house had filled up with guests, he went on to Hirosawa's, and I accompanied him there. After we studied reports from Echigo and the news from the Kantō, we decided to dispatch troops to Echigo. An informal decision was reached for Prince Ninnaji¹⁹ to go to the northern front. We discussed a dozen matters at once, from early evening to midnight. This morning Nomura Shōshichi came to visit me. A letter arrived from Inoue Segai.

2 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/14] I went to my government office at the usual time. In the morning I visited Ōki.²⁰

3 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/15] I had an audience with my Lord at the Chōshū military headquarters in Rokujō; and I gave him a detailed account of the present situation. A heavy rain came in the evening; but it cleared up immediately.

4 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/16] In the morning Nawa came to see me as a confidential messenger from Lord Iwakura. In the evening we had a little get together at the Ibaragirō in Sambongi in the evening on the invitation of Nagaoka Kenkichi. Present were Kaiō, Ryūtō, Kōran, Shōhin, Aizan, Kyūkyō, Raizan, Shōsū, and me. At midnight I went home.

(Note) A report came in from the northern provinces today; and we can imagine what a desperate fight is taking place. I sent Yamagata Sokyō a response to the report at once.

5 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/17] I went to my government office at the usual time. Reports from Echigo have come frequently of late. We have now decided on a plan for attacking in full force; and we shall try to put it into effect with the utmost speed. I regret that we are handicapped in transporting our forces because so few

¹⁹ An Imperial Prince who was named nominal commander of the troops there. Ninnaji Yoshiakira had been appointed Director of Military Affairs, or *Gunji Sōsai*, immediately after the Battle of Toba-Fushimi in January, 1868, and he was given the added title of *Seitō Taishōgun*, or General-in-Chief of the Eastern Expeditionary Forces, shortly afterward.

²⁰ Ōki Takatō (1832–1899) was a loyalist samurai from Saga *han*. He directed the move of the capital from Kyoto to Tokyo in 1869, and Kido's visit to him might have been related to that undertaking. Later Ōki served as Justice Minister.

large ships are available. With so many worries, day and night, I am unable to find peace of mind.

6 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/18] In the morning I joined Aizan, Ryūtō, Shōhin, Seiho, and Raizan at the Matsumototei. At the request of my friends I took my brush in hand to do calligraphy for about a dozen poems. Today the Old Lord of Chōshū relaxed at Suminokura.²¹ He called me there for sakè and a talk; and around 4 he returned to his mansion.

I then met with Hirosawa, and expressed my feelings about the situation. It was the will of Heaven that power should be restored to the Imperial government last winter; but the Restoration was fully realized only after many loyal and benevolent men had sacrificed their lives in the service of the Imperial family. Several dozen of my friends fell as martyrs to the cause of the Empire, but by chance I have survived to this day. Must I not give my utter devotion to the cause of the nation? In my humble view the Imperial Government at present has but little military power or authority; and our troubles with foreign nations are critical beyond comprehension. At this time when the Imperial family fortunes have taken a slight upward turn by our recognition that the highest loyalty of a subject is to his Emperor, Heaven has not yet completely abandoned our Divine Land. But the rebel flame still burns; and indications are clear that the traitors are making a major drive to achieve their goals. Since spring, therefore, I have wanted to take advantage of the present opportunity to sweep the Tōhoku completely clear of the enemy while our spirit is undiminished, establish a broad foundation for our nation, and spread its influence abroad on a grand scale, so that those who inherit our mission will delineate the borders of our Divine Land with precision, and spread our influence abroad beginning with Karafuto and Kamchatka. Now, however, we are not sure whether we can even hold Japan proper. The number of loyal and righteous samurai who have died violent deaths on the field of battle without yet having achieved their purpose is legion, and their souls wander restlessly about the realm of the dead. Those of us who have survived to this day owe it to those who have died

²¹ Suminokura was apparently the house of an important merchant.

for the cause to accomplish their purpose so that their souls might rest in peace.

It is essential that edicts from the national government reach the localities, and that we maintain close contact in giving them effect. It is for this reason that I write countless letters to all parts of the country to make my ideas known.

In the early part of the year gossip circulated in Yamaguchi castletown that I was so preoccupied with affairs of the Imperial government that I was neglecting my own country of Chōshū, or else that I was disloyal to my Lord. Certainly I usually concerned myself with problems of the central government; but in doing so I was repaying my obligation to my Lord to soothe the souls of our fallen samurai. Still those vicious rumors were in circulation everywhere. On hearing of the impasse in the affairs of our domain, I was so filled with regret that I did not know what to say. I was so overwhelmed with anxiety that I pressed for leave from the Imperial Government to return to Yamaguchi castletown. There I made clear how I had always felt, so the controversy was settled to some degree, and appropriate decisions reached. In my heart I was delighted that my sincere approach could still have some little effect; and one night, as I paid my respects to my Lords²² from afar, the tears streamed down.

Now once again people misunderstand me. Their discussion of my views tends to be murky and irrelevant. This situation in my domain impinges on my thoughts constantly. If I am so ineffective in dealing with my own countrymen, how can I be effective in the Imperial Government? At the same time that I am hearing these rumors, I am also disturbed by the daily reports of severe fighting which is taking place in the Tōhoku. Things go contrary to my wishes eight or nine times out of ten even in my home province, as I noted before. So to make up for my failures I went to see the commander of the vanguard forces of the Imperial armies; but, although I made several appeals to him, he would not give me permission to serve with him. Rather than that, I was given informal orders to hasten to the scene of the big political troubles in Edo. I have been driven into a corner.

²² The two Lords were Mōri Takachika and his adopted son, Mōri Motonori, who had the active direction of Chōshū affairs in his hands. Motonori was officially only the Heir.

Suspicious about me are in circulation without end. I am human, after all, so I cannot be relaxed about the situation. But I must always guard myself against becoming excessively emotional. I remember what I was told by two men of my acquaintance, now deceased.²³ One day, when I feared that I might make a mistake because of my emotional nature, I asked for their opinions. One of them sat up straight in a formal position, and said, "Loyalty and filial piety are altogether emotional in quality. What I deplore in people is heartlessness." The other said, "I have seen you help people, but I have never seen you deceive a man. The injury done to a man by deceiving him is great; while the harm done by assistance to him is slight. Most of those whom you have helped are the right sort of people." Despite this advice from my two acquaintances, I still act with circumspection. Even though one discard his emotional nature, and live without commitment to a righteous cause, his troubles may well go on endlessly. These are cruel times, and people still advise me to be less emotional. I am at a loss as to what do do.

I drank more than I should have tonight, and I dreamed endlessly. At times the moon shone brightly, then again it was hidden behind a cloud. My two acquaintances have died, so I do not record their names; but I grieve for them.

7 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/19] I went to my government office at the usual hour; and I was summoned before the Throne to receive the Imperial Orders in person. His Majesty is concerned about the suffering of his people during the hot season. To me he presented a purse, a fan, a long *kiseru* pipe, a tobacco pouch, a silver pipe, and some white silk cloth. I received the Imperial Rescript and withdrew from the Presence.

The Imperial Rescript read: "Kido Jun'ichirō: It is part of Our grand design to make Edo our Eastern capital to be called Tokyo, so we command you to hasten to the East to consult there with the Governor-General²⁴ and with Deputy Chancellor Sanjō, reporting back to Us afterwards. Tell the two of them there that they are ordered to take charge of the supremely important matter

²³ An informed guess is that these two men were Takasugi Shinsaku and Kusaka Genzui.

²⁴ *Daisitoku*, or Governor-General; Arisugawa Taruhito was the Imperial Prince who held the nominal headship of government under the title of *Sōsai*, or Chancellor.

of developing an appropriate strategy for pacification of the Empire, and the establishment of its foundations. It is hereby ordered.

7 August 1868"

8 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/20] At 7 I left Kyoto for Fushimi. There I boarded the same ship as Old Kitagawa to sail down the Yodo River; and we reached Naniwa at 5. I had had an appointment to go down to Osaka last night with Ōki. As I had been delayed he called at my inn; and, since I had still not come, he left me instructions on what to do on my arrival in Osaka.

Tonight I visited Gotō. The time flew by as we talked; but I did complete my urgent business. Gotō agreed with my views. At 10 I returned to my inn, where I discovered that Old Kitagawa had been waiting for me for several hours; but, owing to my late return, he had left. I went out to find him; and the two of us went to the Kawasarō. There I met Fujii Meikai and Nagayasu Wasō. I entrusted . . . with my album of paintings.

9 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/21] I stayed in my room all day. There I prepared a letter to send to His Excellency, Lord Iwakura; and I wrote letters to Hirosawa, Terauchi, and Inoue Zenshin. Because the steamship chartered from Higo was scheduled to leave Kobe tomorrow, I expected to depart from Naniwa this evening to go to Kobe. When evening came I received word that the schedule had been changed, and that the date of departure is undecided; so I abandoned preparations for my Kobe trip. In the evening I visited Ōki's inn; and I also called on Fujii Meikai.

(Note) This evening a heavy rainstorm came to sweep away the heat. I have not experienced such intense heat since I left Kyoto.

10 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/22] At dawn a letter arrived from Hasegawa Jin'emon of Higo domain, reporting that his ship would depart very soon, and that we should go to the river mouth by 8 to board the American ship. But if the American vessel did not come, we should go on over to Kobe to board it. The letter was confusing; but after I had talked with Ōki we went to the river mouth. As we did not see the American ship, we went on to Kobe, visited Itō Hōbai, and finally found out what we must do. I met some Kobe friends at the Tetsuya for drinks; and at 4 we boarded

ship. Very quickly we raised anchor to sail to the river mouth in Naniwa, where we anchored at dusk. We were scheduled to pull in the anchor immediately after the Higo men boarded at midnight; but they asked for a postponement of our departure until 8 a.m. tomorrow. Thus we were at leisure tonight. At dawn I met Hasegawa Jin'emon on board our ship.

(Note) Those who are accompanying me on this journey are Seiho, Shinagawa Yajirō, Sasaki Chūsuke, Oka Asajirō, and the servant Matsujirō. Another person made a sudden request to go with me; and, when I saw how strongly he felt about it, I allowed him to go. From his behavior when he came to Kobe I could not tell what his purpose was. On reaching Edo, however, it developed that the man who accompanied me was Hirakata Jūshichi, who had been captured in the spring, finally escaped, and was cared for in the Chōshū mansion. His mother lives in the Kantō. Inasmuch as he was captured at Hirakata at the age of seventeen, we call him Hirakata Jūshichi.²⁵

11 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/23] By 8 a.m. only a handful of Higo men had arrived, so we could not pull up anchor. By 11 the people still had not assembled, so the Americans forced the men to raise the anchor. Presently a large boat and two small ones approached the ship; and after a big argument the captain finally stopped his ship. It was already 12 o'clock. The sky over the Naniwa Sea has been cloudy since yesterday, and a strong easterly wind has been blowing. By the time we reached a point off . . . Island, the weather had cleared up; and a west wind came up to carry the ship along. Last month when I returned from Mitajiri to Naniwa there was a strong east wind; then off the shore of Bizen a severe west wind started to blow. This is the pattern of the Inland Sea. In ocean cruises the wind and the tide have even more clearly defined routes. Mastery of these navigational principles is a pressing matter for our country today. How can we possibly maintain the integrity of our Empire in this age unless we are able to defend our lengthy coastline? Yet most of our people seem to know nothing of the science of navigation. How I regret it.

²⁵ Jūshichi means "seventeen." This note, in the margin of the original diary, was obviously written later.

12 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/24] At 9 we commanded a splendid view of the Pacific, and saw Mt. Fuji, the queen of Japan's peaks, in the distance. At 6 we arrived off Shimoda in Izu province; and throughout the day we had a view of Mt. Fuji on our left. Once, in April, 1863, the Year of the Boar, I decided to leave this defiled land of Edo never to return; but during the six or seven years since then the situation in the nation has changed completely; an eternity has passed. Among our partisans who were active in those trying times in Edo, barely two or three out of ten have survived. That I have lived to see our cause prosper fills me with deepest emotion.

13 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/25] At 7 we anchored off Shinagawa where we hired a fishing boat to take us ashore at the place facing Shinagawa Bridge. We then went to the Matsuokaya for some rest and to clean ourselves up. From there Ōki and I went to the bath-house Oka'agetei to bathe, and on to the Miyoshiya to eat. This morning we chanced to see Oume, proprietress of the Miyoshiya, on the street; so she came over to make arrangements for us. We left Shinagawa at about 11 a.m. to go to the military headquarters at Nishinomaru.²⁶ There we met Ōmura; and he went with Ōki and me to report our arrival in the East to Prince Sanjō's aide. Ōki then left to go to his domain mansion, while Ōmura and I stayed to discuss what has happened in domestic and foreign affairs since May. Ōkubo turned up, and Ōki came again, so we all talked together until nightfall when each went his separate way. Today I met Takahashi Kumatarō and Nashiba Saikichi²⁷ . . .

14 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/26] In the morning Iida Takejirō came. With Mr. Ōki I had an audience with Lord Sanjō; and I reported to him on all important political developments, beginning with the matter of the Emperor's visit to the East. After 3 I paid a visit to Shiroganeya Hachigorō to order him to make me a sword with a plum blossom design. Leaving there, I went to the Sakuraya, then on to the Suigetsu; and after 7 I returned home.

²⁶ The west wing of Edo Castle.

²⁷ Nashiba Saikichi (1850–1928) was a loyalist Chōshū samurai, who fought in the Boshin War. Later he became a Vice-Admiral and member of the House of Peers, and distinguished himself in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars.

15 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/27] In the morning I met with Ōkubo, Ōmura, and Ōki at my place to confer confidentially about important pending matters. We reached a rough agreement; therefore, all of us went into audience with Prince Sanjō to discuss the particulars. No special disagreement developed.

In truth His Majesty had made it clear that he will be pleased to visit Edo, taking this opportunity. When the area is pacified, he wishes to make decisions in person in regard to rewards and punishments and other important matters. His visit is related directly to the making of a foundation for our Divine Land's great revival; therefore, I expect to report back to Kyoto quickly once we have reached a decision on it. I had fixed the date of my return beforehand.

After 3 I took a walk from the Nihonbashi area to the vicinity of Dōrichō, where I stopped at the Sakuraya for a short rest and sent Chūsuke out to visit Sushikura. Sushikura was a man who worked on our behalf during the Edo Mansion incident by hiding Inoue Zenshin.²⁸ I then went to the Shiroganeya to visit Etō, with whom I had an appointment; and Ōkubo and Ōmura also turned up. Etō has been a loyalist samurai of Hizen domain from old times. Having subscribed to the loyalist cause, he fled from his domain and came to Kyoto to visit me in 1862, the Year of the Dog; so I had him hide in Yamaguchi Shigejirō's house. Later, in the spring of 1867, the Year of the Hare, I had a letter from him; then I met him again this spring. He is one of the abler men among my acquaintances of the present age. We talked and joked, and drank a great deal. At 7 I returned home.

16 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/28] In the morning, a heavy rain. Today Ōkubo, Ōmura, Ōki, and I discussed several matters—everything from the style of the Edo City Hall to the location of the military garrison for the eight provinces of the Kantō. We reported back to Prince Sanjō, requesting that he make decisions on them in a general way.

After 3 I paid a visit to Saitō's. The old man and Yakurō,²⁹

²⁸ Professor Itagaki Tetsuo believes that this relates to difficulties in Edo for men involved in the Kinmonten Incident in Kyoto in 1864, the abortive Chōshū attack on the Hamaguri Gate.

²⁹ Saitō Yakurō (1789–1871) was one of the three celebrated swordsmanship instructors in Edo. Kido studied with him in the 1850s and became head student at his Rempaikan Academy. The school was a hotbed of political agitation as well as a

Shirō, Gorō, and Rokurō were all at home. They brought out sakē; and we talked oblivious of the passing time. Today I met the proprietor of the Tani Tailor Shop and his wife at Kōjimachi, 3-chōme. This couple assisted me during my stay in Edo ten years ago. Both are in good health; and I gave them a little money before my departure. This evening the Lord of Hizen³⁰ extended an invitation to me; therefore, I went to his mansion immediately for an audience. The Lord treated me hospitably; and I became quite drunk before returning home after 7. Today Ōkubo and Ōmura also came to attend on the Lord, as did Ōki.

17 August 1868 [Meiji 1/6/29] In the morning I had an audience with Prince Sanjō. He handed me his reply to the Throne and a statement under his signature—which was what I had requested. His Excellency's opinions about the style of the Edo City Hall and on the military garrison for the eight provinces of the Kantō differ from ours. In consequence, I discussed these matters with Ōkubo, Ōki, and Ōmura again. We had another audience with the Prince for further discussion, finally coming to an agreement in principle. I then talked with Ōkubo and Ōmura about other matters relating to my return to Kyoto. At 2 I departed from Edo Castle.

We have stayed in Edo Castle throughout this visit. I recall that three years ago the men of Edo were trying to take over our own province of Chōshū. Today the situation is reversed, and we are staying in their castle. Men who would manage the affairs of the Empire must be prudent.

On my way to the castle I visited Shirogane again, and I went to Takanawa via Jimmyōmae to meet Saitō and his son. They had come to see me off. I met Ume of the Miyoshiya—who entrusted her son Tetsu to my care. At 5 we reached Sametsu. Ōkubo, Ōmura, and Takashi were already at the Kamaya there; and I was surprised to meet Komatsu. . . . Komatsu had been en route from Yokohama to Edo, accompanying a foreigner; and, hearing that I would depart today, he had been waiting here for some

center for learning the finer points of sword handling; it was located in the Iidamachi section of the city. Egawa Tarōzaemon was one of the backers of the school. The diary entry says literally "Old Saitō and Yakurō," and Kido may have intended to write the name of Shintarō, the son and heir.

³⁰ This probably refers to Nabeshima Kansō, who retired as Lord in 1861 but remained notably active in politics.

time. At dusk Ōki also came. Ume of the Miyoshiya also came in; and several geisha from Shiba were present. The gentlemen told me that they had prepared a farewell party for me. Saitō and his son also came to the restaurant; and Nemoto Shinzō, Egawa's³¹ retainer, came along with them. After Nemoto had left, Saitō and his son had several drinks with me and we said our goodbyes. Ōkubo, Ōmura, and Takahashi bade me farewell about 7 and left. After a while I took a small boat, and with Ōki went out to the *Kōshimaru*, the Hizen warship. Lord Ōhara was also aboard this ship. I met Captain Masuda. . . . On board I was treated with more deference than I deserved.

I have come back to Edo for the first time since I departed the place in March 1863, the Year of the Boar; but the mansions of the lords and the spirit of the town do not even resemble the way things were in the old days. How rapidly have the mighty fallen! The local people have lost much of their vitality, and their eyes have the look of famine victims.

³¹ This would be the son of Egawa Tarōzaemon (1801–1855), under whom Kido studied gunnery and surveying in 1854. Egawa was a student of the Dutch Learning and an early modernizer. Even though Egawa served the Shogunate as Chief Magistrate of Nirayama on the Izu Peninsula, he accepted Kido, from the somewhat hostile domain of Chōshū, headed by a *tozama* daimyō, on the recommendation of Saitō Yakurō, the swordsmanship master.

Seventh Month

18 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/1] We hoisted anchor after 6. Between 9 and 11 we sailed off Uraga to Miyata. It was in this area that more than ten years ago the Chōshū guard encampment was established. I was stationed here for more than a year; and my campmates included Kuribara Seikō¹ and other friends, half of whom are now deceased. In these times I never cease to think back on days gone by, and my tears flow without end. At twilight we reached the port of Shimoda.²

19 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/2] At dawn we sailed out to the Sea of Tōtōmi where we were completely out of sight of mountains. After 5 p.m. we reached Asōura in Shima province, at which place we cast anchor. At twilight Ōki and I landed, went to the house of a Mr. Konya, had a bath, and stayed overnight. A drizzling rain fell between 6 and 7 for a short time, then cleared up.

20 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/3] We hoisted the anchor at 6 a.m.; and by the time we reached Kumanoura in Kii province the sun had set. We passed Ōshima at 2 in the morning. Today's heat was scorching.

21 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/4] After 6 in the morning we passed

¹ Seikō is an early name of Kuribara Ryōzō (1828–1862), who married Kido's younger sister Haruko. In 1854 at Uraga, where Kuribara was charged with preparing coastal defenses by the Chōshū detachment in the area assigned it by the Bakufu, Kido first met his future brother-in-law. Thus both were directly involved in the Japanese response to the crisis precipitated by Matthew C. Perry's arrival in Japanese waters. A poignant early death awaited Kuribara in 1862. He committed suicide in the Chōshū mansion in Edo out of shame for a reproof from the Chōshū Heir for his leadership of a radical plot to attack the foreign legations in Yokohama. Ever after Kido was solicitous in his care of his widowed younger sister. Her son, Shōjirō, became Kido's adopted heir; and when Shōjirō died, his elder brother Kuribara Hikotarō assumed headship of the family as Kido Takamasa.

² Shimoda was a major port of call for vessels sailing between Edo and Osaka. It was also the first open port in Japan under the Treaty of Kanagawa, the Perry treaty; Townsend Harris resided there as United States Consul from 1856 to 1860.

off Tanabe in Kii province. The sky was filled with threatening clouds; and the northwesterly wind was very strong. Heavy rain fell between 10 and 11, when the sky suddenly cleared up. At 4 p.m. we passed Tomajima; and about 12 midnight we anchored at Tempōzan. We hired a small boat so Ōki and I and the rest of the party could land.

22 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/5] At dawn we arrived at Nakano-shima, where I stayed in the same inn with Old Kitagawa again.³ A heavy rain came about 6. After 7 I visited Gotō Shōjirō at the Courthouse; and I heard from him about recent events in the Kyoto area. He says that Soejima Jirō and Nishiyama Naimitsu⁴ had conspired with Deputy Chancellor Iwakura to obtain a letter of authorization to go off to Dewa province. Hearing this, I am terribly upset—and worried. Gotō also said that he had had a big argument with Soejima over this matter.

At 3 I returned to my inn. Godai Saisuke⁵ and Itō Shunsuke⁶ then followed me to Gotō's place. At twilight I sent a message to Ōki; and in the evening Ōki came to talk over matters. He is upset about things, too. Lord Kansō⁷ is returning to his province for a time; and he came down to Osaka today. At night I went to the Kawasarō on the northside with Old Kitagawa, Fujii Meikai, and Nagayasu Wasō.

23 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/6] In the morning, rain. At 7 I went with Old Kitagawa and Nagayasu Wasō to the house of Shōbei who deals in tea ceremony utensils in Fushimi-chō. There I purchased a tea cup, a water jug, and a lacquered bowl. Today at 11 I met Mitsuoka Hachirō, who had an appointment with

³ This might be read Old Hoku. It could be Hokuō, the penname of a person whom I have not been able to identify.

⁴ This might be a misprint for Nishiyama Wasō.

⁵ Saisuke is an early name for Godai Tomoatsu (1834–1885), in 1868 a Junior Councillor from Satsuma in the Meiji government. As an official in Satsuma *han* he specialized in naval affairs, and commanded the Satsuma fleet at the time of the English bombardment of Kagoshima, the castletown, in 1863. Having gotten the worst of his encounter with the English naval forces, Godai led a delegation of Satsuma students to England in 1865. His major achievement in the central government in 1868 was the successful opening of the port of Osaka to foreign trade. Shortly afterward, he left government to pursue a full-time business career.

⁶ Shunsuke is an early name for Itō Hirobumi, who earlier in these pages was referred to as Hōbai.

⁷ Nabeshima Kansō, the retired Lord of Saga domain.

Gotō. I served him a cup of weak ceremonial tea. I also prepared some saké, but after one drink we left for Gotō's, where Gotō, Mitsuoka, and I had a frank talk about the situation in both the East and the West of our country. Today Gotō treated the two of us to a meal of Western-style cuisine. At 4 I returned to my inn where I had some farewell drinks with Old Kitagawa, Fujii Meikai, Nagayasu Wasō, and Mr. Fukuda Kyōhei.

At that point the tea utensil dealer, Shōbei, arrived. After 8 Ōki and I boarded our ship, and immediately set sail up the Yodo River.

24 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/7] By the time we reached Hirakata the dawn had broken in the East. Light rain fell on us from time to time; we reached Fushimi after 12; and at 4 we arrived in Kyoto. I went immediately to the Chōshū military headquarters for an audience with the Lord of Chōshū, reporting on the main developments in the Tōhoku and the Kantō regions, and on the major decisions on problems entrusted to me on the trip East. Further, I reported in detail about what was decided for dealing with the military situation in the Tōhoku; and I received my Lord's opinion on these matters. Hirokawa also happened to be present during the audience; and we withdrew from the chamber together to go to my home. From there we went off to see Hasshin's new house, where it happened that Terauchi and Mihori were already seated; so we discussed the general situation in the Tōhoku with them. I left ahead of my friends to go home.

(Note) At midnight an express courier arrived to report that Prince Kowamaru⁸ had fallen into a critical condition on the 16th. I was astonished and overwhelmed with anxiety. I worried so much about the grief that this would bring my Lord that I could not sleep.

25 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/8] In the morning guests arrived continuously. I had an appointment with Ōki at 9; and we went together up to the official chambers to see the Deputy Chancellor.⁹ We paid our respects in audience with him, and reported in detail the important decisions which require Imperial edicts. After

⁸ The son of the Chōshū Heir Apparent, Mōri Motonori.

⁹ Iwakura Tomomi.

talking over those questions on which I had orders, we had a discussion of the Deputy Chancellor's trip to the northern provinces. I answered that firmness of the foundation is essential; and when we are dispatching troops to various fronts, it is as clear as reading one's own palm that victory depends on the firmness of the center. It is not proper, therefore, from the standpoint of the nation for the central pillar of state to move about so lightly in this critical time. He did not say a word. I withdrew from his presence with Ōki, and returned home.

The courier leaves for Chōshū tonight, so I wrote letters until twilight. In the evening I visited Mihori Shunkō; and we talked over the situation in the eastern provinces in detail. Hattori called at my place, but, not finding me home, he came on over to Mihori's. We finished talking after 8, and I went home. Today the old lady from the Sanrō came over with her younger sister; and, just as we were about to start drinking, Takasu Katsuma came. He told me that the Deputy Chancellor was on the point of passing my front gate, so I hurried out to meet him; and we had a leisurely talk until midnight. The Deputy Chancellor is very anxious to go to the northern provinces. Katsuma is serving as his attendant for the time being. I went to sleep, but became ill between 2 and 3 a.m., though by dawn I had recovered a bit.

26 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/9] Because of my illness I was unable to go out today. A letter came from Ōki inquiring after me; and I replied that I had not appeared because of my illness. Gotō Shōjirō came to visit. He said that he had had an audience with Lord Iwakura this morning; and during it Gotō told the Lord bluntly that his trip north was improper. Gotō said that the Deputy Chancellor seemed to recognize the fact. This morning guests arrived unendingly.

27 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/10] I was ill in bed all day, and stayed home. At twilight I went to Suginochara's inn with Hiro-sawa, Terauchi, and Mihori. At 11 p.m. I returned home.

28 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/11] Today by Imperial edict memorial services were held on the Parade Grounds for those samurai who have died in the war; and various domains were ordered to send troops for the parade held to console the spirits of the dead,

The Chōshū mansion sent out a battalion of troops to do close-order drill. Priests dispatched by the Department of Shinto Religion presented blessed sakè and sanctified rice. I went home just after noon, and stayed for the rest of the day.

29 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/12] The order went out that Chōshū domain will go into mourning as of today because of the death of Prince Wakomaru. Thus I notified the Imperial Secretary¹⁰ that our domain would be in mourning confinement, and that I cannot go to the Palace. Kōyama Satae¹¹ came about 1 in connection with official business. At dusk Ōki and Iwaya came; Iwaya is a man whom I knew nine years ago. Today I had an appointment with Gotō and Ōki; but Gotō was involved in something else, and he did not show up. Kōseki, Aizan, Shōhin, Raizan, and Old Baiei all came, as did Hirosawa. When the sakè began to take effect, each of us applied the brush to the surface of a fan—all of it under the supervision of Seiho. At midnight the party broke up.

30 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/13] In the morning I went to my government office, where we discussed the dispatch of government troops to Mutsu province. Our plans for sending our forces into Mutsu and Echigo have gone awry; and we have not been able to forward provisions into Dewa province since spring, nor have we been able to dispatch reinforcements there. When the weather turns cold we shall have lost our opportunity; and the Empire in the end must inevitably collapse. Last month we discussed this problem extensively; but the various domains procrastinated in sending troops, and things did not go as we wished. Now Nabeshima Kazusa has arrived, and so we have decided to make a move. Kazusa is renowned for his mastery of the military arts; his troops are said to be well-trained. At 4 I withdrew from the government chambers to go to the Tsūshima mansion for an audience with the Lord, who is returning to his domain soon. I then visited Gotō Shōjirō.

¹⁰ *Benji*; a title borne by ten persons who were to carry into effect the orders of the Chancellor and the Deputy Chancellors, and to keep them informed.

¹¹ Satae was the popular name of Kōyama Kimikiyo (1829–1909), Tosa samurai, who was one of the Junior Councilors, with duties in the Department of Internal Affairs, *Naikoku-jimuken*. He had been important enough in Tosa *han* affairs to co-sign the 1867 Tosa proposal that Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu should abdicate.

31 August 1868 [Meiji 1/7/14] I attended on my government office, where we decided on arrangements for the dispatch of troops to Dewa province in outline. At night I prepared a draft of the order.

Recently I have been exceedingly busy. Today Gotō presented me with a round *fūdan* fan.¹²

1 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/15] At my place I prepared several important state papers which are urgently needed. At 12 to Lord Iwakura's mansion; and at twilight I returned home. Today, rain.

2 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/16] Cloudy skies throughout the day. From morning on I had guests continuously, Aoki and Takeda among them. After 2 I went to the Seiganji temple with Seiho and Zenshin to pay respects at the grave of Shinohara. In our boyhood Shinohara was the most promising of us all; and I was his close friend. In 1863 he attended on the Chōshū Heir Apparent for his trip to Kyoto, and because of . . . Shinohara died. At the time those of us who happened to be in Kyoto witnessed his burial. He has been selected to serve as a Chamberlain.¹³ At that time to be selected for that position was every young samurai's goal, so he was possessed with lofty ambition. Wishing to make the nation flourish, he expressed his ideas frankly and and sincerely, and wrote the Lord about matters on which we were not allowed to comment. The Lord was enlightened enough not to punish him, though he was aware of the breach. Shinohara was so moved by the Lord's generosity that he studied more diligently than ever. I cannot but feel the deepest regret that he has met this unfortunate fate.

We strolled about the Teramachi area, and at dusk returned to my home. I also went to the Sambongi area to see the Daimonji festival,¹⁴ accompanied by Seiho and Zenshin.

3 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/17] In the morning I went to my

¹² The meaning of *fūdan* is uncertain. Itagaki Tetsuo thinks it may mean *futon*, bed-clothes.

¹³ *Kunsoku*, or Chamberlain to the Lord.

¹⁴ Daimonji is one of the mountains of Higashiyama, the range east of Kyoto, distinguished by a large man-made character *dai* 大, for "large," on its face. In a festival at the time of the summer solstice the mountain comes alight with fire in the shape of the *dai*. Presumably this is the spectacle which Kido witnessed from the Sambongi pleasure quarter.

government office, and this evening I was received by the Chōshū Heir and served saké in his presence. After returning from the Imperial Court, I went to the inn of the Heir, and became completely intoxicated before I withdrew. In the evening I had an appointment with Hishida Kaiō; and at twilight we went to the . . . Pavilion to see Shōgaku. Present were Ema Tenkō, Nagamatsu Bunsuke, and Sakuma Jinnosuke. Raizan and the proprietor of the place attended to our every wish.

4 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/18] A typhoon. In the morning Gotō Shōjirō and Fukuba Bunsaburō came; and at 10 I went to the council chambers. Since I had an appointment with Ōki today, when I withdrew from the council rooms I went directly to Ōki's place. Kōseki, Aizan, Seiho, and Shōhin were all there ahead of me. Takagi Godayu of Hizen and more than ten others were also present. We enjoyed ourselves immensely with calligraphy and ink-painting. . . . also came soon after. We all said our farewells about 8 when the rainstorm was at its height. Each of us took a bamboo palanquin from the front gate and went our separate ways home.

5 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/19] Fair weather. I went to my government office. About 1 p.m. our Chōshū Lord came to the council chambers for an interview with Deputy Chancellor Iwakura. Recently a certain Maeda was arrested as a rebel spy; and he had connections with Innomiya.¹⁵ The reason our Lord came to Court was that he was greatly concerned about this matter. I withdrew from the council chambers before 4.

Four years ago¹⁶ today, by the lunar calendar, we buried those who fell in the Tennōsan¹⁷ action between Kyoto and Settsu province; and this spring we reburied them on Ryozen¹⁸ in Higashi-

¹⁵ Prince Asahiko (1824–1891), who was sometimes called Innomiya, supported a moderate policy in the 1860s when Chōshū was committed to a policy of radical loyalism, and the Imperial Prince now had rebel connections.

¹⁶ "Five years ago" by the Japanese count, which includes both the present year and the original year.

¹⁷ Tennōsan was the site of fighting when Chōshū troops fled Kyoto after failure of their raid on the Kinmon Gate in 1864, on the 19th day of the seventh month by the lunar calendar. It was also the place at which Hideyoshi defeated Akechi Mitsuhide, "the three-day shogun," in 1582.

¹⁸ Ryozen is a prominent mountain in the Higashiyama mountains east of Kyoto. The Chōshū heroes were reburied there in 1868; and later Kido and his wife Matsu were interred in the same place. Indeed, Kido had selected this site overlooking Kyoto as the place for his tomb.

yama. Today happens to be their death anniversary, so we invited in a person to perform Shinto ceremonies in memory of their spirits. Katsusaburō's tombstone also stands there. We offered sacrificial sakè at the gate of the graveyard to those worshippers who came to pay their respects before the tombs. As I look back on the past, how can I help but lament what has happened? I have somehow survived, and today have the good fortune to see our work flourish, whereas seventy or eighty percent of my close friends who once were active from Edo to Kyoto have fallen in fighting across the land.

Tonight I had an appointment with Hattori; and we went to the Nakamura-ya where more than ten others were on hand including Hirosawa, Mihori, Yanai Shōemon, Kojima Shōsuke. I had several drinks, but could not get intoxicated. I talked about the past with Mihori. Mihori always blames other people more than he blames himself for what happened; so I had to give vent to my dissatisfaction by calling him to account. After several hours we left to climb Ryozen to talk in front of the graves of our friends. Until midnight we could not bring ourselves to leave the place, but finally we descended the mountain to stay the night at the Suigetsurō. This evening, besides being filled with grief, I was upset at hearing Mihori blame those of us who survived so strongly that I could hardly enjoy myself. I have come more and more to deplore this transparent world of illusions!

6 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/20] In the morning I went to my government office. I prepared the official notice for the dispatch of troops to Dewa province, and the notice for changing the name of the eastern capital to Tokyo; and having finished most of my duties, I withdrew from the council chambers about 3 p.m. Then I went to the mansion of Lord Iwakura for an audience—accompanied by Ōki, who joined the ranks of the Junior Councilors three or four days ago. We reached decisions on several highly secret matters, including that for an Imperial visit to Tokyo. By then it was almost 10 p.m. There was some military business requiring immediate attention, so on the way home I paid a visit to Sakurai of the Department of War,¹⁹ but he was

¹⁹ *Gummukyoku* is the way Kido has written it; but the official name of the office at this time was *Gummukan*. (W. W. McLaren, ed., *Japanese Government Documents* [Tokyo, 1914], 13.) Early Meiji was a time of frequent government reorganization and rapidly changing nomenclature.

not home. I left a message and departed. Today I talked with the Deputy Chancellor about the remarkable events which have occurred since the first of the year. That the Imperial Government has flourished as it has must be the will of Heaven; it behooves us as mortals to act with circumspection.

7 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/21] In the morning Sakurai came; and I charged him with the matters which we decided in our discussions at the Deputy Chancellor's yesterday. Visitors arrived at my place uninterruptedly. Miyazaki Tatsujirō, the former governor of Kumihama²⁰ in Tango, also came. The artist Kōkoku recently returned from Nagasaki with antiques, books and paintings, and lacquerware; and today he exhibited everything at the Seikirō. I went to see the display in the company of Raizan and Seiho. Kaiō and Tenko were there ahead of us. About 2 I returned home.

8 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/22] In the morning I went to the inn of the Lord of Chōshū; but the Lord was not in. From there I went directly to my government office; and I withdrew after 4. Today on summons from the Lord of Chōfu, I went to his official inn at Bunbujō.²¹ Hirosawa was present with me; and the Lord presented us with sakè and hair ornaments bearing the signs of the twelve animals. After 7 I took my leave.

Yesterday from Dewa there came a report that those samurai who are partisans to our cause in Akita domain have bestirred themselves and presented themselves to the Lord of Akita to establish a pro-Imperial domain policy. They then decided to install Lord Kujō and others from the Imperial Court as their leaders, to punish messengers from Sendai and other rebel areas with death and expose their heads on the gate before their camp, and to raise an army within their province to sweep away the forces of Yonezawa, Sendai, and Shōnai which border on Akita. The Deputy Chancellor showed us letters from Ōyama Kaku-no-suke to Iwashita Sajiemon which provide details of those events. The thought never leaves my mind that we must dispatch forces to Dewa province without a moment's delay.

²⁰ Kumihama was merged with Toyo'oka prefecture shortly afterwards, and Toyo'oka subsequently became part of Hyogo prefecture.

²¹ Chōfu was a domain subordinate to Chōshū, and ruled by a branch family of the Mōri. Bunbujō was the Chōfu School for samurai in Kyoto, and also an inn for those Chōfu people who visited.

9 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/23] I stayed home all day today. As requested by the Deputy Chancellor yesterday, I wrote letters to Tokyo and Echigo since we are trying to maintain contact among three places (Tokyo, Echigo, and Kyoto) to reinforce our strategy for pacification of the land.

Today a memorial service was held at the Parade Grounds for Prince Morinaga,²² and I went to pay my respects, having been assigned the duty of representing the Junior Councilors; therefore, I left home at 4 to go to the site of the memorial services. The officials of the Department of Shinto Religion had already left; so I had to face the place of the altar to offer my prayer alone. At the Parade Grounds, a platform for the Emperor's review of troops is under construction; and before I departed I noticed that quite a bit of progress has been made. En route home I went to the plant nursery, where I purchased some orchids, *mintan* flowers,²³ and Korean pomegranates.

I went again to the official inn of the Lord of Chōshū for an audience; and I discussed recent developments with him, dwelling particularly on the need to be concerned about the course of domestic policy in its various aspects after the Empire is pacified. The vast majority of the people were not aware that Lord Ōe Hiromoto²⁴ was deeply concerned about helping the Imperial Government, I told him; and I pray that he will make this known to all the generations to come. My feelings as a retainer are so strong about this that I could not maintain silence; therefore I spoke to him along these lines in privacy. Yesterday Hirosawa reported the Lord's intention that he, Hirosawa, should return to our home province, discussed the matter with the Deputy Chancellor, and finally obtained permission from him. The Lord inquired about the process of securing Imperial permission, and I filled him in on all the details. At night Lord Iwakura sent me some fish; so I had a little party with Shōhin and Seiho.

(Note) This was the occasion on which I brought up the argument for the Return of the Registers to the Throne²⁵ in detail for the second time.

²² Son of Emperor Go-Daigo.

²³ The orchids were a kind known as *bōran*; but I cannot identify the *mintan* flower.

²⁴ Ōe Hiromoto (1148–1225) was identified with the Kamakura Shogunate, but in fact was a court noble who helped Minamoto Yoritomo to organize it. The Mōri of Chōshū traced their ancestry to Hiromoto, as did Kido.

²⁵ *Hansekī-hōkan* was the surrender of the daimyō registers of land and population to

10 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/24] In the morning, together with Hirosawa and Mihori, I had an audience with the Lord of Chōshū. We reached decisions for Hirosawa to return to our home province and on several other matters.

(Note) The audience was devoted to the internal affairs of Yamaguchi *han*.

11 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/25] In the morning I went to council chambers, and withdrew about 4. At night I had a few drinks at my new house with Kōseki, Seiho, and Shōhin.

12 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/26] This morning we inquired into details of the Emperor's journey to Tokyo, and considered whom to put in charge in the Emperor's absence, and the composition of the Imperial bodyguard.

At 3 I went to Seigadō's with Seiho and Shōhin; and, having an appointment with the Deputy Chancellor in the evening, I went to his mansion at twilight. Fukuoka, Iwashita,²⁶ and Ōki also came. Today reports arrived from both the Kantō and the Echigo fronts to the effect that we are gradually developing the means to go on the offensive in both the East and the North. In response to a secret communication from Shibata we have sent more than a thousand soldiers to that place to implement a strategy of simultaneous attack on the enemy from the front and the rear. We discussed confidentially and thoroughly the matter of unmasking the Innomiya conspiracy, and every aspect of the operations of the Department of Finance,²⁷ and finally we reached decisions on these matters. We then had some drinks, and at midnight we withdrew from his presence.

13 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/27] Two or three days ago the

the Emperor, a policy enforced by the Meiji government in 1869. Kido played the most important role in implementing this policy which effected the centralization of political authority by transferring title from the feudal lords to the Emperor. The note in his diary about this was obviously written in the margin some time after the original entry was made.

²⁶ Iwashita Masahira (1827–1900) was an important Meiji official from Satsuma. As a *han* official he had taken part in the negotiations over the Richardson Incident in 1862. With the Meiji government in 1868 he served as an official in the Department of Foreign Affairs, and as Judge of the Hyogo Court.

²⁷ *Katkeikyoku*.

decision was made to appoint Ise Shinzaemon the Magistrate for Nara;²⁸ so a summons went out, and he arrived in Kyoto this morning. I went to my government office as usual during the morning; and I withdrew from the council chambers about 5 p.m. Lately I have been busy with all manner of things. There has been a mountain of work outside my regular official duties.

14 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/28] In the morning I went to my government office. Mitsuoka has recently come up from Kyoto; so Fukuoka, Iwashita, Ōki, and I discussed our financial goals with him at length, reaching a few conclusions. As a result, we did make a final decision in secret for the Imperial visit to Tokyo. I withdrew after 4. Ise accepted his appointment as Magistrate of Nara. This evening I had an appointment with a man from Akimoto domain. He came to see me at twilight; and we went over to Togano'o²⁹ for some drinks. I went to the Suigetsu to stay overnight. Zenshin came along.

15 September 1868 [Meiji 1/7/29] In the morning I prepared a draft of the proclamation to the nation in regard to the Emperor's visit to the Kantō. About 12 I went to my government office in the company of Ise. Yesterday Lord Ōgimachi, the Chief Councilor,³⁰ was appointed Governor of Nara; but, because of his illness, he positively refused to serve. Today, on reconsideration of the matter, Lord Ikeda was appointed. We also decided that Sendai and Yonezawa should forfeit their domains and their lords be divested of official court rank.

This morning a private messenger arrived from Lord Iwakura to report that the Lord will be absent from the council chambers today because of his illness; therefore, I should go up to his mansion immediately after my withdrawal from here to discuss pressing matters with him. He had a report from the commander of the Imperial forces in Dewa province stating that the government army had driven the rebels away from their encampment after great efforts, and that the rebels are already approaching the borders of the traitorous domain of Shōnai. He is awaiting reinforcements; therefore, we arranged for the transportation of troops from

Inaba and Sadowara into his area by ship; and we ordered Ōki to service with the Department of War. At twilight I returned home.

Ise and Mihori arrived to visit, Baei came, and we we spent several hours laughing and talking. Mihori had a confidential talk with me; and I realized for the first time that an unexpected development has occurred at our doorstep. Last night a courier came in from our province to Mihori's with the report. It rained at midnight.

²⁸ *Nara Hanfuji.*

²⁹ A place in the northeast section of Kyoto.

³⁰ *Dainagon.*

Eighth Month

16 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/1] Rain. Guests arrived throughout the day. In the evening I visited Ise at his inn where several people had gathered; and we drank for a long time. We then went in a group to stay overnight at the Kiyomizurō. At midnight the rain poured down harder than ever.

17 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/2] Rain. In the morning I went to my government office where I dealt with a controversy over the financing of the proposal for setting up the new administrative structure in the Kyoto city government. Lord Nakamikado agreed with my view on handling it; and after we reasoned with him through a lengthy discussion of the pros and cons of the matter, Mitsuoka was also on my side; in the end we reached a decision. I requested time, however, to obtain the opinions of each city and prefecture before deciding on a fixed set of rules for the entire nation.

Satake, the Domain Elder,¹ came up to the council chambers today. Nakayama, Ōgimachisanjō, and Tokudaiji summoned him to ask about the situation in his own province; and he reported that the entire province is making a strenuous effort to support our cause. Our forces have already advanced to the border of Shōnai domain using the coastal road, engaging in several battles along the way, he said. He also reported that Satsuma and Chōshū troops, as well as those from Kokura in Chikuzen, fought their way through the mountain pass, and won great victories between Innai and Shinshō. Someone who was in collusion with the rebels then set fires throughout the city of Shinshō, so our armies withdrew and set up their camps in Innai, he said. At 5 I retired from the government chambers.

¹ Satake was the *Karō* of Kubota *han* in Dewa province, held by a *tozama* daimyō, 205,800 *koku*.

18 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/3] Rain. In the morning I went with Ise to the home of Sen Kyū and there had two cups of powdered ceremonial tea. At 10 I went to my government office. Today a report came in from Echigo to the effect that the government army had been defeated and Nagaoka Castle had fallen. Reinforcements were requested. We selected some of the Inaba, Aki, and Kokura forces which we had dispatched to Dewa province to go to the rescue. It is also about time for the army and navy forces of Tosa, Sadowara,² Kikkawa,³ and Satsuma, 2000 strong, to arrive in Echigo.

When this report reached us, a discussion developed over the date of the Imperial visit to Tokyo. A great deal of popular hostility to the Imperial Government has not yet been suppressed. If a proclamation postponing the visit is issued, public opinion is bound to be agitated. Our decision, therefore, was to announce the fact of the Imperial visit to Tokyo, without naming the time. Along with the announcement, a proclamation was issued on the withdrawal of Imperial rank from the Lord of Sendai⁴ and from Uesugi,⁵ and on the dissolution of their domains.

At 4 I withdrew from the council chambers. I had an appointment at night with a man from the Akimoto family to go to the Kashiwatei.

19 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/4] The weather cleared up a bit. In the morning I had a great many callers; and at 10 I went to my government office, leaving before 4. En route home I dropped by the tree nursery, and reached here at 4. Today I had a long discussion with Mitsuoka about Tokyo matters. Today also the Lord of Chōshū visited the Imperial Palace, and withdrew prior to 4. At twilight Shunkō came; and we argued endlessly. It seems that the blame is all on me for my alleged disloyalty to Chōshū;⁶ and I am at my wit's end. At night I received a summons from a man of rank.

² Sadowara *han* was held by a Shimazu relative of the lords of Satsuma, 27,000 *koku*, *tozama*, in Hyūga province.

³ The Kikkawa were the ruling family of Iwakuni *han*, a branch domain of Chōshū, 60,000 *koku*, *tozama*.

⁴ Sendai was held by the Date family, 625,000 *koku*, *tozama*.

⁵ Uesugi was Lord of Yonezawa, 150,000 *koku*, *tozama*.

⁶ This sentence is not clear in the original.

20 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/5] Rain. In the morning Satō Yōzaemon and Sasaki Jirōshirō came. The two of them had sailed aboard the Izumo steamer, *Yakumo-maru*, from Chōshū to Kashiwazaki in Echigo. Just as the supply of ammunition and weapons ran low, and the ship was about to hoist anchor to transport more, news of the defeat at Nagaoka arrived. The warship was then sent under emergency orders, and struck a submerged reef on 14 September, tearing a gaping hole in the ship's hull. Unable to check the sea water which poured in, the ship's captain put the wounded ashore; and they travelled day and night to reach Kyoto this morning. They report that a force dispatched to Shibata left Kashiwazaki aboard six steam vessels on 8 September for Sado, where they stopped over, then crossed to Matsugasaki. Enemy troops came out from Shibata to engage them; but they saw no more than 100 rebel soldiers. In no time at all our forces swept the enemy away and entered Niigata, which we are now defending. Yesterday we had word of defeat; today we have news of victory; and our control over Niigata is an inestimable advantage. I negotiated, therefore, with the Department of War⁷ for a steamship to transport some ammunition. I was aware of our shortage of ammunition on the basis of a report from Nagaoka yesterday; and I arranged to expedite shipment of 500,000 rounds from Echizen and 300,000 rounds from Chōshū. After 4 I withdrew from the council chambers. At night I had some drinks with Old Kitagawa, Shōhin, and Seiho.

21 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/6] Fair weather. In the morning Kijima came back from Nagaoka, so I asked him about the situation there, but he had no special information. After 10 I went up to the government chambers. Lord Bōjō, Toda, Ōki, Tanaka, and I consulted on the Imperial visit to Tokyo, continuing into the evening, so that we were served saké and food before we left at 7. I went home for a time; and afterwards, on the invitation of Old Kita, I went to the Kiyomizubō.⁸ Guests included Hiro-sawa, Mihori, Hattori, Kubo, and Kijima. We all became quite drunk by the time we left, and went over to the Suigetsu to stay the night.

⁷ *Gummukyoku*.

⁸ This is the place which was called Kiyomizurō earlier.

22 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/7] Cloudy. Old Kita came at the break of day; and we left after we had some drinks. I paid a visit to Yokoyama Shun'an, then went to Sen Kyū's where I took three cups of powdered ceremonial tea. I returned home before noon. At night Old Kita and I went to the Kikuchūrō. Sei'itsu was supposed to join us, but he did not show up. This evening I produced more than ten scrolls of calligraphy for various people.

23 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/8] Fair. In the morning I went to my government office. This morning Shunkō informed me of the situation in Echigo where there is no military staff officer under the Commander-in-Chief; and each domain decides independently on whether or not to reinforce. All this I reported to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura; and as soon as I left the chambers, I hurried to his mansion where we finally reached a decision to speed up filling the post. We had a relaxed talk; and I left for my 10 p.m. appointment at the Shōrikitei on the way home. Old Kita, Shōga-ku, and Terauchi were already seated there. I returned home after 12.

24 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/9] Fair. The Emperor paid a to the Kamo shrines.⁹ In the morning Old Kita came. I have not felt well since last night, so I did not go to my government Office. As I ponder over the times, I have come to believe that no opportunity comparable to the present one has appeared in a thousand years. Yet, if we do not pacify the country speedily, keep careful watch on the world, and build a superior political structure, the government will fall of its own weight; and the extent of the disaster will be incalculable. Considering the consequences of inaction, the time has come for us to put forth our greatest effort.

Since the beginning of the year, however, in my home province of Chōshū, many suspicions as to my loyalty have developed. The people at home have, in the final analysis, confused the relative positions of "the trunk" and "the branches." By that I mean that the Imperial Government is the "trunk" of the

⁹ The Kamo shrines, Shimo-Kamo and Kami-Kamo, had been established by the Emperor Kammu (r. 781–806), the founder of Kyoto, north of his new capital to house protective deities.

Empire; and in our province both of our Lords¹⁰ have worked for this principle with untiring zeal for many years, and hundreds of their retainers have died as martyrs to the cause, so that we could nourish the foundation and erect on it a strong national structure to stand preeminent in the world. At this juncture, however, we have not a day to lose in applying our strength to the foundation and consolidating it with all speed so that we may raise our hand to deal with the foreign crisis without delay. Unless we move swiftly, how can we expect to cure our national paralysis or check the decline of the body politic?

Let us look at the big picture. At the time of transformation early in the year I wanted to be of as much help as possible, so I plunged into the work of the national government with zeal, neglecting lesser matters relating to Chōshū. At that point, Nomura Yasunosuke's group stirred up suspicions at home on various matters without inquiring into the facts; and the mood of the home province became very restless for a time. I felt obliged to leave important business to return home to try to reach an understanding. On the surface it appeared that the suspicions had been removed; but covertly doubts again developed to obstruct me. The narrow viewpoint in my homeland produces errors in handling foreign nations, and makes it impossible to carry through our true intentions in domestic policy. This is no small part of the source of our failure to dispatch troops to the northern front at the proper time. In the light of such tendencies the thought of the hardships of our tens of thousands of soldiers becomes unbearable. From what I know of the present situation there is little question as to what the future holds. My grief knows no bounds. The present situation in the province is one that creates obstacles out of small things, causing us to err in dealing with matters of the larger world, so that finally we forget the great purpose which has animated us these many years.

I find it difficult to fathom these people; and the thought pains me as if I had been stabbed in the chest. Alone I stand facing the autumn sky, letting the tears stream down unconsciously, as I think of how fickle is the opinion of the world. In times past I have done my utmost to help these people; but once they had

¹⁰ Mōri Takachika and Mōri Motonori, father and son, had very nearly equal authority in the minds of Chōshū retainers, possibly because Motonori had served as executive head of government in the 1864–1866 period.

entered the gate to fame and honor¹¹ they seemed to change completely.

This evening an Ōmura man, Kusumoto Heinojō, the Magistrate of Nagasaki,¹² came. We talked together a little about the Nagasaki problem yesterday at Iwakura's mansion; and today we finished our discussion. Shunkō also came, as did Old Kinashi at night. In the evening Nawa Kan¹³ brought an order from the Deputy Chancellor, and transmitted the intent of it to me.

(Note) At this juncture the emotions of the Chōshū domain troops have reached a pitch which should give us cause for anxiety; and there is a great deal of unfavorable and noisy comment about my offering up the Iwami and Buzen territories last year.¹⁴ These fellows are oblivious to the broader trends in the nation, but instead fix their attention exclusively on a single domain with the intent of destroying works of greater importance. I am grieved beyond recounting.

25 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/10] Cloudy. I was ill in bed, and so I stayed home all day. In the evening Baiei and Shōhin came.

26 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/11] Cloudy. I was at home all day, ill in bed. In the afternoon Shunkō came to talk; and we discussed times past as we have done for several days, especially matters relating to the suspicions about me at home. Since the beginning of the year we have encountered problems over both domestic and foreign affairs; and we have been unable to achieve our purposes. But when I think of the inconstancy of my friends, I am deeply grieved. I sometimes console myself a bit by the

¹¹ Just prior to the Meiji Restoration, men had been advanced in Chōshū on the basis of ability regardless of social standing. Kido had recommended many of these people for promotion, and was distressed that they had forgotten their obligations to him.

¹² Nagasaki *Hanfuji*.

¹³ Nawa Kan (1836–1873), a Chōshū man, served Iwakura Tomomi in 1868. Nawa was a Chōshū samurai who had once been a retainer of Mōri Izumo, who held the top *ichimon* social rank in Chōshū. As his reputation as a scholar developed Nawa travelled to several provinces to study, and in 1862 he went to Kyoto to become politically active on behalf of the loyalist movement. After brief imprisonment for his radical actions, Nawa changed his name from Nawa Doichi to Nawa Kan, and in 1865 altered the ideographs for his surname from 名和 to 韮. In 1871 he travelled to the United States to study civil law, and died in Boston in 1873, still a young man no more than thirty-seven years of age.

¹⁴ Chōshū had annexed these territories in neighboring provinces after its successes in the second Chōshū conflict with the Bakufu, 1865–1866.

thought that bearing this misfortune is part of the hard lot of being a man. Hearing Shunkō's inmost thoughts dispelled my doubts a bit. Indeed, privately I was delighted for the sake of the country.

A confidential message arrived from Deputy Chancellor Iwakura in regard to the disclosure of the conspiracy of Prince Innomiya. We have been investigating this carefully in recent days; and, discovering the Prince's secret messenger was being sent to the East, we arranged to arrest him en route. I suppose that the mission has been accomplished.

Unsen arrived in Kyoto today. Baiei and Shōhin came at night; and Seiho, Unsen, and I did a joint project of calligraphy and ink-painting.

(Note) This morning, to discuss the Christian problem, Mokurai of the Myōseiji temple in Shimaji, Yūzō of the Kōmyōji in Mitajiri, and Renjō of the Tokuōji-in Tokuyama came.

27 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/12] Rain. In the morning Hasegawa Taemon, Mr. Kubo, and Mori Kōshō came. I still have not recovered from my illness, so I stayed home all day.

28 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/13] Fair weather. I went to my government office. Komatsu and Ōkuma had returned from Yokohama, where they arranged for a loan of \$500,000 gold from France on the security of the old Bakufu shipyard in Yokosuka and its site. The talks are completed; and the arrangements are quite definite. In the end we talked about the matter of repaying England the \$500,000 we had borrowed, and of the fact that Russia is looking for an opportunity in Ezo. We plan, therefore, to open a port to the treaty powers on the edge of Ezo; and to dispatch persons there to carry out our policy of securing the borders of the land. Next, we considered the suspicions aroused by the attempt of a Tosa man to assassinate an English sailor in July or August. As the English are pressing us on this issue, Ōkuma Yatarō will hurry to Nagasaki to handle the negotiations. In addition to these three matters, several minor items came up. The conference was held at the Kogoshō.¹⁵ After we reached our decisions,

¹⁵ The Kogoshō was one of the buildings in the Kyoto Palace enclosure, often used for meetings, audiences, and ceremonies. (The original was destroyed by fire in 1954, but rebuilt.)

we worked out measures to implement each. At about 5 we withdrew.

29 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/14] Fair weather. In the morning I went to my government office where we disposed of matters which had been held up for the past several days. At 5 I withdrew from the council chambers.

30 September 1868 [Meiji 1/8/15] Cloudy. I went to the council chambers at the usual time; and at 4 I left. On the way home I stopped to visit Fukuoka; and we talked of the matter of an Imperial gift of money, and of the Yonezawa petition. I intended to report to the Throne on this after consulting with Mihori; but, when I paid a call on Mihori, he was not home. I then went to the inn of the Lord of Chōshū, and I met Mihori to talk about the pending matter in detail, after which we reached a decision. Tonight happened to be the night of the full moon, in honor of which the Lords of Chōfu and Tokuyama came to a magnificent banquet. I received several large bowls of sakè from them, and became thoroughly intoxicated before leaving. I was told that Hirosawa was giving a big party at the Kashiwatei, and I paid a visit there. Hirosawa was not present; but I did meet Tsuji Shōsō. He detained me so insistently that I could not refuse; so I drank several more cups of sakè. Then I went to the Chikutei with Seiho and Shōhin in another effort to see Hirosawa. Once again I missed him; but Kijima, Nakai, and Hattori were there. I heard that Hirosawa had returned to his home to begin his own party. Unavoidably I had a few more cups of sakè; and I wrote both a Chinese poem and a Japanese poem to send off to him. It had started raining in the early evening; and as the night came on the rain increased in tempo. My Japanese *waka* poem goes:

On this night of the full moon¹⁶

Even though the night sky be overcast

Would that the hearts of men might
ever remain unclouded.

I left there to go to the Akebonotei where I had several more drinks while we chanted Chinese poems or flourished the brush

¹⁶ It was the 15th day of the month by the lunar calendar, the night of the full moon.

to do calligraphy until past midnight, at which time we went to bed.

(Note) The troubles which have descended on me in recent days, both internal and external, are beyond description. "Internal" refers to domain matters; "external" to things outside the domain.

1 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/16] Heavy rain. In the morning Chūsuke came to give me an official notice from an Imperial Secretary.¹⁷ It was an order to appear in the council chambers at 6 a.m., the Hour of the Hare. As that time had already passed, I had to use my illness as an excuse for my delay in arrival. Although I did not know what the meeting was about, I was much concerned, and somewhat ashamed—indeed, thoroughly embarrassed—about having become so drunk last night. The reason we were summoned to the council chambers this morning was that, after the disclosure of Prince Kayanomiya's¹⁸ conspiracy we were asked to consider placing him in charge of Aki province. The evidence of the conspiracy was discovered several days ago; but not until today did the Imperial Government decide on lenient treatment of the accused without inquiring into the details and to withhold the information about the crime from the public.

I returned home about 2 p.m., at which time my hangover became severe, so I took a nap. When I got up, Kayo came. Tonight I had an appointment with a man from Izumo to go to Togano'o; but I excused myself from it. I had previously made an appointment with Tsuji Shōsō; and I did have a brief meeting with him. Tsuji is the Governor¹⁹ of Ōtsu; and he had come up to Kyoto on short notice in connection with the Kayanomiya affair. At 2 our meeting broke up; and en route home I went to the Sutsuru to stay overnight.

2 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/17] In the morning, rain. I went to the council chambers at the usual hour; and there today we considered the reform of the Department of War²⁰ and of the system

¹⁷ Benji.

¹⁸ Kayanomiya is the same as Innomiya, mentioned earlier.

¹⁹ Chikenji.

²⁰ Gummukan.

for organizing domain offices. On withdrawing from the council I went directly to Fukuoka's place where we had a talk, and afterwards a few drinks. At that point Kayo came. We discussed some matters which came up last night. After 6 p.m. I returned home. This evening I had an appointment with a man of Akimoto domain; and his man came to press me to go out so strongly that I went to the Nakamura to tilt the flowing bowl a few times; then left.

Today Tosa domain presented a petition to the government in regard to Yonezawa domain. The Deputy Chancellor, Lord Iwakura, ordered me to write a letter in reply to it. The weather cleared up in the afternoon.

3 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/18] Fair. Government offices were closed today. Hattori and Mihori came over to invite me to go with them; so we went off to Hattori's inn. Several geisha had come over from the Tōgen, and were already in their places. Hirosawa, Kijima, and Terauchi also came; and the sakè flowed freely.

A messenger then arrived from Deputy Chancellor Iwakura in regard to the secret talks . . . about the Imperial visit to the Kantō. After nightfall I slipped out of the party alone. I had an appointment at the Takinaka for memorial services for the spirits of our departed comrades.²¹ At night I went there with Seiho; and at midnight I returned home.

4 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/19] Fair. I went to the council chambers; and Soejima had just come back to Kyoto from the Dewa-Echigo front, so we discussed the development of the war in that quarter. Deputy Chancellor Iwakura put a number of questions to him—after which I reported on our conclusions. All of the Junior Councilors were in agreement with me.

Tonight I had an appointment with Lord Akimoto. En route from the council chambers, I went directly to his inn for an audience. He served me sakè and presented me with gold and silk fabrics from his own hand. The Lord is the real brother of the Chōshū Heir Apparent. I am prepared, of course, to work on be-

²¹ This is not clear; it could refer to memorial services for Kido's ancestors.

half of Lord Akimoto in public matters when I am not on official duty. But when Akimoto has a favor to ask of me, he invariably presents me with gold and silk cloth. I was not happy about it; and I repeatedly declined to accept what he offered on ethical grounds. But the Lord pressed me to accept them, with a sincere manner beyond compare, so I felt obliged to do so. I plan to send him a gift of comparable value to repay his kindness today. At 10 I returned home.

A report from Akita in Dewa province indicates that the rebels are still strong, and that they continue to defy us. Our forces have been compelled to retreat through the Innai outlet along the sea road, so they are waiting for reinforcements. The soldiers of Nambu domain are such weaklings that when they were pressed by the traitors of Sendai, they fired on Akita troops. At the beginning of the battle the Nambu soldiers informed Akita secretly that they would fire blanks; but when they actually opened fire, there were some loaded cartridges among their shots. But, after all, the effeminate style of the Nambu troops is nothing to fear. Beyond that, more than a thousand soldiers from Ōmura, Hirado, and Shimabara domains in Kyushu left on the 27th of September, more than a thousand Hizen troops left on the 1st of October, and 500 men under Lord Kuga followed, in successive waves, for Akita; so I feel that we already have a large enough government force there. The report from Akita was dated September 25.

5 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/20] Fair. In the morning I went to the council chambers, and left at 4. I proceeded to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura's place for an appointment with Soejima. From there I went to the Ibaragirō in Sambongi, at which place Komatsu and Iwashita were present. We discussed the military situation in Dewa province as well as future strategy there, then had some drinks. At 10 we all left. On the way home I visited Mihori, and reached my place at 11.

6 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/21] In the morning Yokoyama Shunsai came; then Aoki and Takeda arrived to talk. We had a delightful time in communion with nature for a few hours. We partook of a bit of food and sakè; then they left.

Today Sugiwaru, Hirosawa, Mihori, and I had an appointment

to confer on the plan of organization of offices in Chōshū; and they came over in the afternoon. We reached a general agreement; and we plan to present our proposal to the Chōshū Lord for his inspection tomorrow.

To my surprise Deputy Chancellor Iwakura sent over a present of food and sakè today with a gracious letter; and I have no words to express my appreciation. I opened his present to share it with the people here; and we all drank. At 5 everyone departed. Inoue Segai came in from Nagasaki. Tonight I had an appointment with Raizan, so I went to see him in the company of Seiho and Shōhin. Raizan had a rare scroll . . . calligraphy . . . and a painting of ancient woods with bamboo and rocks; and the poem was by Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'uan.²² I wanted this scroll very much, so I asked Raizan for it, and brought it home with me. Shōhin came along to my place; and with Yagorō, plus Chūsuke, Asajirō, and Yōzō, we laid out a meal with leftovers.

7 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/22] Fair. This morning I went to the council chambers at the usual hour, and left at 4. My whole family arrived in Kyoto today, accompanied by Guntarō.²³ Late in the evening there was a bit of rain. I paid a visit to Mihori, but he was not home; then I went to the Chōshū Heir's inn. The other day Hirosawa, Mihori, Sugiwarā, and I discussed the administrative organization for Chōshū domain; and we reached a decision on the matter in general terms. We had come today to show our proposal to the Chōshū Heir.

As the officials of the Bureau of Shinto Religion have been ordered to arrange the order of precedence for the forthcoming enthronement ceremony on 12 October in accordance with the current central government organization; and, as the plan was completed, I had borrowed it for a time, and so allowed the Heir to inspect it. At 7 I returned home. With Seiho I then went to Sambongi where we paid a visit to the Abbot Sessō. From there I accompanied Kazan to the Ichibōrō on Higashiyama where we had a little drink. I arrived home at midnight.

²² I have not identified this poet, but his name is intriguingly like that of Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in, author of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the eighteenth-century novel.

²³ Miyoshi Guntarō is an early name for Miyoshi Shigeomi (1840–1900), a Chōshū samurai who helped Takasugi Shinsaku organize the Kiheitai. He fought at Shimono-seki against the four-power fleet in 1864, and in Echigo in 1868. Ultimately he became a major-general.

8 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/23] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour. Lately I have been incredibly busy with official matters. Today I was scheduled to invite Saitō Tokushinsai's sons, Shirō and Gorō, to the new house of Hasshin; but I was so preoccupied with official business that evening came before I got around to it. Hirosawa, Mihori, Kijima, and Terashima were there; and we drank heartily and talked about old times. About 7 I returned home. In the evening, rain.

9 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/24] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour. This morning Ogasawara Tamba, the Domain Elder²⁴ of Echizen, came to consult me about the proposal to dispatch troops to Echigo.

At 2 the Emperor held an inspection of horseback riders in his garden from his newly constructed equestrian reviewing stand. As His Majesty had ordered several Junior Councilors to join him for the review, Mitsuoka, Fukuoka, Ōki, and I occupied the box next to the Imperial equestrian reviewing stand. Prince Arisugawa and several court nobles and feudal lords who are Senior Councilors occupied the same box as we did. We were served sakè and food; and toward evening His Majesty viewed the horses with his bamboo blinds rolled up. Today our Lord of Chōshū was also in attendance; and he offered up food and cake to His Majesty in private. The Emperor barely touched it with his chopsticks, then deigned to give the rest to court nobles and feudal lords. When the feast was at its height I received Imperial orders to ride. Mr. Toda's horse was the swiftest steed; therefore, I rode it, then received several cups of sakè from the Imperial hand at his reviewing stand. In recent years I have been unable to imbibe so much as I was given; and the Emperor's favor made an unusually deep impression on me. My tears have yet to dry. When intoxicated, I am even more emotional than usual.

On recalling the past, I am reminded of how many loyal samurai devoted themselves utterly to the cause of our country, only to fall under suspicion of treason by the government of that time. Countless was the number of those whose bones were exposed on the public execution grounds. Meager in ability and lacking in sincerity, I was unable to do a tenth as much as those

²⁴ Karō.

sages of times past; and precisely because of my inadequacy I survived to enjoy His Majesty's special favor, and to witness this glorious event. My good fortune is unprecedented in ancient times or modern. The only way I may repay my obligation, I think, is summed up in the two ideographs for "reverence" and "modesty." When the party was at its height His Majesty personally placed a flowering branch on my food and cakes. When night fell, the Emperor returned to his Palace.

I laid bare my heart to the old Lord of Echizen, telling him a number of things which I have always wanted to do. The Lord was delighted to hear all of this. I also tilted the flowing bowl with Deputy Chancellor Iwakura and with the Lord of Uwajima. At 7 I withdrew from the Palace; and on the road home I went directly to the inn of the Lord of Chōshū to deliver the food and cakes which the Emperor had bestowed upon me. From there I went straight home. I happened to have a visitor, so we drank together in celebration of today's glorious event. Shōhin also came. After we became intoxicated, we did some calligraphy.

10 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/25] Fair. Ogasawara Tamba came to visit. I went to the council chambers at the usual hour, and left at 5 p.m.

11 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/26] Rain. In the morning Ogasawara Tamba came. A Chōfu man . . . who returned from Echigo yesterday came to tell me about the situation in the northern part of that province. He says that northern Echigo is pacified for the most part—which fits exactly with the official report the other day. Yoshida of Ōsu²⁵ came to say that, when the Lord of Ōsu was informed of the Imperial visit to the Kantō, he hurried up to Kyoto since he wants to request his appointment to serve with the cortege. Having information about this from Hirosawa already, I had reported the wish of the Lord of Ōsu to Iwakura; and the decision had been made privately that he should be part of the entourage. In the morning Kansai²⁶ and Segai²⁷ came to talk. I stayed home all day.

²⁵ Ōsu was a 60,000-*koku* domain in Iyo province, modern Ehime prefecture, in Shikoku, held by the Katō family, *tozama* daimyō.

²⁶ An artist.

²⁷ The *gō* of Inoue Kaoru.

12 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/27] In the morning rain, clearing about 7. The Enthronement ceremony was scheduled for today, so at about 6 a.m., the Hour of the Hare, I went to the Palace. The coronation took place at 10, when the hundred officials and a myriad of subjects formed ranks; and all of us looked up toward the Throne to shout "Banzai!" The ceremony was over at noon, at which time the Emperor withdrew. The Senior and Junior Councilors had an audience with His Majesty in the Kogosho. Sakē and food were served to the places of the Junior Councilors. At 3 p.m. we withdrew from the Palace. On the way home I called on Yamanaka Sei'itsu, but he was out. I reached home at 4.

Tamura Jinnosho, who had come up to Kyoto from Chōshū, was over to talk with me. My family and servants came together in Sambongi to hold a banquet as a way of celebrating the grand ceremony of the Enthronement as a group. Shōhin also joined us.

This morning Lord Iwakura informed me of the escape of the Tokugawa warships; therefore, I made preparations to deal with the problem.

13 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/28] Fair. Sumimasa came; and I purchased a sword from him. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour, and withdrew at 6 for an appointment with people from Akita. Tonight I went with Hirosawa to the Nakamura; he became very drunk and kept muttering and complaining to Seiho. He seemed disgruntled. It was not like Hirosawa's usual bearing at all; but there has been a lot of unrest in Chōshū. At night, as I lamented how fickle humans can be, I was unable to sleep.

14 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/29] Fair. In the morning two men were sent up to Kyoto from the Shinbutai²⁸ to file a complaint about the shortage of supplies on the Echigo front. I am compelled to feel great pity as I imagine the plight of the soldiers there; but the matter is beyond the power of the Departments of Finance and War to resolve. There are no words to describe how deeply concerned the Imperial Government has been with devising a means for transporting money and grain to the Echigo battle area;

²⁸ The Shinbutai was one of the *shotai* of Chōshū.

therefore, I do not understand why such shortages have developed. Moreover, it is embarrassing to those of us from Chōshū that only Chōshū troops complain about the shortages to the Imperial Government. None of the other soldiers dispatched to Mutsu and Dewa has uttered a word of complaint; nor has this kind of report come from any other source in Echigo. I surmise that it is because the Chōshū soldiers in Echigo, after all, go ahead of the other troops, and engage in bitter fighting; therefore, I want to go there to facilitate the transport of supplies so that our men may fight without restraints. Out of dissatisfaction with both my superiors and the men below us, I felt obliged to submit a petition acting on my determination to go to Echigo. At 6 I returned home.

Today I had an appointment with an Ōsu man; and Hirosawa was supposed to go along. In truth, I did not really want to go, but I became entangled in this matter last night, so I went with Hirosawa to the Nakamura. Terauchi and Mihori also came along.

15 October 1868 [Meiji 1/8/30] Rain since last night. Today at the Parade Grounds east of the Kamo River, His Majesty inspected the Imperial Guard²⁹ and the force in attendance for the Imperial progress to the Kantō. The weather cleared up about 10 a.m., an auspicious sign for the Imperial undertaking. I was summoned before the Emperor to be presented with sakè. His benevolence toward me is so far-ranging that I could do no more than shed tears. Among the Senior Councilors present were Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō, the Lord of Echizen, and the Lord of Uwajima. Our own Lord of Chōshū was there as well. About 4 p.m. His Majesty returned to the Palace, so we saw him off, then everybody scattered.

²⁹ Goshimpei.

Ninth Month

16 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/1] Fair weather. As there was some official business, I went up to the council chambers around 10. A complaint came in from Echigo¹ in regard to civil administration there; and I sat in judgment on the matter with Princes Ōgimachi-sanjō and Tokudaiji. Again today I was presented with sakè at the Palace,² and at 4 I withdrew from the council chambers. From there I went directly to Lord Iwakura's for several hours of leisurely talk and drinking. After 10 I returned home.

17 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/2] Fair weather. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour, and withdrew at 5 p.m. For my appointment with Segai, I went to the Kikuchūtei in Sambongi. Kamiyama, Aoki, Takeda, and Nakadokoro were present as well; and together we watched the dancers perform to music. I returned home at 12 midnight.

Prior to this I visited the Zen monk Sessō. We had a few drinks and some leisurely talk; and, before we knew it, several hours had flown by.

18 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/3] Fair weather. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour, and withdrew at 5. I went before Lord Iwakura to report to him on some urgent matters, then I had a relaxed conversation with Samejima and Nawa about the current situation. At 8 I went home.

19 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/4] Fair weather. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour. This summer, when I went to Edo, in my talks with Ōmura I emphasized the necessity for

¹ The text says Hokuetsu, which means the Etsu provinces, Echizen, Etchū, and Echigo, in the Hokuikudō circuit of eight provinces on the northwest coast of Honshu. Since the fighting took place in Echigo, I have translated the proper name Hokuetsu as Echigo.

² Gasho.

dispatching troops to Hakodate; but nothing has been done yet. A few days ago, Yamada came up to Kyoto in regard to the matter of reinforcements for Dewa province. Kitashiro Tadakichi of Tosa arrived in Kyoto on the same mission. I fear that the day of success will be delayed if we do not do our best for the Dewa-Echigo front right now. We discussed the matter, therefore, and decided to dispatch large forces to Dewa-Echigo and to Hakodate. At 5 I withdrew from the council chambers, and went directly home.

Kitashiro insisted on some of my calligraphy. As I was unable to refuse, I did three or four sheets with my brush this morning, and framed one of them: I did the ideographs³ for "An unselfish heart is like unto the sun and the moon." At night Aoki, Takeda, Iida, Shōhin, and I had a small relaxed party, and we enjoyed ourselves with calligraphy and ink painting until midnight, at which time we dispersed.

This morning an Echizen man back from the northern provinces reported the rumor that Aizu Castle⁴ has fallen. The report coincides with the battle strategy which Ōkubo explained to me earlier; but I shall not spread the word carelessly in the absence of more definite news. I have always admonished people about talking too much on the basis of unconfirmed reports; and it is essential that I make a greater effort to abide by that injunction.

20 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/5] Fair. I spent the day at home where lately I have had a huge number of visitors. Every day, from early morning until afternoon, I must meet visitors without a break. For some time I have not enjoyed a holiday, so I intended to stay home to revive my energy, but was unable to achieve my aim. I did examine some papers on important official matters.

In the evening a letter came from Prince Tokudaiji inquiring about the reward which ought to be conferred on Akita. Iwao

³ In the diary Kido has written that he did four *kanji*, but he has given five characters for the motto: *Kōshin wa hitsuki no gotoshi* 公必如日月. It might also be translated as "A public-spirited man is like unto the sun and the moon."

⁴ The fall of Aizu Castle was the climactic battle in the struggle between the Imperial forces and the pro-Bakufu armies, for Aizu under Lord Matsudaira Katamori was the heart of the resistance to the Restoration forces. Intense animosity had developed between Chōshū and Aizu in Kyoto in 1864 when Aizu men spearheaded the expulsion of Chōshū extremists from the city. Indeed, Kido as a ranking Chōshū figure was pitted against Katamori. Aizu domain was headed by one of the houses related to the Tokugawa, *kamon*; it was rated as a 230,000-*koku han*.

Yukiya came to consult me about changing the name of the era. A letter arrived from Fukuoka who wanted to see me immediately; therefore, in the evening I went to Fukuoka's, and spent several hours with him talking and drinking. Kayo, a geisha from Higashiyama, was present. Mr. Ise came up from Nara City and paid me a visit tonight.

21 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/6] Fair. Yamanaka Sei'itsu came;⁵ and other visitors again filled my place. Then Mr. Ise came; and we went together to the villa of Mr. Kagawa in Shimogamo by invitation of Kōnoike and Eirakuya.⁶ Today was tranquil and relaxed, a splendid day indeed. After nightfall everyone left; and I reached my house at 7 p.m.

22 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/7] In the morning, fair; in the evening, rain. I went to the council chambers at the usual hour. Today the command to dispatch troops to Dewa-Echigo and Hakodate was issued. At 5 I withdrew from the council chambers. Having an appointment with an Izumo man and a Mimasaka man tonight, I went over to the Nakamura with Ise and Mihori. I returned home at 11. This morning Terauchi Nobuzō left for Chōshū; and Ōtsu Shirōemon reached the capital from there.

23 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/8] In the morning, fair; at dark, rain. I went to the council chambers at the usual hour. From Mutsu province came a report today that when the Imperial forces closed in on Aizu Castle, on October 9 and 10, the enemy forces put the castletown to the torch themselves. I left the council chambers in the evening, and I was caught in a downpour at the Tera-machi Palace Gate.

As night fell I went to the inn of the Lord of Chōshū for an audience; and I reported on the situation in Mutsu province to him. At 7 p.m. I returned home. Tonight I had invited Yama-

⁵ Yamanaka Ken (1822-18885) used Sei'itsu as his *go*. He was the heir of a rich farming family in Mikawa province, but after travelling about Japan to study Chinese poetry at several academies, he renounced succession to the family headship to become a true *shishi*, "a man of spirit." He was active in Kyoto in 1863-1864, and Kido probably met him during the political turmoil of those years. In 1868 Yamanaka served as one of several *Benji*, Imperial Secretaries, in the *Gyoreikan*, or Administrative Office.

⁶ Eirakuya was the owner of a Kyoto inn.

naka, Ise, Kōnoike, and Eirakuya—the people who had enjoyed themselves at Kagawa's, and everyone was here when I arrived. Shōhin also came. We collaborated on some works of calligraphy and painting; and two geisha came to attend on us. Shōhin and the geisha played the *samisen* and the Chinese lute;⁷ and they danced and sang. All of my guests left at midnight.

Today marked the change of the era name; and His Majesty announced that henceforth there will be but one era name for each reign.⁸ It has been decided to rename this the first year of Meiji, or Enlightened Rule. Yesterday the Senior and Junior Councilors were asked about this, and each made his proposal in turn. Then last night, as sacred music was played, the Emperor personally drew lots before a shrine, and the name of Meiji was decided on.

24 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/9] Fair. I spent the day at home, and I wrote some letters to my home province to be sent back with Umeya Shichibei. Yamada Ichinojō, who is leaving for Echigo tonight or tomorrow morning, came to talk about his long-range purposes; and on departure he left a poem in the old Chinese pentameter style⁹ with me. His concern about the country is so sincere that I was struck with admiration. He requested a copy of the Chinese phrase "The World was Originally Good"¹⁰ in my own hand; so I did it with my brush, and presented it to him. Moreover, he had recently obtained two scrolls—one of Takeda Kōunsai's monochrome of bamboo,¹¹ the other of Yanagawa Seigan's poem in the style of old Chinese free verse;¹² and he asked

⁷ *Gekkin*.

⁸ Heretofore the reign of an Emperor often had encompassed several Japanese era names. The practice inaugurated by the Ming dynasty in China in 1368 was thus put into effect in Japan in 1868.

⁹ *Zekku*.

¹⁰ *Sejō genze* 世上元是 might be translated "Men were originally good," a belief of Mencius, whom Kido had obviously read with care.

¹¹ Takeda Kōunsai (1803–1865) was better known as an Imperial loyalist from Mito *han* than as an artist. He rose to high office under Lord Tokugawa Nariaki; and, though he stepped aside when Nariaki was forced into retirement in 1844, Kōunsai returned to assume the post of *Shissei*, or Chief Minister, in Mito in the 1860s. His downfall came in 1864 when he assumed leadership of the irreconcilables who wished to attack the foreign settlements in pursuance of an expulsionist policy. After leading his men from Mount Tsukuba in Mito across Japan in a vain effort to see Hitotsubashi Keiki in Kyoto, he and 400 of his men were intercepted in Tsuruga (modern Fukui prefecture) and executed.

¹² Yanagawa Seigan (1789–1858) was a famous poet of the loyalist movement, the most distinguished poet in the Chinese style in his age. Born in Mino province

me to inscribe the cases in my calligraphy. It took some effrontery, but I did so; and presented my work to him.

Several days ago I petitioned for permission to go to Echigo, owing to the critical situation there; and since then I have repeated my request several times. But in the end, official permission was not forthcoming; and yesterday my petition was returned with an attachment. His Majesty had heard of our soldiers' difficulties; and he is presenting them with 3000 *ryō*.¹³ I explained the purpose of the gift to the Shimbutai soldiers, Kanzaki Koemon and Uchiyama Hanzō, and turned the money over to them. The two of them decided to depart tomorrow.

Tonight I had an appointment with Mr. Ise, so I went to the Kikuchūrō to meet him. Sessō, Aizan, Shihō, Shunsui, Koran, Tenkō, Seiho, and Shōhin came to join us. Tanaka Kensuke, who happened to be in the same teahouse heard that I was there, so he came to our room. We devoted ourselves to joint works of calligraphy and painting; and about 11 p.m. our party broke up.

25 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/10] Fair. In the morning I went to the council chambers at the usual hour, and I left there at twilight. This evening I had an appointment with Sessō, so I went directly to his house. Shōsu and Yokoi Shunsui were already there; and Seiho and Shōhin soon came, followed by Shihō. This evening again we worked on a joint project of painting and calligraphy. At 11 we all left.

(Note) This morning I entrusted Kanzaki and Uchiyama with a letter to Yamagata and Maebara.

26 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/11] Fair. I spent the morning at home. Before noon I went for a horseback ride with Hirosawa and Mihori. We galloped our horses from Sanjō to Shijō along the Ōmiya Road; then we took a short rest at Raizandō's and had

(modern Gifu prefecture), he went to Edo to study in 1806, and became an intimate of all the great intellectual forerunners of the Restoration: Rai Sanyō, Fujita Tōko, and Sakuma Shōzan in particular. He worked with Umeda Umpin of Chōshū about 1858 in Kyoto, and died at the start of Ii Naosuke's purge of loyalists when he contracted cholera in prison while awaiting trial. The poem was in the Chinese free verse style known as *kōshi*.

¹³ The *ryō* was a gold coin worth 60 *momme* of silver. It was replaced by the *yen* shortly afterward.

a look at the antiques belonging to old Ise. We then rode from Shijō Bridge to Tsunate past the Komonmae and Shinmonmae to Sanjō; and I went home.

I had given an invitation to a man of Izumo this evening, and so I went to the Kashiwatei at twilight for the dinner engagement. The Izumo man was already there; and Ohara . . . nosuke of Mimasaka also came. We were highly intoxicated, and danced boisterously—for the most enjoyable time I have had lately. I took some of the geisha home with me, and we staged another party.

In recent days I have been disturbed by a number of unpleasant things.

27 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/12] Rain. This morning I went to Ise's inn, the Eirakuya. Ise left Kyoto today to go back to Nara. I went up to the council chambers at 11, and heard about the recent situation in Naniwa from Gotō who had come up to Kyoto, and at 6 I left. I went directly home; and we held a small family party.

28 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/13] Fair. Tanaka Kensuke came in the morning. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour, and withdrew at 6. From there I went directly to Lord Iwakura's mansion, and returned home at 8. I had an appointment with an acquaintance tonight, and we went to the Kashiwatei. Inoue Zenshin requested me to provide him with a new name, so I selected the three characters for Shin'ichirō. Tonight he brought food and sakè over to celebrate the occasion.

29 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/14] I have had a cold since last night, so I stayed home all day. Visitors came without interruption.

30 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/15] Fair. I went to the council chambers at the usual hour, and left at 6. Gotō, Ōki, and I had a discussion on national finance. Ōkubo was waiting for me at my place when I arrived, and we left after 7 for an appointment this evening with a Bizen man, going directly to the Ibaragirō in Sambongi. At 11 I excused myself to return home.

(Note) A letter which Ōkubo had written on the 21st arrived.

31 October 1868 [Meiji 1/9/16] Fair. In the morning Nawa came with a secret message from Lord Iwakura. Hirosawa came; and, as he is going back to Chōshū, we had a private talk about domain affairs. At 10 I went to the Palace; and the Senior and Junior Councilors held a conference in the Kogosho to discuss the problems of national bonds and of the *kinsatsu* gold currency notes.¹⁴

Tonight government officials of the third rank and above were served a repast and sakè in the Imperial Presence. I became very drunk and got into an argument with Lord Yōdō of Tosa, and without realizing it downed a great many more cups of sakè. In the end, as I was leaving, I fell down in the lobby of the hall, and was unaware of anything until 2 a.m. In the Palace Lounge¹⁵ I had a talk with Lord Iwakura and with Tanaka and Kōyama, both of the Fifth Court rank. I reached home at 3 a.m. In truth, I have not been so drunk in fourteen or fifteen years.

1 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/17] Cloudy. A hangover kept me from going out to attend to my duties. A letter arrived in the morning from Ōmura Masujirō, who is properly concerned about the strategy for proposing peace to Sendai. I am very apprehensive about the matter.

Sakurai Shimpei, who is back from Echigo, gave me a general picture of the situation in the northern provinces. He says that there is a probability that peace will come soon. Letters arrived from Maebara Hikotarō and Yamagata Sokyō. At night I called on Gotō Shōjirō; but he was not home. I did pay a visit to Tanaka Kuninosuke, and returned home at 8. At night I did some calligraphy which Tanaka Densuke and Unsen had requested. A bit of rain fell.

(Note) A great many people are insisting that Sendai should be made to sue for peace, so that it will lay down its arms quickly. I do not believe that a proper foundation for a lasting peace will come out of efforts to force it to sue for peace in order to obtain a quick but superficial pacification, especially in this time of far-reaching reforms. I have frequently rejected the tactic of having

¹⁴ The name indicates that they were "gold notes," but in fact, this currency was not backed by specie; and the operation of Gresham's law produced an inflated paper money, and a problem with the trading powers.

¹⁵ *Kyūsho-sokushitsu*.

Sendai request terms, but the argument arises on its behalf again and again.

2 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/18] Fair. In the morning I went to Gotō's place; and we discussed the pressing issues before going up to the council chambers after 12. (We decided that we should talk with Ōkubo about the matter in general terms.) Our office is exceedingly busy now owing to the impending Imperial visit to Edo. Today the Third Court Rank, Junior Grade, was conferred upon the Lord of Chōshū, in addition to his office as Lieutenant General of the Left Imperial Guard. At 6 I withdrew from the council chambers. I then went by appointment to the mansion of the Lord of Hizen for a farewell party. Tanaka Kuninosuke also came. I returned home after 10.

(Note) Today I told Ōkubo Ichizō about the secret matter; and he agreed with me on the spot, promising that he would do his best to carry it out. I have long turned over this plan in my mind; but up to now I have not been able to carry it into effect, to my great regret. As this matter will affect the Empire for a millenium, I will of course disregard my personal ambitions, and join with others to achieve my purpose for the sake of my Lord, and for the sake of this Imperial land. The only regrettable thing today was that I am not yet able to tell Ōkubo my real purpose, but had to stop short with superficial rationalizations for my plan.¹⁶

3 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/19] Fair. I went to the council chambers at the usual hour. Today was a very busy day, as we made every effort to dispose of matters which had piled up on us. I left at 5. A soldier from a company in Dewa province returned to request reinforcements; and Hori Shingorō's letter came in from Hakodate. At night Kamiyama Kōseki, Shōhin, and Sessō assembled over here for some farewell cups with me. Sakurai Shimpei also came. Sufu Kanazuchi came up to Kyoto the other day; and, out of my obligations to Old Asada in times past I intend to help the young man fulfil his ambitions. After he arrived here in the capital a few days ago, I gave him fifty *ryō*, and plan to send him to the Kobe School.

¹⁶ This is the accepted day for the start of discussions leading to *hanseki-hōkan*, the Return of the Registers to the Throne; this is the "secret matter" referred to several times. The talks were between Kido and Ōkubo; Gotō was not involved at this stage.

4 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/20] Clear skies. I arose at 3 a.m. to prepare my travelling gear. Nomura Uchū and Mihori Kōsuke then came; and we drank several cups of sakē. I went to the Palace at dawn to bid farewell to the officials. At 9 His Majesty set out in his palanquin with excellent spirits. Hundreds of government officials and feudal lords came to see the Emperor off at the South Gate. At 11 His Majesty reached Awata; and at 1 p.m. he left there in his light palanquin, arriving at Ōtsu where the Temporary Palace was established at 5 p.m. I went in to inquire after the Emperor's health, then left for my inn, Bangorō's Yorozuya, which is located on the left side of the main thoroughfare. Sufu Kanazuchi and Sessō came this far to see me off, as did Yamanaka Sei'itsu and Iwaya Yukiya; and we had a few drinks and talked. Sei'itsu was drafting an edict for posthumous Imperial commendation of Lord Fujifusa, and came to seek my advice.

At night there was a rainstorm, but the weather cleared up almost at once, and the stars shone splendidly. This afternoon we took a short rest at a certain metalware dealer's place on the left side of the road at Awata.

5 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/21] Fair. I set out at 5 a.m. ahead of His Majesty. Sessō and Kanazuchi came as far as the ferry landing to see me off. About the time we passed the Seta Bridge a little light began to appear in the Eastern sky. Seventeen years ago, when I went to the Kantō for the first time, I trod on the frost which covered this bridge; but I have not passed this way since. The natural beauty of the place remains unchanged, but a multitude of unexpected changes have occurred in the world of men. When I was eleven or twelve I lamented over the decline of the Throne, and expressed my indignation at the Bakufu's pride and arrogance; and I often expressed my feelings to my fellows in the domain. Many of them, though, praised the grandeur of Edo and secretly held the Bakufu in reverence. This made me uneasy. As I came to manhood, it was only Yoshida Shōin¹⁷ who approved

¹⁷ Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859) was the premier *shishi* in Chōshū, and perhaps the nation; and he was regarded as the mentor of the Chōshū loyalists who carried out the Restoration. Ten portraits of great men who once attended his school hang in the simple two-room school, the Shōka Sonjuku, which is a major tourist attraction in Hagi today; but Kido was probably not a student in the school, though he is depicted alongside the students. Kido was more like a slightly younger brother to Yoshida than a disciple. Indeed, Kido, as the diary entry reveals, was more cautious in his approach

of my purpose and supported me in it. Thereafter, a multitude of changes transpired in the nation. In 1858, the Year of the Horse, the young samurai who were partisans of the cause, including Takasugi and Kusaka, were concerned lest misfortune might befall Master Shōin; and they gave me the mission in the Kantō of protecting him against Bakufu suspicion even in disobedience to his own will. They explained that they wanted to prepare a grand strategy for implementation later; and I agreed with them. Having consented, on my return home to Chōshū I often deterred Master Shōin from sending his letters deploring the times to his friends in other provinces. Master Shōin, who was open in all his dealings, did not worry in the slightest about falling under suspicion; therefore, he was indignant at my interference to protect him, and he scolded me vehemently several times.

After I returned home, having consented on behalf of those interested in the cause to protect the Master against the government, I persisted in rejecting his approach so far as possible. Against his will, I cut off his communications with the outside; and Master Shōin felt quite aggrieved. We exchanged no letters after that. Early in June 1859, the Year of the Sheep, I left home to travel in the Kitaura area near Ōtsu; and when I reached Fukagawa in mid-June I was more than a little surprised to hear that Shōin had been detained in Edo. In the fall of that year I arrived in Edo; and within a few days he was executed by the Bakufu. In secrecy we spirited away his body and head, and buried him out on the plain. Later we reburied him at Wakabayashi;¹⁸ but the Bakufu destroyed the grave in retaliation for the 1864 Incident. I can hardly bear to speak of those times.

I have survived to this day when our cause is prospering in an unprecedented way; and I am in attendance on His Majesty's palanquin, preparing to enter the Kantō. But my comrades are unable to see all of this, so my delight is mixed with sadness.

than the fiery teacher who managed to get himself executed during Ii Naosuke's purge of his opponents during the Ansei era. Shōin's offense was that he was suspected of plotting to assassinate Manabe Akikatsu, Ii's envoy to the Imperial Court in Kyoto. Among other things, Yoshida Shōin had boarded the *U.S.S. Mississippi* at Shimoda in 1854 in a vain effort to go to the United States to study. Though committed to "expelling the foreigner," Shōin felt obliged to study the foreigner's strengths.

¹⁸ Yoshida Shōin's remains still lie in Wakabayashi, in a remote section of modern Setagaya-ku in Tokyo. He is buried in a plot on the grounds of the Shōin shrine, which is also the last resting place for Kido's younger sister, Haruko, and her ill-fated husband, Kuribara Ryōzō.

Moreover, in Chōshū there is talk and suspicion that I am disloyal to my old *han*; hence the burden of anxiety almost overwhelms me. I cannot but worry as I reflect on the future; and my tears fall as does the rain when I reminisce on times past.

I arrived at Kusatsu after 9 for a short rest at Setaya Kōjirō's inn. At 1 I reached Ishibe, and stopped for the night at the Kashukaya of Bunzō.

(Note) Shōin sent his 1858 petition to Lord Ōhara and other documents relating to it to Kitayama Yasu (for forwarding). . . . I retrieved all of these—for which Master Shōin was angry with me; but I did not trust Kitayama. . . .

6 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/22] Fair. It was like spring. At 4 a.m. I went to the Emperor's Temporary Palace to pay my respects. The Imperial palanquin departed after 5, and reached Mizuguchi at 10. We had lunch at Matahachi's Ikariya inn, and the Emperor departed at 11, arriving in Tsuchiyama at 3. As today was the Emperor's birthday by the lunar calendar, I went to his Temporary Palace at the inn to extend my congratulations. I was called before the Throne, served sakè, and had bestowed upon me as a gift a bamboo horse whip. In the adjoining room, Lord Iwakura, the Lord of Uwajima, and the Lord of Bizen, as well as Tanaka, Nakayama, Ōki, and I received sakè and a light repast. Today sakè was distributed to all the people of the retinue. My inn was Aburaya Tōemon's.

(Note) Today, in the time of the Restoration, I serve with the hope that the Empire will be tranquil and prosperous in the future; and, in fact, I have frequently appealed for the establishment of an impartial administration and the elevation of men of talent in government. I also petitioned for the promotion of Inoue Monta and Itō Shunsuke to higher office. Domain opinion in general, however, focuses exclusively on advantages which come to Chōshū from the Imperial Government. Men of Chōshū seem to overlook the great national problems which await us in the future. When I act impartially without seeking the advancement of my domain, a great controversy breaks out there, all of it centering on me. The most extreme of my countrymen will lead our nation astray. Alas!

Farmers petitioned that His Majesty should watch them at work with the rice harvest.

7 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/23] Fair. I left Tsuchiyama ahead of His Majesty, arriving in Sakanoshita at 9 to have lunch at Matsumotoya Jūemon's inn. At 11 we reached Seki,¹⁹ and I was put up at Tanakaya Riemon's inn. There have been a good many cases in which retainers of the court nobles have given innkeepers trouble because the courtiers are unable to rid themselves of antiquated habits. As this undercuts the purpose of the Imperial visit to the East, we have conducted a thorough investigation of the complaints, but regrettably we have been unable to check out everything.

Public notice boards bearing the name of the feudal lord of the district had been taken down out of respect for His Majesty's passage; and the Emperor conferred on the lord the special favor of allowing the name boards to be put back up.

Moreover, it has been the Emperor's intention to observe his subjects engaging in their occupations of agriculture or commerce in a normal way. This purpose has often been announced; but the event, when it actually occurred, was so unprecedented and exciting that everybody came out pushing and shouting for a better view. We had previously ordered that laborers be provided to carry our belongings; but I am told that people volunteered for the service in order to have a better look at the Emperor. My proposals to the government are being adopted.²⁰

8 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/24] Fair. At 5 a.m. the Emperor departed. His Majesty worshipped the Imperial ancestors from afar at a place built for the purpose in this post-town. At 1 we arrived in Ishiyakushi; and I stopped at the same inn as the Emperor—Sasaki Ryūkei's, where I rested for a time and ate lunch. Ryūkei is a man of refined taste, and he enjoys tranquil contemplation; so on this hectic occasion he offered me several cups of the thick ceremonial tea for which he had previously acquired a taste. At about 5 p.m. the Emperor arrived at Yokkaichi, and I went to Chawanya Ki'ichi's inn.

¹⁹ The name Seki indicates that a barrier was erected there for the examination of travellers on the Tōkaidō.

²⁰ This is unclear. It might refer to progress being made toward adoption of the policy of *hanseki-hōkan*, the Return of the Registers to the Throne. Kido's references to programs to abolish the feudal domains were always oblique, possibly out of fear that word of this controversial policy would leak out if some hostile person should examine his diary.

9 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/25] I left after 5 ahead of the Emperor, and arrived in Kuwana at 9; and I stayed at the Kagiya inn of Magokurō. The Kagiya had once been designated as the official inn for Chōshū. Visitors came to see me in a steady stream. At 5 we convened a conference to discuss the disposition of Kuwana; for the Lord of Kuwana is now with the rebel army in Etchū, spiritedly opposing the government army. I gave my opinion that, even though Mannosuke and other retainers who have stayed behind in Kuwana might swear their allegiance to the Emperor, for the government to take favorable action toward them now, though it might be fair, would establish a bad precedent for later years. Countless are the Imperial soldiers whose bones lie bleaching across the land because of the work of these traitors. Thus, if the Court sustains this family, and allows the succession to continue in the family line, government troops in the field will become uneasy about it all. Tanaka Kuninosuke supported my position; and he stated the reasons clearly and in sharp detail. In the end, based on His Majesty's wishes, the authorities of Owari and Ise were ordered to examine the matter.

In Kyoto, through a message transmitted by Hishida Bunzō, I made an appointment to meet Ohara Tesshin in Kuwana post-town; therefore, he was prepared to receive me this morning, and had been waiting ever since; but the pace was so hectic that I could not break away for a moment. Finally, at about 8 I withdrew from the Emperor's chambers to go to my inn, hoping to meet the old gentleman after going there; but I encountered him on the way to my inn. We went together to the restaurant which had prepared the party for us. We were in a thirty-two mat room, part of the ceiling of which had been removed, the rest of which had panels attached irregularly with ink paintings and calligraphy on them. People who were present . . .

10 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/26] I left my inn after 5 ahead of the Emperor; and I took a boat in the company of Nakajima Naoto. We sailed against the current, and landed on the coast about 8. As we did not yet see His Majesty's Phoenix Chair, Nakajima and I rested for a time at the house of Otami Shōsuke in Saiho village. Then, when it seemed that the Phoenix Chair would not come for a while, and as the population of the place was so small and the road so crowded, the two of us went on ahead to

an inn at Saya. I drank heartily through last night until dawn; so this morning I felt drowsy on board ship, and finally fell asleep. We landed while I was sleeping.

Today the north wind was strong indeed. I had my lunch at the Fushimiya of Jinsuke in Fusaya; and at 10 p.m. I reached Miya post-town where I stayed at the Nagatoya. Ohara Tesshin and others at last night's party had come across the bay to see me off; so we held another party. Every member of the Nagatoya family came out to join the festivities; and we all talked spiritedly about times gone by.

Today Sannomiya Yoshitane, who left Aizu on the 1st of November, reached this post-town. Deputy Chancellor Iwakura ordered him to give us a report on recent developments in the field there; therefore, at midnight we went to Ōki Tamihei's inn and heard the recent news from the battlefield in some detail. Sannomiya noted that victories one after another have inevitably brought out an unfortunate streak of arrogance and brutality in the soldiers of the government army. His point was that, henceforth, appropriate measures must be taken to deal with these troops if we are to win the hearts of the people. In fact, many of the things which he reported are no different than I had expected. I have kept it to myself, but I have been anxious about these matters in recent days.

When I went to Edo in July I proposed a sound policy for the pacification of the country, but it was rejected in the end. Today we are forced to adopt my policy lest we face greater difficulties later. Our top officials have finally grasped the situation; but I regret that we have already missed our best opportunity.

Sannomiya also reported that corpses of people who had committed suicide were found in one-fifth to one-third of the houses which had burned in Aizu castletown. In one house, he noted, seven people, young and old, had died by the sword, including a child about two years of age. I feel great compassion for them. Originally they were subjects of the Empire just as we are; but they trod a different road, so in the end they have come to this. Yet what crimes have their women and children committed? Even though these are our enemies, I feel great sorrow that they should die thus.

The most urgent duty of the feudal lords of the land is that they should rise above their private interests, assist in building the

Imperial foundations, and pacify the masses to bring the tranquility of Mount Fuji to the land. Their guilt will be immense if they do not work to make the Imperial influence radiate to the four corners of the land. But I am grieved by the mountain of incidents which have accumulated, even at the instigation of my friends.²¹ I can only lament over the events of this painful existence.

(My friends of the time when we raised the banner of the cause of Imperial loyalism have all died; and many of my present associates do not understand our original intent. As I reflect on the past and imagine what the future holds, my regrets are unbounded.)

11 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/27] Cloudy. At 8 a.m. the Emperor visited the Atsuta shrine,²² and all of us attended him en route there. He returned before 9, and set out on his journey after 12. Along the way His Majesty halted his Phoenix Chair in a grove of pine trees in order to observe some farmers gathering the rice harvest.²³ Afterwards the Emperor presented them with some cakes. In the afternoon I had my first quiet talk with Tesshin and his friends. We drank together and enjoyed ourselves immensely with calligraphy and ink painting until 7 when we departed. I arrived at Narumi after 9, and stayed at the Echigoya inn of Tanemon. At night, rain. Chikushu and Kōsen came to see me off at Narumi.

12 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/28] Fair. At 6 last night the samurai . . . of Kuwana presented their petition to Nakajima, Fifth Court Rank. This morning²⁴ the Emperor made his departure. His Majesty had carp from a pond for his noon meal. I ate at the Ōmiya inn of Shichirōemon. His Majesty reached

²¹ These incidents were provoked, presumably, by fellow samurai from Chōshū who put the interests of the *han* ahead of those of the national government.

²² The Atsuta shrine was in the town of the same name in Owari province, along the Tōkaidō. Enshrined was the sword which was one of the Three Sacred Treasures which the Sun Goddess Amaterasu had given to her descendants as symbolic of their right to rule Japan. The Emperor paid respects there to the sword which Susano-o pulled from the tail of a dragon; later, in the hands of Prince Yamato-takeru, it was used to mow down the grass which forces of evil had set afire to entrap him. In honor of its use to create a firebreak the sword was named Kusanagi, "the grass-cutting sword."

²³ A painting of this event is one of the eighty scenes from the reign of the Emperor Meiji in the Meiji Gallery in the Outer Gardens of the Meiji shrine, Tokyo.

²⁴ The original Japanese text specified that the departure took place "this evening," but mentioned stopping for the noon meal at Chiryū afterwards. Obviously the diarist made a slip of the brush.

Okazaki at twilight; and I attended him throughout the day. I stayed overnight at the Taguchiya of Shinsuke. At night we held a conference in the Emperor's quarters—at which Samejima and Nawa Kan came to speak. Together we went over our concerns about the future.

13 November 1868 [Meiji 1/9/29] (No entry).

Tenth Month

14 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/1] Fair weather. A strong west wind. Ida Gozō arrived from Kyoto early this morning, bringing news that reached Kyoto from Akita under the date of 28 October. Akita is engaged in a major battle, he reports. On one occasion the rebels fought right up to the edge of the castletown. The rebel armies of Sendai and Nambu are pressing on Akita, the territory of which extends far and wide, and the domain is receiving enemy attacks on three fronts. One can imagine the difficulties it faces. It has run out of salt, bean paste, and *tabi* socks; so a decision was made to ship all of these things in from Kaga province. Gozō was sent to bring the news personally lest it leak out through some other source to cause undue concern to His Majesty. After the report, however, several thousand soldiers reached Akita as reinforcements; and they must have the upper hand by now, so we need not be concerned.

Immediately after leaving Gozō I went to His Majesty's quarters. The Emperor set out after 6; and he arrived in Arai at 2. We stayed at the Esshūya of Den'emon.

Today when the Emperor's palanquin reached Motoshirasuga, he saw the ocean for the first time in his life; and he stopped his palanquin for a while to observe it. I was moved to tears by the realization that this marks the beginning of an era in which His Majesty's influence will become worldwide. Reactionary scholars in Kyoto raised all kinds of arguments against the Emperor's trip East; and they sought to halt the movement of the Imperial palanquin. These men do not understand who the Son of Heaven really is. Because of their obscurantist views they were about to cause the nation to miss its greatest opportunity. Countless are the instances in which they have reduced the national influence through the obstacles which they have set up from within the Imperial Government. I lament that all this has happened in our time of crisis. The officials in charge endure all manner of

anxiety, while mere onlookers slander us at will, without really knowing what is involved in conducting the affairs of state.

15 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/2] Fair weather. At dawn I left Arai by boat when the wind was very strong from the west; and after 6 I arrived at Maisaka where Myōgaya Seibei came out to meet me. His father, also Seibei, was the most honest man along the Tōkaidō in his business transactions; but he is said to have died years ago. The present Seibei and his mother came out to serve us at their inn; and they had a cup of sakè with us before we left. At 11 I arrived at Hamamatsu; and I stopped over at the Obiya of Shichirōzaemon. The Emperor arrived a little after 12. The high wind and waves in his passage across the sea did not bother him in the slightest; he was in good spirits. I was so appreciative of the fact that His Majesty had crossed safely over the sea to Imagire that I shed a few tears in spite of myself.

In the afternoon I visited Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank; and we discussed the current situation for a time. A letter arrived from Deputy Chancellor Iwakura, who has had a report from the commanding general in Dewa province. The Deputy Chancellor sent along three of his poems for my inspection.

This evening the Emperor summoned officers of the Third Grade and above, as well as the Lord of Ōsu and Lord Yamanouchi, before the Throne, and served them a light repast and sakè. The Emperor's quarters were unusually small. In fact, on account of His Majesty's proximity, I was much too awed to raise my head. After receiving a cup of sakè from the Emperor himself, I withdrew to the adjoining room where I exchanged several cups of sakè with the Deputy Chancellor and with the Senior Councilor.

Today a messenger arrived from the Commander-in-Chief in Tokyo¹ to give us a report that the Sendai rebels had offered to surrender on the 4th of November and opened their castle, and that the lord and his son had gone into confinement; therefore, Lord Shijō entered the castle with his forces. The messenger also said that after Yonezawa surrendered the other day, it sent two battalions against Shōnai and two against Aizu; and that

¹ Kido begins here to routinely use the word "Tokyo" (Eastern Capital) rather than Edo for the city that was soon to become the seat of government for the Imperial regime.

Yonezawa men have actually engaged in battle with the Aizu vanguard. Thus, His Majesty intends to make a speedy decision on the disposition of Sendai and Yonezawa, and to establish a policy for all of Mutsu and Dewa provinces. Accordingly, we shall meet tomorrow night to discuss the matter and reach a decision on it. There is also a report that the Lord of Aizu and his son have left their castle and requested permission to surrender it.

16 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/3] Fair weather. The Emperor departed at 6; and I was in attendance on him today. This summer the rains have come continuously; and the Tenryū River has overflowed its bank and finally destroyed the dikes near the village, and flooded the paddy fields. Seventy or eighty percent of the fields hereabouts have been converted into a sandy plain. For His Majesty's passage, a pontoon bridge of boats has been strung across the Tenryū River, connected with a newly-constructed road along the river plain. The road will provide a strong line of defense against flooding in the future. It was constructed in such a way as to facilitate the Emperor's progress through here; and a great deal of labor went into it. When it is used for flood control in the event of the destruction of the dykes, it will be a great help to the farmers. It was necessary to use local labor to build this new road. There were costs, but gains too from the project; and the local government showed compassion by being attentive to a little matter such as this. Such is also the intent of His Majesty. (So many aspects of city and prefectural government depend on the feelings of the people.)

After he had crossed the Tenryū River, the Emperor took a short rest. A man named Oba Sōdayu who told us that he used to do business with our domain took us to his home for some rice-cakes.

This is my tenth trip down the Tōkaidō in the last seventeen years; but I have always taken the bypass near the village between the Tenryū River and Mitsuke; and I did not know the main road. This time, therefore, in attendance on the Phoenix Chair, I passed over the main road for the first time. We took a short rest at an inn called the Naka'ichi along the way; then after 10 the Emperor's party reached Mitsuke post-town. I went to the Uedaya inn of Shichirōemon for the noon meal. The Emperor's procession stopped for a rest at Fukuroi; and I went to a small shop with

Tanaka to relax a bit. An Owari scout returned from Aizu with the report that Aizu offered to surrender to Higo troops on the 7th of November. Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, informed me of this. Although Aizu has remained obstinate up to this point, possessed with an extraordinary spirit, by begging to surrender now, it has lost some of its appearance of dignity. The only people in the castle were wounded soldiers, women, and girls, it is reported.

The Emperor reached Kakegawa post-town after 4 to stay for the night. I put up at the Teshimaya of Heitarō. Samejima came to me as an envoy from Deputy Chancellor Iwakura. In the evening I visited Ōki to discuss the disposition of the feudal lords of Mutsu and Dewa provinces; and, in particular, the punishment to be meted out to Sendai and Yonezawa. Ōki's opinion coincided with mine exactly; therefore, we went to the Temporary Palace for an audience with Deputy Chancellor Iwakura to report our view. After 8 I returned to my inn. Sakuma came, and we had a drink.

17 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/4] Cloudy with rain. We set out after 5 a.m.; and on the way to Nissaka the sky became light. We reached Kanaya post-town before 10; and I took my noon meal there at Yoneya Tōbei's. At about 11 we went over the Ōi River on a wooden bridge which had been erected for the Emperor's journey. For several hundred years the Tokugawa family required all of the feudal lords to cross through the river in their travel between East and West as protection, it was said, against rebellion. In recent years technology has become more and more sophisticated, and we must change our attitude toward it drastically from that of olden times. If we do not realize that technology is the basis for change and give attention to it, in case of a national emergency, a great many innocent people may lose their lives unnecessarily. Anyone concerned about the welfare of the country must give attention to changing technology.

Even so, the cultivation of moral character is still the most essential thing for all families throughout the land. The Tokugawa family obtained very superior equipment in advance of the other feudal lords. Moreover, it held lands yielding 8,000,000 *koku*; and it prepared defenses against rebellion at strategic points along the Tōkaidō as at the Ōi River. Still, the Tokugawa family collapsed in a single morning, and finds itself in its present plight.

Through the Emperor's benevolence and generosity, the family was assigned lands yielding 700,000 *koku* in Suruga province and elsewhere. In crossing over the Ōi River on a wooden bridge, for example, in attendance on His Majesty's palanquin, we have on this trip done quite a number of things without precedent for several hundred years. Is this not worthy of note? Yet, already, feudal lords who have rendered distinguished service to the Imperial cause and their retainers have fallen victim to the vice of arrogance. I deplore this for the sake of the nation, and for the sake of the person himself. These people look to immediate gain without regard for long-range benefits. I only hope that they take warning from the fate of the Tokugawa. If each individual will devote himself to the cause of the Imperial Government, while rejecting selfish purposes, we shall have no worries about building a foundation for our nation. Nor will we need to worry about danger from the foreign nations. Yet I wonder if the Empire will not be destroyed by its own people? It is essential that government officials devote themselves to the cause.

Rain fell in the village past Shimada post-town; and we used our rain gear for the first time since leaving Kyoto fourteen days ago. We arrived in Fujieda after 2; and I stayed at the Yamashiroya of Kyūbei. Ōki will go on into Tokyo ahead of us tomorrow; therefore, I wrote out a draft of the judgment for the disposition of Sendai and Yonezawa, and submitted it to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura. I met with the messenger from Tokyo, Kagawa Keizō, and gave him my assessment of the merits and logic of the judgment which we have worked out today; and he did not advance a single argument against it. Kagawa is a man who has long devoted himself to patriotic service to the nation. He is one of those who broke into the Tōzenji temple to cut down the Englishmen.²

18 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/5] Clear skies. The Emperor set out at 6; and I was in attendance on his palanquin. A letter

² Tōzenji temple was the site of the English consulate-general under Rutherford J. Alcock when on 5 July 1861 a band of assassins broke in to kill the staff. Only two Englishmen were wounded, but seventeen Bakufu guards were killed, as were three of the assailants. Three other attackers committed suicide. The attack was a political action by loyalist *shishi* to "expel the barbarians," and it established the impotence of the Bakufu to protect foreign lives in Edo. Kido, therefore, would naturally have regarded participants in the attack as heroic figures, though he did not engage in such acts of reckless abandon himself.

from Ōmura Masujirō reached me at Okabe. He reports that about 1500 rebels who fled from Mito, Kuwana, and Aizu and were encamped at Takata in Aizu domain approached Mito Castle, and finally took it over on 13 November. But already a strategy has been worked out to handle them, and a determination has been made to subjugate them by the 1st of December.

We crossed the Utsunomiya Pass after 10; but the muddy road was steep, so the vehicles and palanquin had difficulty in moving ahead. Finally, at 3 the Emperor's procession reached Sumpu by way of Mariko. There another letter from Ōmura Masujirō awaited me, delivered by the hand of Katayama Shōsaku, who is a guide for the First Battalion. Ōmura sent the statement of apology by Katamori of Aizu,³ and inquired as to what disposition he should make of Katamori and his son and their retainers, including under whose custody he should place them.

At 7:30 p.m. the Emperor arrived at Ejiri post-town; and I was put up at Mito Yazaemon's. At night I went to His Majesty's quarters for a general consultation and decision on the arrangements for Katamori, his son, and their retainers; and afterwards I prepared a draft of the official notice on this matter. Because of the Mito incident, the Yūgekigun force⁴ has been ordered to Tokyo ahead of us.

19 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/6] Fair weather. At dawn we left Ejiri; and at 10 reached Kambara where I had lunch at the Kokoiya of Gorōzaemon. After 3 I arrived at Yoshihara where I put up at the Chitoseya of Eisuke. I wrote a letter to Ōmura; and at night I visited Ogata Kōsai. This evening Matsu'ura Takeshirō came to talk about the recent situation in Tokyo. There are a good many worrisome things there.

³ Matsudaira Katamori (1836–1893) was the Lord of Aizu, 230,000 *koku*, a *kamon* house, from 1852 until his retirement early in 1868 after he assumed responsibility for the Bakufu defeat at Toba-Fushimi. He was a hated enemy to Chōshū men, for he had served as Bakufu military commissioner in Kyoto in 1864, when in concert with Satsuma his Aizu forces smashed the Chōshū raid to seize the Emperor at Hamaguri Gate. For his services then Katamori was given an additional 50,000-*koku* fief, and promoted to commander-in-chief. He was in a sense Kido's personal rival, for Kido was the most prominent Chōshū figure in Kyoto in 1864. He was taken captive at Wakamatsu Castle in 1868 with his son, who had succeeded him as Lord of Aizu. After 1880 Katamori became a priest at the Tōshōgū shrine in Nikko, a memorial to Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the line which Katamori served.

⁴ One of the Chōshū *shotai*, an army of irregular forces.

20 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/7] Cloudy. At 6 the Emperor's palanquin left, and I attended him. At 12 His Majesty reached Numazu where I had lunch at the Izumiya of Hikoshirō. At dawn today Yamagata Kyōsuke's letter reached me saying that he had taken the Tōkaidō by way of Kai province, and that he would be waiting for me; therefore, I asked permission to go ahead of the Imperial cortège at Numazu on to Mishima. Along the road I was caught in a light rain. About 2 I reached the Nakatsuya of Denzō; and there I met with Kyōsuke⁵ and Nanno Ichirō⁶ to inquire of them about the recent situation at the front. There were a great many things which we had not understood clearly while they were in a place so remote from the government. We had a few drinks and some relaxed conversation, and I went to sleep at 12 midnight.

21 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/8] I set out at 4 a.m. After I had climbed up to Hakone Pass for about four miles,⁷ the sky finally grew light. I reached the top of the pass after 10, and I had lunch at the Yamai'ya of Kiemon. The Emperor wished to see some bird hunting; but he was afraid of annoying the common people. I talked over the matter privately with Kashiwagi Sōzō; and he reported back to me when two or three wild ducks alighted on the lake at the top of the pass. I conferred with Egawa Tarōzaemon,⁸ who brought along . . . and had him fire from a good many yards away. He brought down one of the wild ducks; and I was gratified by the Emperor's excitement over it.

I descended the mountain in advance of His Majesty; and before 6 I finally reached Odawara, staying at the Marukiya of Jiemon. This morning I made an appointment to see Yamagata Kyōsuke again in Tokyo. Tonight I conferred with Kashiwagi again; and we decided to have the platoon in attendance engage in a shooting demonstration for the Emperor at the Imperial stopover in Ōiso. Later the Emperor would be shown some fishermen at work. I advised Kashiwagi to prepare in secret lest Ōiso be inconvenienced. Deputy Chancellor Iwakura was informed.

⁵ Yamagata Aritomo's pen name.

⁶ Also a Chōshū man.

⁷ One and a half *ri*.

⁸ The Egawa Tarōzaemon under whom Kido studied at Nirayama in 1854 had died the following year. This appears to be his son. The elder Egawa was a pioneer military modernizer in Japan, a student of Western artillery and other military sciences.

22 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/9] I departed at 6 a.m. Today the north wind was very strong. I stopped for a rest at Umezawa, and reached Ōiso post-town at 10 a.m. Kimuraya Zenroku put me up. Kashiwagi came to report that preparations to demonstrate marksmanship were complete. He said that several dozen crows were perched on rocks at the beach along a 200- or 300-yard stretch, so he suggested that the platoon be summoned to fire a volley at the crows in its shooting demonstration. The Emperor arrived before 12. I reported Kashiwagi's plan to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura; so the Emperor went to Ōiso beach. His Majesty ordered the officers of the attending platoon to fire at the crows, which flocked together on the rocks from about 300 yards away. The men fired randomly but they did not hit a single bird. Still, His Majesty was excited by the sight of bullets being fired wildly over the waves, and the birds flying among them. The soldiers then started their target shooting.

About the time the target shooting was finished, some fishermen cast a net from the shore, and drew it up on the beach. The net held a variety of fish. Part of it, however, was caught under a rock on the floor of the sea, so a fisherman jumped naked into the sea to free it; whereupon every single one of the fishermen, several dozen of them, leaped into the sea to hold onto the net. They filled a box with seawater, and put some of the fish, which they had taken, loose in it, then carried the box within inches of the Imperial bamboo blind, forgetting themselves as they shouted naked in the Imperial presence. This is the first time that the Emperor has observed such a sight as this; and it so happened that His Majesty was mightily pleased to see things just as they are.

Today also the local people started to build a direct road to the beach for the Imperial passage, destroying the paddy fields along the route. This came to His Majesty's attention; so he went to the beach by a roundabout way, 300 or 400 yards farther. The local people were delighted by this, and very grateful to the Emperor. After nightfall the Emperor returned to his quarters. At night Egawa Tarōzaemon, Kashiwagi Sōzō, Nemoto Shinzō, and the two doctors Ogata⁹ and Yokoyama came to visit me; and we had a few drinks.

⁹ Ogata Ijun (1843–1909) was a doctor with the medical service of the Imperial

23 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/10] Fair weather. The Emperor's party set out at 6 a.m.; and today was my turn to attend on His Majesty. Before 2 the Emperor's party arrived in Fujisawa; and he made his headquarters in the Yūgyōji temple. I stayed at the . . . Something unusual happened at this inn.

24 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/11] Fair weather. A strong, cold wind has been blowing for the last two or three days. Today the foreigners asked to pay their respects to the Emperor; and the members of the retinue had no objection to it. Before 10 His Majesty arrived at Tozuka. We had the noon meal at . . . After 2 the Emperor arrived in Hodogaya. From this point on all members of the retinue were mounted. It was announced that foreigners should pay their respects to the Emperor between 3 and 4 p.m.; and a place was prepared for this purpose in Shibafu village. A large group of men and women from several countries came out to observe the Imperial procession; and about a battalion of American and English soldiers formed ranks on the right-hand side of the road, and stood at attention and saluted as the procession passed. At 5 the Emperor's party arrived in Kanagawa; and I stayed at the Ishiia of Seikurō. At night I felt as if I were taking cold. Yokoyama came to visit me; and the mother of the master of the Shimodaya¹⁰ came to call. A letter arrived from Ōki.

25 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/12] Fair weather. I set out at 6, and at 9 arrived in Kawasaki where I had lunch at the Suzukiya of Jūbei. After 12 I stopped at the Takeshimaya of Matsugorō in Shinagawa. Along the way I met Ōkubo and Etō. The two of them plus Ōki and Nakai Kōzō had come to see me. Then I was summoned by Deputy Chancellor Iwakura, so I went to his inn in the company of Ōkubo and Ōki to discuss and decide on arrangements for the Imperial arrival in Tokyo. At night Nakai came again, as did Nakashima . . . and Ishida Kanai. We had

army in 1868, and one of many physicians who treated the ailing Kido later. Ijun was the second son of the renowned Ogata Kōan, propagator of the Dutch Learning—especially Dutch medical practices. Ijun had also been trained in medicine by a Dutch physician in Nagasaki, and he studied in Holland from 1866 to 1868.

¹⁰ Shimodaya was probably an inn located in Kanagawa.

a few drinks; and we talked endlessly, for it was past 4 a.m. when we broke up. Today Sakuraya, Kawasakiya, and Miyoshiya,¹¹ who have had the official patronage of Chōshū domain, came by.

26 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/13] Today there was not a cloud in the sky, and the wind was gentle—as if it were spring. The Emperor set out at sunrise; and everybody joined the Imperial retinue today, including court nobles and feudal lords in semi-formal court dress, with Prince Arisugawa, the Governor-General, or *Daisōtoku*, and Prince Sanjō, the Kantō Military Governor, or *Chinshō*, at their head. His Majesty enjoyed the view of the bay at Shinagawa for a while from the Arima Mansion in Takanawa, which was assigned as an Imperial Resting Place.

Presently the Emperor's cortège departed; and about 11 His Majesty arrived at the living quarters of the Abbot of the Zōjōji temple in Shiba. Music was played as the Emperor entered the Red Gate¹² of the temple. At 1 His Majesty departed in his palanquin; and again music was played until the Emperor passed through the Red Gate. He then proceeded by way of Tōrisuji and Gofukubashi-mitsuke to the Temporary Palace (which was originally the Nishimaru). All members of the retinue dismounted from their horses at the notice board requiring it. The Emperor arrived at his destination before sundown; and music was played at the Sakashita Gate of the castle. Today a multitude, in the tens of thousands, lined both sides of the road to pay their respects. Members of my group went to the Imperial Secretaries¹³ to extend our greetings, then we left. My inn is Toda Awaji-no-kami's mansion; I am staying there with Ōki and Sakuma. At night Ōmura Masujirō, Narazaki Raizō, and Harada Ryōhachi came; and we had a few drinks. I was informed of the recent situation in the Kantō, and of the situation at the front in Mutsu-Dewa. Naitō Sabei also came.

¹¹ These were Shinagawa inns, located in what was once a post-station on the Tōkaidō but has since become a part of Tokyo. In Japanese fashion Kido referred to the proprietors of the inns by the names of their establishments.

¹² This red-lacquered main gate, two stories in height, was built in 1605. It stands now as an "Important Cultural Property," having survived the World War II air raids which destroyed the main hall of the Zōjōji temple.

¹³ Benji.

27 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/14] Fair weather. Today I received official notification that I should appear at the Palace at 12. All of the members of the retinue and government officials in Tokyo had an audience with the Emperor; and they were served saké in honor of the occasion. Also, I was served saké and a light repast at my seat with the Senior and Junior Councilors. Lord Yōdō came up to me to talk about the time we got very drunk in Kyoto. I left the Palace at 5.

This morning Yamagata Kyōsuke and Nanno Ichirō came. They had gone ahead of the procession from Mishima, and arrived in Tokyo before I did. At night Tamura Minsuke came.

28 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/15] Fair weather. In the morning Nawa Kan came. Today a messenger arrived from Prince Sanjō, so I went up to the Prince's inn. Immediately after that I visited Ōmura Masujirō; and we talked until evening. En route home I went to the Murataya in Hikagechō, and purchased a *fuchigashira*¹⁴ pommel and a *menuki*¹⁵ hilt ornament for my sword handle, then I went on to Shirogane Hachigorō's. From there I paid a visit to Naitō Sabei; then I went to the Suigetsu to enjoy myself with Narazaki Raizō, Harada Ryōhachi, and Ogura Uemon. Afterwards I met Yamagata and Nanno, and all of us became very drunk. I left at 12.

29 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/16] Fair weather. In the morning I went to the council chambers, where I had an audience with Prince Sanjō, who told me what was on his mind. At 2 I withdrew. Yamagata and Nanno came to my place, as did Ogura. At night I had an appointment with Lord Iwakura, so I went to his inn with Ōki after 6. Ōkubo was present. I came home before 11.

30 November 1868 [Meiji 1/10/17] Fair weather. I went to the Palace at 11, and withdrew at 5. Today the council was honored by the Imperial Presence for the first time; and His Majesty expressed his opinions on "the union of Shinto religion and politics,"¹⁶ among other things.

¹⁴ *Fuchigashira* is a pommel for a sword. The *fuchi* is the pommel, or metal sleeve, on the top of the hilt, and the *kashira* the pommel at the base of the hilt.

¹⁵ A *menuki* is a hilt ornament which covers the hole for the bamboo peg which is used to fasten the hilt into the blade.

¹⁶ *Saisei itchi.*

In the evening I had an appointment with Lord Iwakura. I went by Ōmura's to pick up the sword pommel which had been made for me by Toshihisa; and I talked with Ōmura for a while, going to Lord Iwakura's from there. Ōkubo and Ōki were still there. Now that the Emperor has come to Tokyo, His Majesty will make decisions on all matters requiring his approval, so Prince Sanjō has submitted his resignation as Military Governor. We discussed the reforms and arrangements to follow exhaustively. Among the persons to be dismissed are some appointed by Prince Sanjō. Everyone present proposed me for the task of explaining to Prince Sanjō the reasons for their dismissal. For the good of the country I could not refuse the duty, so I left with a promise to attend to it tomorrow morning. We broke up our meeting at 2 a.m.

1 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/18] Fair weather. In the morning I went to Prince Sanjō's inn to make the case as effectively as I could for our decisions last night including the recommended personnel changes. Prince Sanjō did not have the least objection. After completing this assignment, I promised the Prince that I would come to his place again in the evening, then went up to the Palace. I left there at 5, and at 7 I went to Prince Sanjō's inn. Ōkubo, Ōki, Tanaka, Etō, and Hijikata had gathered there—Lord Iwakura and the Lord of Awa¹⁷ were present as well. We discussed the personnel changes at great length. At 10 we left.

2 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/19] Cloudy. Slight rain about 10. Naitō Sabei came, as did Yamagata Kyōsuke a little later. He is leaving for our home province today, so we drank a cup in farewell. Since he wanted a memento from me, I presented him with my short sword decorated with plum blossoms, and I composed a poem to go with it¹⁸:

In the spirit of the times fine steel is prized.

Neglected then, in the hearts of men, is the plum blossom.

¹⁷ Hachisuka Mochiaki was his name.

¹⁸ The steel symbolizes war; the plum blossom decoration on it the hope of peace. The poem was done in six lines of five characters each in the Chinese style.

On this occasion when my friend seeks a remembrance from me,

I present him with both steel and blossoms.

These two elements are co-existent on this earth.

Why must strife ever prevail?

After having come through the war in Echigo, Sokyō came to Mishima post-town on the Tōkaidō to meet me, and en route to Tokyo together we discussed the current situation. For seven or eight years past, we have met, then parted. Never do we know when we shall see one another again. Once again we part; and I cannot say farewell properly with my poetry or with the spoken word. I merely send him off with the sword I have entrusted to him, and the thirty characters of the poem I have written with my brush.

At about 5 I left home to visit Etō. Then we proceeded to the store of the sword equipment dealer,¹⁹ Murata, and to Shiroganeya, another sword dealer. After that we went to the Sakuraya where we had drinks and talked about times past. I returned home after 10.

3 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/20] Rain. In the morning Naitō Sabei, Mitsunaga Shinshirō, and Takasu . . . came, as did Saitō Yakurō. After 10 I went up to the Palace with Ōki; and from there I went to Lord Iwakura's to attend to official business. The Lords of Awa and Uwajima were present, so we had drinks together and talked together. After the two lords had left, I consulted with Lord Iwakura at some length on our future policy. After 10 I returned home.

4 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/21] Fair weather. Among those who visited me at my inn this morning were Ihara Koshirō, who arrived in Tokyo yesterday after being ordered to serve as Representative, or *Kōginin*, from the *han* to the *Kōgishō*²⁰ this time; Tokida Shōsuke—the Representative from Chōfu *han*; and Imai—the Representative from Iwakuni. . . . Naitō Sabei also came.

¹⁹ Kanagaya.

²⁰ The *Kōgishō* was a national advisory body composed of appointive representatives from the various domains, first established on 3 March 1868. Three members were appointed to this proto-legislative body from *han* of 400,000 *koku* or more; two from those between 100,000 and 400,000 *koku*; and one from *han* rated at 10,000 to 100,000 *koku*. (W. W. McLaren, ed., *Japanese Government Documents* [Tokyo, 1914], 21.)

We had some drinks, and talked together about times past; and they left after 3. In the evening I went to Murata's in Hikagechō, and to Mr. Shirogane's, then returned home in the evening.

5 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/22] Fair weather. In the morning Mr. Ōmura came. One of the things we talked about was the return of the Governor-General²¹ to Kyoto, and the abolition of his office. Narazaki Raizō also came. After 12 I went up to the council chambers, and withdrew at night. A letter arrived from Hirosawa today.

6 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/23] Fair weather. There has been a little rain since last night. In the morning I went to Shirogane's to consult with him about a sword. At a curio shop in the same area I purchased a Namako ware flower vase, an imported tile piece, a letterbox, a vermilion lacquered tray, and a dish imported from China in ancient times.

At 10 I went up to the council chambers. I have persisted in pushing for the reduction of the monthly pay of officials in order to increase the amount available for rewards to officers and soldiers who rendered distinguished service in the recent war. Happily the Finance Minister has now requested the reduction of pay to half that in effect since summer. I presented my view that, as we did get by with half salary during the period of greatest disorder, we can make do with half the regular salary hereafter. The matter was nearly settled in the discussion.

Today sakè and cakes were served at the Palace to the feudal lords who were on duty in Tokyo. At about 3 p.m. we were honored by the Imperial Presence. Princes, Deputy Chancellors, Senior Councilors, Prefectural Governors, and the Junior Councilors including me sat in rows at the right hand of the Emperor. Several dozen feudal lords led by Hitotsubashi and Tayasu sat in rows on the left-hand side.²² People who could not be accommodated in the room were seated diagonally in the veranda outside it. Everyone, starting with Hitotsubashi, received a cup of sakè from the place before the Emperor's seat, after which His Majesty left. At night everyone left the Palace. I had accepted an

²¹ *Daisōtokufu* 大総督府.

²² In an apparent mistake Kido has written "right side" in the original diary.

invitation from Lord Yōdō of Tosa; therefore, I went to his mansion directly after leaving. I wanted to excuse myself quickly because of the lateness of the hour, but the Lord would not listen to me. He questioned me about events which happened in the past in Chōshū domain; and we continued talking until 2 a.m. People have their suspicions about Chōshū's actions of the past fifteen or sixteen years; but I answered all of his questions logically and plainly. The Lord was greatly pleased with what he heard. It was nearly 3 a.m. when I reached home.

This morning Narazaki Raizō came to my place. He told me that the reputation of the troops who pushed into Aizu Castle during the recent battles rates very high in public opinion; and the Emperor wishes to give special acknowledgement for their service. Our Chōshū soldiers are supposed to arrive in Tokyo on the 8th of December, so I told Narazaki about the Emperor's intentions in a general way.

7 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/24] Fair weather. At 10 I went up to the council chambers; and I withdrew after 5. I visited Ōmura and, on leaving, went to the Sakuraya before returning home. Mr. Ogura was there waiting for me; and he asked me what would be done with Aizu. I told him about the public feeling in the land on this matter. Saitō Gorōsuke and the wife of the proprietor of the Fukushimaya were also there waiting for me. We talked over old times together. Fukushimaya's wife is the one who looked after me—my clothes and everything—when I was here to study fourteen or fifteen years ago.

8 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/25] Fair weather. In the morning a Domain Elder from Oshi²³ and two other people came. They said that they had been serving at Shirakawa Castle along with soldiers under the command of Narazaki Raizō since spring. Inasmuch as the Oshi lord holds the same rank as ours, they say that they rely on our domain in all matters. As soldiers of their domain were attached to Narazaki's troops, they have requested an interview with me. They relied on Narazaki to explain the situation. Ogata and Yokoyama also came.

I went up to the council chambers at 11, and withdrew from

²³ Oshi domain was 100,000 *koku*; it was headed by a *fudai* daimyō.

there at night. Recently we have spent a great deal of time with secret matters; and the pressure of business beggars description. After 6 I went to Shirogane's, then to the Sakuraya, and returned home after 11.

Today the troops who pushed in to take Aizu Castle all arrived back in Tokyo. The Emperor summoned them to Fukiage Gardens for an inspection, and warmly acknowledged their service.

9 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/26] Fair weather. In the morning Ihara Koshirō and Sakuma Mansanosuke came. Iwaya Yukiya also came to visit. We talked about the current situation, and had a few drinks. Sakuraya Tetsu also appeared; and after we talked it over we chartered a boat to the Hirasei in Fukagawa. We called Kiyo's daughter from the Chōyō house to accompany us. As I reflected on times past, I could not help but feel sad; for Kiyo of Chōyō was the one whom old Asada loved.²⁴ We had a delightful time today composing poetry and drinking sakè; and everybody else stayed over to enjoy themselves. I returned by boat to the Sakuraya to give a party; and Kiyo and some others came to see me off.

(Note) Today a letter to Lord Shijō from the renegades who fled in the warships came in from Dewa-Mutsu.

10 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/27] Fair weather. Ihara and Iwaya came back to the Sakuraya in the morning; and we had another drink. Hayashi Ejirō also came, just back from Aizu Castle; and I obtained a swordguard decorated with plum blossoms and butterflies from Hayashi. After 10 I went up to the Palace with Iwaya, and I withdrew after 6. This morning the Emperor paid a visit to the Daimyōjin shrine at Hikawa station. The weather was unusually mild.

Tonight I had an appointment with the officers of the units which advanced to the attack on Aizu Castle from Shirakawa. We met at the Suigetsu. These officers are greatly concerned about the future of the nation. I was moved by their attitude, and before I knew it I had become very drunk. I returned home at 4 a.m.

²⁴ Asada was a late surname for Sufu Masanosuke, Kido's mentor in Chōshū politics.

(Note) Today we received the news that the renegades who fled with the warships have gone into Ezo and stirred up a disturbance there.

11 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/28] Fair weather. In the morning the Bizen Elder Hioki and . . . , a samurai of Odawara, came. Saitō Yakurō came to visit as well; and we had a few drinks. Recently I have obtained two hanging scrolls by Chinzan. At 12 I went up to the Palace, and withdrew after 6. Lately Ōkubo has attended His Majesty in person, Ōki has been ill in bed, and I have shouldered the burden of work alone; so I have been very busy. This evening I had an appointment with Narazaki again, and met him at the Suigetsu. Harada, Arichi, Kuchiba, and Sakuma also came. I met . . . from Oshi domain unexpectedly. After we became intoxicated, I went to the Sakuraya with the young warriors; and we talked about the flight of the warships and the insurgency that has developed. I had an idea, consulted with the Eibutai, and made a promise to go to Ezo. After leaving that place we went to the Mihisarō and the young warriors and I became very drunk. I returned home at about 4 a.m. Two or three matters relating to national affairs require immediate decisions; therefore, I wrote a letter to Lord Iwakura about them.

12 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/29] Fair weather. In the morning Nawa came in connection with my memorial yesterday and my request about Ezo. About 11 I went up to the Palace. After 3 His Majesty returned to the Palace; and I went out to meet him at the dismounting place by the Ōte Gate.²⁵ I left the Palace before 6. At night Sakuma came to talk.

13 December 1868 [Meiji 1/10/30] Fair weather. In the morning I went up to the Palace. We discussed the problem of the paper currency at length; and we have almost decided to adopt my view on the matter. The Imperial Secretariat²⁶ has been divided into sections, but the arrangement created confusion in every way, and invariably delayed the administrative process; therefore, we regularized procedures to prevent a holdup in all of our

²⁵ Ōte Gate was located on the east side of Edo Castle.

²⁶ The collective *Benji*, or group of ten Imperial Secretaries.

day-to-day business. At night I withdrew from the Palace. Tamura Tamisuke and Sakuma Samata came; and the people who arrived from Chōshū to guard the maids in their travel also came. At night I went off to the Suigetsu with Samata; and I returned home before 10.

Eleventh Month

14 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/1] Fair. In the morning visitors arrived continuously. About 3 I paid a visit to Saitō Yakurō who with his younger sister Oshizu has recently returned from my home province of Chōshū. On my way to my residence yesterday I visited Fukushima, the tailor. I do not know how many times I came to this place fourteen or fifteen years ago when I was studying in Edo. The Fukushima couple provided me with a great deal of assistance. After 8 I returned home.

15 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/2] Fair. Matsumoto Shōan came. I had heard his name previously, but met him for the first time this morning. He was born in Shimōtsuke province; and he has been a devoted supporter of the cause of Imperial loyalism for many years. Recently he was taken into the service of Owari *han*; and this spring he defeated the rebels in Shinano province, and rendered distinguished service in quelling a peasant revolt. At present he is an Associate Magistrate¹ in the Department of Justice.² Before I had heard of his renown for courage; but on meeting him today I realize what a solid and able man he is. Narazaki Raizō, Arichi Kumazō, and Hayashi Eijirō came and we drank farewell. They are making great plans for the future; and they sought a letter of introduction to Hirosawa. I provided the letter to them. The leader of the First Battalion also came and told me about the situation in Aizu Castle. At 12 I went up to the Palace, and withdrew at 6. I wrote a letter to Hirosawa, and afterwards had several drinks with Sakuma.

16 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/3] Fair. In the morning I wrote two long poems³ and a Chinese style *zekku* in the seven-syllable

¹ Gonhanji 権判事.

² Keihōkan 刑法官.

³ Chōhen.

form—which I had promised Narazaki Raizō. Then Nawa Kan came; and a letter arrived from Prince Sanjō; therefore, I went off to the council chambers immediately. I withdrew before 6. Terazaki Shūnosuke and Iida Takenoshin dropped by. Saitō Shintarō had come this morning, and when I returned home he was still here, so I went out with Sakuma and Saitō. We visited Iwaya; and all of us went to the Baichatei, and back to my place about 2 a.m. I also brought Iwaya home with us, and slept with the three of them.

17 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/4] Fair. Arichi Kumazō and Hayashi Ejirō came; and I entrusted them with a letter to Hiro-sawa. We also talked about the future. Kawada and Sakuma also came to visit. I had some drinks with the three people who stayed over last night, then went up to the Palace before 12. Today Ōkubo was back at work for the first time. For seven or eight days we have been pressed with business; but all of the Junior Councilors were ill in bed, so I had to handle it alone. The official business was too much for me. Before 7 I withdrew from the Palace. Today Prince Ninnaji returned from his victories in Echigo. At night I talked with Sakuma and some others.

18 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/5] Fair. In the morning Kashiwagi Sōzō . . . came; and a letter arrived from Prince Sanjō. About 10 I went to Lord Iwakura's and reported to him on local government in the Tōhoku, and on a policy for bringing the area on the outskirts of Tokyo under control. At 12 I went up to the Palace. There we saw a report which came in from Hakodate yesterday: the rebel warships attacked Hakodate; and, a thing I can only deplore, the government army suddenly abandoned Hakodate to cross over the sea to Tsugaru *han*. I proposed that Tokugawa troops be dispatched, and that Yoshinobu⁴ be released from confinement as an act of special leniency for his

⁴ Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1827–1913) was the fifteenth and last shōgun in his line. He was the son of Tokugawa Nariaki, the Lord of Mito; the unsuccessful candidate for the shōgunate in the succession dispute of 1858; and the leader of the *Kōbugattai* party favoring a reconciliation between the Imperial Court and the Shōgunate after 1862. Although he was the commander of the Kyoto palace guards (made up of Aizu and Satsuma men) who put down the attempted Chōshū coup at Hamaguri Gate in 1864, he was not disliked by Kido. Finally becoming shōgun in 1866, Yoshinobu abdicated voluntarily the following year, and surrendered Edo Castle to the advancing Imperial armies in 1868, returning to his native Mito *han*.

allegiance to the new regime and that he be ordered to lead Tokugawa troops in an attack against the rebel warships. Everyone present supported my idea, but we did not come to a final decision on it today. I believe that the previous order for the confinement of the Tokugawa was proper. On the basis of their performance up to now, Ōkubo argued for the dispatch of troops; and I agreed with him. The proposal for Yoshinobu to lead them is mine. This kind of measure is appropriate to strengthen us in our confrontation with the foreign powers. After 5 I withdrew.

This morning a letter came from Maebara Hikotarō. Nakajima, Fifth Court Rank, a Magistrate in the Department of Justice, reports a great deal of agitation in the Tenryū River area against oppressive local rule. When we crossed the Tenryū and I observed the road construction, I worried a great deal. I regretted that so much effort had been put into the project. Now all of a sudden this incident has occurred.

19 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/6] Light rain, clearing toward noon. In the morning I paid a visit to Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, who was ill. I went directly from there to Shirogane's, but the proprietor was not at home. This morning a letter came from Prince Sanjō in regard to the Hakodate matter; therefore, I went over to Ōmura's and we decided on our future policy toward it in broad outline. We also discussed the management of local government in Mutsu and Dewa provinces. Ōmura's opinion and mine are identical. At this time, when we are setting up the foundation for a military system, my idea is that, if the Restoration of the central government does not result in fulfillment of its objectives of making the Imperial influence felt abroad and allowing us to stand preeminent among the countries of the world, it is no better than the Bakufu.

As a foundation for national strength we should divide the central government's revenues into five parts, allotting three parts to the army and navy, one part to government administrative expenses, and one part to welfare and the development of facilities for the people. We shall achieve our purpose if all the bureaus of the government exert themselves, and if we devise a plan to classify the people of the country according to their wealth, working out a suitable plan to sell them bonds in amounts proportionate to their affluence by appealing to their patriotism, applying the

proceeds to the navy, for example, since warships are essential for the protection of the Empire. Ōmura agreed with me on these points which we discussed, and we want an official decision on the basic policies quickly: therefore, I shall outline them, and entrust him with working out the details.

I went up to the council chambers after 12. As Ōmura has no objection to the dispatch of Tokugawa troops to the front, such an order was issued to the Tokugawa; but there are two opinions about pardoning Yoshinobu and putting him in charge of the expeditionary force. No decision has been reached on the latter.

Toda Yamato-no-kami⁵ is scheduled to leave for Kyoto tomorrow. I have long believed that, in order to set off the Emperor's virtue, we must make improvements in the style of the Court. To do that, we must assign a capable person there to give quiet assistance to the Emperor; and we cannot accomplish that purpose without the assistance of Princes Ōmiya and Katsuranomiya. I petitioned Prince Sanjō on behalf of this plan, and he agreed wholeheartedly; therefore, I held up Toda for a while to start work on it. At 4 I withdrew from the Palace.

I had an appointment with Ōkubo; and we rode together on our horses at once to a Western-style restaurant in Tsukiji. Nakai Kōzō and Yoshii Kōsuke also joined us to eat; and afterwards we went to Nakai's place to talk together about times past and what the future holds. Nakai is a very interesting conversationalist. During the evening one of our horses got loose; and we were unable to find it. After 1 a.m. all of us left together to go to our homes. A letter arrived from Nagaoka Sakyōnosuke. Saitō Shintarō and Sakuraya Tetsu also came to see me; we had a few drinks, then I went to bed. It was already three in the morning.

(Note) The Emperor ordered saké distributed to the people of the city of Edo. A celebration is under way in the city for a day or two. Reportedly it may continue through tomorrow.

20 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/7] In the morning Ihara Kōshirō came. Inoue Shinzō of the Kiheitai was here to ask to borrow money for expenses of the troops; so I loaned him 100 *ryō*. I then went to the Shiroganeya, and after 12 I went to the council

⁵ Toda Yamato-no-kami commanded the vanguard troops for the Imperial procession to the East.

chambers. We discussed the matter of dispatching civil officials and establishing a local city office⁶ in Hakodate, the matter of sending troops to Yonezawa, and the stratagem of having Yoshinobu petition permission to render service by subjugating the rebels. The discussion generally resulted in a consensus.

The Lord of Uwajima, Lord Higashikuze, and I were ordered to leave for Yokohama at 3 p.m. for negotiations with the English Minister; therefore, the two lords and I went by carriage to the Foreign Office at Akashi-chō where we boarded a warship. We arrived at Yokohama after 8, and stayed at the Iseya inn of Denjirō in Kumagata-chō. Tokugawa Mimbukyō⁷ returned from abroad the other day. We must come up with a reasonable explanation for employing him in the Imperial Government. All agreed with me; therefore, I proposed a procedure for implementation.

21 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/8] Fair. At 8 a.m. I went to the Courthouse where the Lord of Uwajima, Higashikuze, Komatsu, Machida, Ikebe, and I visited Parkes, the English Minister, to discuss the Hakodate matter and the disposition of the Christians. He wrangled with us over our handling of the Christians; but we answered that, as this is a matter of great concern for the future of the nation, we cannot yield easily. We could only say that it would be disposed of in accordance with His Majesty's usual generosity.⁸

As I conjecture on the shape of things to come, I observe that

⁶ I have translated *fu* as "city office."

⁷ Prince Mambu had headed the Bakufu mission to the Paris International Exposition of 1867.

⁸ Ernest Satow, English legation interpreter, was more sympathetic to Kido than to his chief, Harry Parkes. "A great discussion took place on the Christian question," wrote Satow, "in which the Japanese spoke very reasonably, and Sir Harry likewise, until he unfortunately lost his temper over the arguments used by Kido, and made use of very violent language such as I do not care to repeat." Lord Date Munenari later put in some "digs in the rib" by noting that "when people become animated in conversation, spectators were apt to think that a dispute was going on, whereas instead of that being the case, it was merely that the speakers were in earnest."

Parkes observed to Satow that a bit of excitement was needed to make his case. "Well, it may be so but I think you hurt Kido's feelings; he shut up at once and pre-preserved a marked silence," Satow countered. "Did you think so? I am sorry to think he was offended," replied Parkes. As Satow observed that the Japanese dreaded interviews with Parkes, "the chief declared that he would have Kido to breakfast the next morning, and begged me to write him as polite a note of invitation as possible." (Ernest Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan* [London, Seeley, Service and Co., 1921], 398-399.)

we shall be faced with an emotional issue in resolving this. Foreigners have their distinctive personal characteristics; and the personalities of our people are different from theirs. When things do not go smoothly, trouble inevitably erupts. I am forced to believe that the military power of the Empire must be great enough to deal with the great powers of the West as potential enemies. One cannot depend on international law without having a well-prepared military force. Many countries use the cloak of international law to seek their own interest in dealing with weaker nations. This is one of the reasons that I call international law a mere tool for depriving a weak nation of its rights.

We also transmitted to the English Minister the official notice that His Majesty wishes to grant the Minister an audience during the current Imperial visit to Tokyo. Our side wanted to hold talks on the paper currency problem; but, as the hour was growing late, discussion of this issue was postponed. The English led us into another room, and served us dinner. We returned to the Courthouse about 4. I rode in a carriage with Komatsu both going and returning. At twilight I went back to my inn where I wrote Ōkubo a letter concerning Hakodate and other matters. The mother and son of the Shimodaya proprietor came in; we had several drinks, and I retired.

(Note) We also notified the English Minister that we would open the city of Edo and Niigata on New Year's Day by the Western calendar (the 19th day of the eleventh month by ours).

22 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/9] Cloudy in the morning, clearing in the afternoon. At 8 a.m. I went to the Courthouse. The Lord of Uwajima, Lord Higashikuze, Komatsu, Machida, and I visited the Ministers of France, Italy, and Prussia to tell them that we have finally decided to open the city of Edo and the port of Niigata on the 1st of January. We talked about the disposition of the Christians; and we said that we wanted to negotiate with the United States Minister about the murder of the sentry in Kobe by an American in November, and on the administration of appropriate punishment to him.⁹ We also gave

⁹ According to the American Minister, a sailor named Paul Masco, belonging to the American ship *King Philip*, had murdered a "Japanese officer" named Awaki Hajime. The Minister, R. B. Van Valkenburgh, ordered the American Consul in Kobe to proceed with the trial at once; for under the treaty system extraterritoriality pre-

notice of the Imperial audience for them as we did yesterday. No particular controversies developed on any of the subjects brought up; however, opinions differed from country to country—which is only natural.

We returned to the Courthouse directly, then visited the Dutch Minister at 2 p.m. The negotiations went off about as they had with the others, except that he was greatly concerned about the Hakodate problem; and he told us he intended to do what he could for us.¹⁰ We then visited the United States Minister. Everything went as before, except that we had the additional problem of the murderer in Kobe. We returned to the Courthouse prior to 4. I rode in a carriage for all of the visits. When we prepared to depart for the Dutch Legation, the coachman was nowhere to be found, so Komatsu took the reins himself. When he turned a corner, however, he grazed a stone wall by mistake, smashed a streetlamp, and broke the leather reins. We were obliged to walk to the legation. It was a funny occurrence.

Ikebe met with the Englishman Satow to talk about the paper currency problem. Ikebe says that the Englishman seemed to understand our problem very well. After we left the Courthouse, Ikebe gave us details of the interview. Minister Parkes proposed meeting with us tomorrow. At dawn today a letter addressed to Komatsu and me arrived from Nakai Kōzō, concerning the Hakodate matter. I replied to Nakai, therefore, telling him to come here immediately.

(Note) Terashima Tōzō went to the legations in advance of us.

23 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/10] Fair. In response to the letter which Komatsu and I sent yesterday, Nakai reached this port at dawn this morning, and came to my inn. I had an appointment to go with Ikebe to discuss the paper currency issue with

vailed. American consular courts had jurisdiction over Americans charged with commission of crimes on Japanese soil. (Van Valkenburgh to Secretary of State William H. Seward, November 21, 1868, Yokohama, in United States Department of State, *Dispatches of American Ministers to Japan, 1858–1905*. Microfilm edition.)

¹⁰ Hakodate was the last redoubt of the Bakufu. Enomoto Takeaki, commander of the Bakufu fleet, had taken it north from Edo Bay rather than surrender to the Imperial forces. Eight ships and 2000 men—including several senior Bakufu officials—were there; and they had requested that the area which they occupied be made a Tokugawa fief. Enomoto had studied navigation in Holland; but the Dutch affirmation of support to the Imperial government revealed that Enomoto's Dutch connections would not help him.

Parkes at 10 today. Then Parkes gave me another invitation to talk; therefore, Ikebe and I went to the English legation to see him. Although Parkes argued angrily the other day, he was calm today, and cordial in wanting to discuss the current situation. We told him of our plans for the future; and he had no objection. He only said that they were good. We also discussed the currency problem; and he seemed to understand our situation a bit. On our way home we went to Satow's place to talk for a while. A message came there from Terashima and Machida requesting us to return to the Courthouse immediately. We went to the Courthouse, but everyone had left, so we went on to Terashima's, but he was out. By chance we came across Nakai who informed us that the people were all waiting for us at the French Legation, so we went directly there. Komatsu, Machida, Terashima, and Yamaguchi were already there. We had a serious discussion with the Minister, focusing mostly on the Hakodate problem. Before 6 we left the legation, and I rode in a carriage with Komatsu to his house where we met the four above-mentioned people and Nakai and discussed three or four important matters. Everybody left at 9; and I invited Nakai to my place.

(Note) I discussed our objectives at length.

(Note) Yamaguchi Hanzō arrived with Nakai this morning. Yamaguchi has orders to go to Hakodate.

24 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/11] Fair. In the morning Yamaguchi came; and we had several drinks with Nakai while we discussed the current situation. Before 12 we looked through some foreign shops; and I purchased a coffee set. We ran into Machida Hyōbu and Honda Yaemon in that shop. On my way back I visited Ikebe; and Komatsu came to Ikebe's looking for me, but left after talking with us for a while. Komatsu wanted to go home on account of his illness, and he entrusted his request to me. I had an appointment with Nakai at night, so I went by Terashima's to go on to Nakai's place with him. Machida and Yamaguchi all came for some drinks, then left. As it was already midnight I stayed all night at Nakai's.

25 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/12] Fair. After 7 in the morning I returned to my inn, boarded ship after 10, and arrived at Tsukiji at 3. Machida, Nakai, Ikebe, and Nishi were aboard the

same ship. In addition the interpreter . . . was on board and I had my first meeting with him. I took the noon meal at Nakai's, and went directly from there to the Palace to report on how things went in Yokohama. Tonight Nakai invited Ōkubo, Yoshii, Machida, and me to the Suigetsu. After going to Lord Iwakura's, I went directly from there to the Suigetsu, on to the Sakuraya, and returned home after 12. The Lord of Uwajima has requested official permission to go home for a time because of his mother's illness; and he will sail before many days. I bade him farewell today.

(Note) Letters arrived from Nomura Uchū and Hirosawa Hyōsuke.

26 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/13] Rain in the morning. I stayed home all day to write letters. Ōmura Masujirō, Katsura Tarō,¹¹ Nawa Kan, Kinashi Sukejirō, Hayashi Hanshichi, and Minami Teisuke came to see me. Katsura went to Akita by way of Sendai this spring, contributing his all to the cause in bitter battles over a long period of time. Kinashi started from the Tōkaidō and ended in Sendai, having exerted himself for the cause through hard fighting since the early part of the year. I was deeply impressed by his services. Hayashi endured a bitter experience in the battle at Fushimi before returning to Chōshū for a time. He came back to Kyoto, then went East in the summer to participate in numerous battles in the Eastern provinces. Their reports provided a detailed picture of the situation in the Tōhoku; and I had a better understanding of the situation there. The weather cleared up at night.

27 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/14] Rain in the morning. I remained at home all day. A messenger came from Prince Sanjō to summon me; but I excused myself on account of illness. . . ., who is taking charge of Satake's place, came, as did Shirogane Hachigorō. I entrusted him with preparing the metal fittings for the Plum Blossom Sword. At night I went to the Baichatei, and en route home I stopped in at the headquarters of the Mizuno

¹¹ Katsura Tarō (1847–1913) was the Chōshū soldier-statesman who served three times as Prime Minister in the early twentieth century. Like Kido he had attended the Meirinkan in Hagi, the *han* school for Chōshū samurai. As a soldier Katsura won distinction in the 1868 expedition of the Imperial armies into Mutsu and Dewa provinces. Later he spent a good deal of time in Germany, as a student from 1870 to 1873, and as military attaché at the Japanese legation in Berlin after 1875.

mansion to meet with Naitō and Hayashi. When I reached home at 10 o'clock tonight, Saitō Shintarō was waiting at my place.

28 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/15] Fair. In the morning Ōkubo came over in regard to the Yoshinobu matter. I was not convinced about one part of the arrangement, and Ōkubo came to share my opinion. Ōki who was present also agreed with me. A Frenchman named du Bousquet¹² came; and we talked for a while, but without touching on any important business.

Earlier, when an investigation was conducted in connection with the Emperor's trip to Tokyo, a rumor surfaced that the situation in Suruga province was threatening to His Majesty, and some government officials wanted to dispatch troops to Suruga to guard him. I was the only one who refused to go along with the proposal. My reasoning was that the Emperor had already granted the Tokugawa a 700,000-*koku* fief there; and now that Tokugawa had joined the ranks of the feudal lords, he should be allowed to guard the Emperor in Suruga. If he harbored traitorous intentions, we should have abolished his domain.

It is, of course, the duty of the responsible officials to consider the possibility of treachery, and to be prepared for any contingencies. No justification will be acceptable to future generations for stationing outside guards to replace those of a domain which is officially recognized by the Imperial Government. Holding this conviction, I firmly rejected such proposals. In the end, we issued orders to the Tokugawa to maintain strict security. Today Ōkubo told me that he often meets Katsu Rintarō¹³ who has been summoned to Tokyo in connection with the Yoshinobu affair; and Katsu told Ōkubo that the retainers throughout Suruga were genuinely surprised that the order to guard the Imperial

¹² George du Bousquet lectured on law at Tokyo Imperial University later in the 1870s, and wrote books on French law for translation into Japanese. An M. du Bousquet was secretary at the French legation in 1872, possibly the same man.

¹³ Rintarō was the literary name of Katsu Kaishū (1823–1899), who had served the Bakufu as officer in charge of naval training. In 1860 he commanded the *Kanrinmaru* as the first Japanese captain to make the trans-Pacific crossing as part of the mission to exchange ratifications of the first commercial treaty between Japan and the United States. A believer in Yoshinobu's intent to arrange a peaceful transfer of power from the Bakufu to the Imperial government in 1868, he negotiated the surrender of Edo Castle to Saigō Takamori, commander of the Imperial troops, in 1868. Always on good terms with Satsuma and Chōshū loyalists, Katsu joined the new Meiji government in 1869, and served as Minister of the Navy for a time.

cortège en route to the East in their domain was given to the Tokugawa. Every single Suruga man respected the Imperial Government for this act of benevolence.

I have always advocated consistency as the foundation for proper relations between sovereign and subject. Mihori and his men have charged that I am excessively legalistic. But I do not believe that it is rational to be a partisan of one's own *han*, as they apparently do; a reasonable view of the case puts a stop to this kind of partisanship. The most regrettable thing today is that the vast majority of people do not understand the meaning of a rational administration.

I went to Lord Iwakura's after 12 to report on the Yokohama situation and on several pending issues; and I requested permission to resign. After 5 I left. Ōkubo came to finish the talk which we started this morning; and I held to my position firmly.¹⁴ I went to Shiroganeya's and to the Sakuraya.

29 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/16] In the morning, snow—the first snow of the year. I met Kusakabe and Sakuma at the Sakurarō; and Iida Takenoshin and Murata . . . happened to come by. In the afternoon Kusakabe and Sakuma went to the Hirakiyo;¹⁵ and I spent the night at the Sakurarō with the two of them.

30 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/17] At 6 I returned home; and at 12 noon the Englishman Mitford came to talk. Fair.

31 December 1868 [Meiji 1/11/18] The Festival of the First Fruits of the Harvest¹⁶ was held this morning in the Palace. At night I had a small party with Hishida Bunzō, Hayashi Hanshichi,¹⁷ and Sakuma Shōnosuke.

¹⁴ Ōkubo came to discuss sending Yoshinobu to Hakodate; and Kido kept up his position as in the foregoing argument.

¹⁵ A geisha house in the Fukagawa section of Tokyo.

¹⁶ *Shinjōsai*, the Festival of the First Fruits of the Harvest, was a Shinto ceremony held in the Imperial Palace whereby the Emperor offered the gods the first of the new rice crop and partook of it himself. It was held in the eleventh month by the lunar calendar, on a day of the hare.

¹⁷ Hanshichi was the popular name of Hayashi Tomoyuki (1823–1907), a Meiji bureaucrat from Chōshū. As a Chōshū samurai in the Kiheitai in 1864, he received a wound during the four-power expedition against Shimonoseki, and bore a lifelong scar in consequence. In 1868 Hayashi was serving in the Department of Finance; and later he joined the Home Ministry to become one of the important officers under Home Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi (1873–1878).

1 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/19] Fair. A messenger arrived from Prince Sanjō with a personally written order to attend on my duties at the Palace. He persisted in his request, so I went up to the Palace at 10 in spite of my illness. We discussed three or four important issues.

2 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/20] Fair. I went up to the council chambers after 10. Having been indisposed in recent days, unable to sit for long at a time, I have not been at my duties for eight or nine days. This morning Hori Shingorō, Hayakawa Wataru, Kokuji Jirōshirō, and Awaya . . . came to see me, as did Arifuku Shinsuke of Iwakuni. Yesterday Inoue Yakichi¹⁸ and Yamao Yōzō¹⁹ sent me a letter from Yokohama on their return from England; so I dispatched word to them to come on to Edo. I visited their inn as soon as I withdrew from the council, but they had not yet arrived there. At night Hishida Bunzō invited Hayashi Hanshichi, Sakuma, and me to the Baichatei. Kusakabe also came.

3 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/21] Fair. I stayed home throughout the day; and I did research on some important matters. Saitō Yakurō and Memoto Shinzō came, and requested some of my calligraphy, so I put my brush to six or seven sheets of paper. Arifuku . . . came; and in the evening Yamao Yōzō and Inoue Yakichi arrived. We parted so long ago that to meet them unexpectedly now made me feel as if I were in the midst of a dream. We talked about old times for a while, then went to the Sakuraya together for drinks. In 1863, the Year of the Boar, when the order for repelling the barbarians was issued, I made an

¹⁸ Yahachi was an early name of Inoue Masaru (1843–1910), one of the five pioneer Chōshū students who evaded the ban on foreign travel to go to England in 1863. While Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru returned home the following year, Inoue Masaru studied mining in England until 1868. When he entered the Meiji government he had charge of the mint, the mining bureau, and railways at different times. As Director of Railways he supervised the laying of the first track in Japan, between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1871.

¹⁹ Yamao Yōzō (1837–1917) had a career remarkably like that of Inoue Masaru. One of the five Chōshū students in England in 1863, Yamao studied engineering until 1868, and ultimately became Minister of Public Works in 1880. Early in his career in 1862, as a *shishi* he participated in the burning of the English legation at Gotenyama. Yamao's grandson is Professor Wada Akiyoshi of Tokyo University (b. 1929), a great-grandson of Kido Takayoshi and the present head of the Wada house into which Takayoshi was born, but did not inherit.

agreement to go abroad with them; but, as I was serving as an official with the domain then, I chose to stay home. By ordering them abroad to study, I hoped to inspire a number of others to have the same ambition. To see them again now, unexpectedly, makes me realize how unpredictable are the developments of this world.

4 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/22] Fair. At 7 I went up to the council chamber. Today the Ministers of three countries, Spain, France, and Holland, came to the Palace to present their credentials to His Majesty. I stood at the right side of the Throne with the Lord of Awa and others, as the civil and military officers were all in attendance with their swords affixed. After 1 I went with Lord Higashikuze to the Reception Hall²⁰ at Takanawa—where dinner was served to the Ministers. At night I visited the English Minister, and returned home after 8. Inoue Yakichi and Yamao Yōzō, who had come to my place, were waiting for me, and stayed overnight.

5 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/23] Rain. I was ill, so I remained at home all day. Today the Ministers of England, Prussia, and the United States were received at the Palace. I talked with Inoue and Yamao throughout the day.

6 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/24] Fair. Night before last a confidential letter came from Deputy Chancellor Iwakura in regard to several important matters. In the morning I started to write my reply to him to discuss these questions thoroughly from beginning to end. Chief among them were the finances of the realm, the foundation for the military system, and the administration of rewards and punishments.

At night Saitō Yakurō and Nawa Kan came, Kan bearing a message from Iwakura. He reports rumors of discord between Satsuma and Chōshū. The facts are that I deplore many things that are happening in my own Chōshū where nine out of ten decisions in both internal and external matters go contrary to my views. To this day many people there fail to take a broad view of things, and do not really understand what the Restoration is all about.

²⁰ This place is now the Geihinkan in Tokyo.

The only thing which gives them much pleasure is in striking a blow at the Tokugawa family. Yet, if the true principles of the Restoration are not realized, and if the Empire is not preserved, what difference is there between the Imperial government of the Restoration and Bakufu administration? Indeed, I am outraged by the attitude of the Chōshū men. For my part I worry day and night about my country's future. Any devoted patriot ought to be concerned about the salvation of his country in its moment of crisis; yet how few patriots there really are. How difficult it is to conduct affairs of state when men merely express anger at the world disregarding the fact that they are not doing their best. I am reminded of how difficult it is to handle affairs of state. At night I had a few drinks.

7 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/25] Fair. Today for the first time I felt recovered, and I went up to the council chambers. A conference was held to discuss the Emperor's return trip to Kyoto and several other important matters. At night I went to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura's; and we had a discussion about what the future holds, finding much to deplore. We played a round of *go*; and I left at midnight. Saitō came.

8 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/26] Fair. In spite of the holiday, there was some official business, relating to the fact that the Chōshū troops at the domain mansion were unable to leave for home. Since money for the purpose had not yet arrived from home, I borrowed 10,000 *ryō* from the central government, and passed it on to them. There have been complaints innumerable about the Chōshū units; and in recent days their expenses have run up to 5000 or 6000 *ryō*. All of these funds were supplied by the Imperial Government. This fact alone shows how serious Chōshū problems have become; and my own gratitude to our Lord for his fairness and sincerity in dealing with them is unbounded.

In the afternoon I received orders from the two Deputy Chancellors to go to the council chambers. I set out for the Palace at once for a discussion of a matter of crisis. I withdrew after 6. Yesterday, I was ordered to inquire into the matter of local civil administration in the wake of the disorders in Mutsu and Dewa provinces. Yamanaka Sei'itsu is in on this too. Yesterday, therefore, I aired my views on the matter; and today I sent out three

letters concerning it. My proposals for local government were accepted; therefore, I must now devise a more detailed plan.

9 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/27] Fair. In the morning Shingorō . . . came. Today I was ordered to the council chambers at 8 a.m.; so I hurried there to deal with some very important matters. I reported to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura in regard to the matter about which an official inquiry was put to me yesterday. Today we made a decision on the Imperial return to Kyoto.

This was the day that Deputy Chancellor Iwakura had scheduled our interview with the English Minister at the Hama Palace. I went there by carriage after 12 in the company of Lord Higashikuze. In response to our questions, England, France, and Holland replied clearly that they would maintain neutrality in the Imperial Government's struggle against the rebels; but Prussia, Italy, and the United States have not yet reached decisions on the matter. Their strict adherence to a position of neutrality will obstruct our actions no little. It is unreasonable for the foreign powers to maintain neutrality in the strife stirred up by a mere pirate when the country as a whole has already been pacified by the Imperial Government. It is a situation, however, which the foreign countries do not clearly understand; so our negotiations thus far have been very difficult. I returned home after 6. At night Saitō Shintarō came to visit.

10 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/28] Fair. Today the Emperor went to Hama Palace aboard a river steamship, then transferred to the warship *Fuji*. Off Shinagawa an American war vessel fired a salute to the Emperor; and the *Fuji* immediately saluted in return. Some of the court nobles were frightened by the noise of it all; but His Majesty was undisturbed. His countenance brightened; and everybody was impressed by his composure. I was ordered to attend on the Emperor today; but I had some reasons for excusing myself.

In the evening I met Shibata Kōemon of Mimasaka province at the Okina'an teahouse; and I happened to encounter Kinashi Sei'ichirō, Kōno Mitsuta, and Kawachi Sōichi there. After 9 I took my leave. Along the road I was informed that a burglar was breaking into a certain merchant's house; but by the time I went

to inquire into it, I was told that he was gone. I went with some people to the Sakuraya on their invitation; and I returned home about 12 midnight, taking Saitō Shintarō along with me.

11 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/29] Cloudy. At 11 I went up to the council chambers where we held a conference on several important matters including the Imperial return to Kyoto and the disposition of the lords of the Tōhoku. I returned home before 6. Ihara Kōshiro, and Murata . . . Hayashi Hanshichi and Saitō Yakurō came to talk.

12 January 1869 [Meiji 1/11/30] Fair. In the morning Awa-ya . . . , Kokushi . . . , and Katsuma came, as did Yokoyama Gembannojo and Shiroganeya. From the latter I obtained a short sword made by Yoshimitsu. About 11 I went up to the council chambers. There we reached decisions on several matters which had given us a great deal of trouble since our arrival in Tokyo. At 7 I withdrew, taking Ōkubo home with me. We talked about the future, lamenting and arguing all the while, having a good many cups of sakè. Ōki came to join us; and we broke up after 12 midnight.

Twelfth Month

13 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/1] Fair weather. In the morning I went up to the council chambers. The announcement of the Emperor's return to Kyoto was made yesterday, so today was a very busy day for us. I replied to the official inquiry to me about how to treat Aizu as follows: We ought not to hate the men of Aizu, but only to condemn their crime. For the sake of posterity, disloyal subjects must be punished, and the fundamental law upheld. The only question centers on the proper degree of punishment. Aizu's crime is the most serious offense which an Imperial subject may commit; countless are the people who devoted themselves in full measure to the Imperial cause over the years but died at the hands of Aizu. If I, in my role as a subject, were to argue for leniency for them, dissident parties would come to use this case as an excuse for altering the fundamental law of the Empire. The law in regard to treason is the fundamental law of our land. I could not yield to the opinion that there should be clemency, and remain in the government a single day longer. The fate of the Aizu men is inevitable. A clamor has arisen in support of the view that since ancient times there have been no laws requiring the execution of those who have surrendered. But I reply that we do not even have a word meaning "surrender to the Emperor" in this land; and my response ended the discussion. People are suspicious of a Chōshū man being involved in the investigation of the case of Aizu. I seem to be alone in advocating the harsh view; others are advocating greater moderation in handling the matter. But I do not have the time to consider any personal stake in the matter; I merely petition in accordance with my responsibilities as a Junior Councilor, thus to repay my obligation to my country in my own humble way. Yesterday we discussed this matter; and today I elaborated on my purposes; but all the while the emotional tone of the meeting was beyond description.

Today appointments were made of the officials to investigate the situation in regard to the disposition of the Tōhoku domains—Lord Ōhara and Kagawa Keizō in the Department of War, and Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, and Hishida Bunzō from the Imperial Secretariat. We were exceedingly busy today; and I returned home just before 7 tonight.

Iwaya Yukiya, Kusakabe Meikaku,¹ Sakuma Seinosuke—the proprietor of the Sakuraya, and I visited Hirai Sōzō. We took Kiyō from the Okina'an with us. When the tea ceremony ended after 11, the rain suddenly poured down. Having brought neither umbrellas nor boots, we were much inconvenienced, and compelled to go to the Okina'an to stay overnight. It was already 4 a.m. when we arrived there.

14 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/2] Rain. I went up to the council chambers with my colleagues. Deputy Chancellor Iwakura having gone to Yokohama, officials present were few in number. Last night an intruder rushed into Hori Shinigorō's inn and cut down everybody present with his sword. He was Murai Tsune'emon, who had once been forced out of his official post in Hakodate and who worked off his personal grudge in this way. It was an episode involving several Satsuma men. The report was that the Department of War sent men out to arrest him last night, and one of the Department of War men drew his sword and was injured. I gave Ōkubo an account of the incident in outline.

In the evening I left the government chambers; for I had promised the unit commanders who had returned from Sendai in Mutsu province that I would drink a cup in farewell with them tonight. They all appeared about 7; and we went together to the Suigetsu where we became drunk together. I left ahead of the others to sober up at the Sakuraya, and returned home in the dead of night. Komai Seinoshin came to report to me on the situation around Aomori in Mutsu province.

15 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/3] Fair. In the morning I went up

¹ Kusakabe Meikaku (1838–1922) was a writer who had Hikone *han* origins. His adoptive father had died there in the Great Purge of 1859 at the hands of the Great Elder Ii Naosuke, who was feudal lord of Hikone and the leader of the Bakufu government most hated by loyalist *shishi*. Meikaku was raised in Edo, and served briefly as a Meiji official after 1868.

to the council chambers. Deputy Chancellor Iwakura had postponed his departure for Yokohama for a day because the steamship arrived late yesterday, so he went there today. In recent days I have gone several times to the Department of Home Affairs, or *Minseikyoku*, where several controversies are brewing including the one about relocating the lords in the Mutsu–Dewa region. In the situation now prevailing people have trouble making independent decisions; eight or nine out of ten simply follow the crowd. I am worried that so few discuss the essence of an issue. I talked with Yamanaka Sei'itsu about my news on the prefectural governors in the eight provinces of the Kantō; then after 5 I left the council chambers.

In recent days I have broken several appointments with Lord Katō of Ōsu because of the pressure of official business; therefore, today I went to his mansion at Ikenohata. The two of us went incognito to the Matsu . . . in Hirokōji, where we drank and talked. The evening was for me the highlight of recent days. There are a great many supporters of the Imperial cause in Ōsu domain. I returned home after midnight. Saitō Shintarō came.

16 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/4] Fair. In the morning Ōmura Masujirō, Hayashi Hanshichi, Sakurai Shimpei, Nawa Kan, and Naitō Sabei came, all on official business. I went to the council chambers about noon. We had much important business before us today; and our consultations lasted into the night. I returned home at 7.

Ōkubo informed me that Hashiguchi Jirō, a man who was involved in the Hori incident, had committed suicide. We decided, therefore, to cross-examine Murai Tsune'emon at the Department of War. We found that most of those who happened to be present at the house that night and sustained injuries had nothing to do with the quarrel; so we remanded them to the charge of Satsuma domain.

At night Yokoyama Kōzan, Kashiwagi Sōzō, and Ni . . . came over; we had a few drinks and talked together. The three of them deplore the present plight of the people, particularly the destitution into which the former retainers of the Tokugawa have fallen after taking up farming. These men are deeply concerned about affairs of state; and Kashiwagi . . . is a most humane and sincere samurai.

17 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/5] Fair. In the morning Kokushi Jirōshirō came; and we arranged to have the troop commanders returning from the Eastern front hold memorial services for those who fell in battle to console the spirits of those who were under their command. I contributed a little money to help with the expenses of the services. We have given those who have already returned from the front en route to the Western region the same treatment. My contribution to Kokushi today was 20 *ryō*; my contributions to the destitute soldiers have now exceeded my salary.

At 12 noon I went to the council chambers, where we have been very busy lately. At 7 I returned home. At this time of restoration of the Imperial Government, I want to relieve the lords of the Tōhoku of their domains, then divide Mutsu into five provinces, and Dewa into two provinces. I consulted with Yamanaka Sei'itsu about this; and he strongly endorsed my plan. I want to do some research on this, clarify my objectives a bit, and propose the plan to the government tomorrow.

(Note) Today I was ordered to attend on the Imperial procession; and the announcement has been made that the Emperor will leave here as soon as all of his business has been attended to.

18 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/6] Cloudy. In the morning Nawa came; and I entrusted him with details of my plan for a report to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura. About 11 I went up to the council chambers. Today we reached the decision to divide Mutsu into five prefectures, namely Iwaki, Iwashiro, Rikuzen, Rikuchū, and Rikugo; and to divide Dewa into two prefectures, Uzen and Ugo. I proposed the reorganization of the Department of Home Affairs, the *Mimbukan*, and my plan was agreed to unanimously. Besides this, the discussion on the matter of the Mutsu-Dewa domains piled up like a mountain. About 8 I left. This morning I gave Ōkubo a landscape by Kazan² as a farewell present. I wrote a letter to Ōmura tonight on a matter of business. Saitō came.

² Watanabe Kazan (1793–1841) was a landscape artist of the more restrained Southern School; and he was reputed to be an early Imperial loyalist. Heir to a *karō*, or Domain Elder, of Takara *han* in Mikawa province (present-day Aichi prefecture), he assumed the post himself in 1832. Kazan was also known for his espousal of economic development policies, and for his friendship with scholars of the Dutch Learning. For opposing the Bakufu's anti-foreign policies in that period he was placed under house arrest, and committed seppuku.

19 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/7] The weather was changeable—fair then cloudy. In the morning Ōmura, Hayashi, and Minami came. About 11 I went up to the council chambers. We discussed and decided on regulations for foreigners who are employed by the government for submission to the Imperial Secretariat.³ We disposed of the problem of the domains of Mutsu, Dewa, and Echigo today. At the ceremony to implement the decision, the Senior Councilor Awa Chūnagon was seated in the center of the upper level of the Ōhiroma, Grand Hall; to the right side were the Lord of Hizen and the Chamberlain Ōhara . . .; on the left side the Junior Councilors including Mitsuoka, myself, Soejima, and Ōki in a row. On the right-hand side of the middle tier were the Imperial Secretary Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank; the Justice Department Magistrate Nakajima, Fifth Court Rank; the War Department Magistrate, Kagawa Keizō; and on the left-hand side of this tier was seated the Imperial Archivist⁴ Iwaya Yukiya.

The Domain Lords and their relatives and the Domain Elders and their families were summoned; and Yukiya read the Imperial edict to them. Afterwards, all of them withdrew to be summoned one by one for individual instructions as to the disposition of their domains. The Elders were outside the door by the middle tier of seats. The ceremony ended about 4 p.m.; and each man returned to his seat.

All of the officials who will stay behind when the Emperor leaves Tokyo had an audience with the Emperor in the Kogosho Palace. As I shall stay here for a while, I joined them. We were honored with an Imperial message, then withdrew. Lord Yōdō charged me with responsibility for a matter which I discussed with Soejima. I left the Palace before 6.

(Note) The Domain Lords took their seats on the middle level, while their Elders were outside the entrance to this level.

20 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/8] Clear skies. At 5 I went up to the Palace; and after 6 the Emperor started his return journey to Kyoto by palanquin. I saw the Imperial procession off at the dismounting area, then I went to Shinagawa post-town by way of Nishigakubo in advance of His Majesty. The Emperor took a

³ *Benji*.

⁴ *Shikan* 史官. Kido probably means "left" side, though he wrote "right."

short rest at this station—after which I again saw His Majesty off in his palanquin. Lords Sanjō, Iwakura, and Higashikuze also came out as far as this post-town. En route back Lord Iwakura and I paid our respects at the graves of the forty-seven *ronin* at the Sengakuji,⁵ then at the burial grounds of the Aki domain samurai who died in the fighting at that time. On parting from Lord Iwakura I worshipped at the Jimmyō shrine in Shiba, then went to a photography studio outside the shrine to have my picture taken with my attendants and servants. I reached home before 4. The Jimmyō area is the place in which I led a dissolute life in my youth fourteen or fifteen years ago. Now all of that seems like a dream. At night I got drunk at the Sakuraya with Saitō.

21 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/9] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers where we were very busy today. Sakē was distributed in commemoration of the Emperor's departure yesterday. Also, a year ago today our Lord was restored to his court rank, able again to walk under the blue sky while the sun shines; so after returning home I got as drunk as could be with my dependents and servants in celebration.

There happened to come to my attention the name of a man called Hashi'ichi at Shinzenza in Tokyo—who is something of a genius at making lacquerware. Moreover, he often lends a helping hand to people, takes pity on those who are destitute, and does not save a penny [a *sen*] for himself. He is indeed an oddity in these times. Having heard of his reputation, and impressed by the fact that such a man does exist in this frivolous world, I called him over to get to know him. One time I myself was blessed with a gift of 100 *ryō* from the Imperial Government, but I gave all the money away. Tonight this man and I got drunk together. He showed me a sample of his lacquerware—it was splendid.

⁵ The loyal retainers of Lord Asano Naganori lie buried at this temple with their master who was condemned to death in 1701 for drawing his sword in the Shogun's castle when insulted by Kira Yoshinaka. The carefully arranged vendetta of the forty-seven men is considered the premier instance of loyalty in Japan; for they took the head of Kira under cover of a snowstorm in 1703, and brought it to the tomb of their late lord. Authorities ordered the conspirators to commit suicide, and they were buried with their lord in order of precedence. Today incense burns constantly before their grave markers, as it must have in Kido's day, placed there by admirers.

22 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/10] Fair. Yesterday morning the Englishman Mitford informed me of the destruction of our warship, the *Kaiyō*. As I did not believe the report, he sent another report to that effect; so this morning I went to see him. I learned that the story is indeed authentic. I also visited Satow in Mitford's company, and met Adams⁶ and Carr⁷ as well. Lowder also happened by. I knew Lowder before the Shimonoseki Battle in 1864. He said that he has recently been appointed Consul for Niigata; and that he would leave for that place soon. Besides that I heard a great deal of other news; and I left for home at 4 to go up to the council chambers directly from there.

Last night, as we discussed the ultimate objectives of the Restoration of Imperial authority, I argued strongly for developing a powerful military force in the country. I came close to convincing the others; and today Deputy Chancellor Iwakura ordered me to push for it. I have, therefore, been turning the idea over in my mind. After 6 I returned home.

Kinashi, Ihara, Saitō, and I went to Tsukiji to visit Yamaguchi Hanzō,⁸ and Mori Kinnojō joined us to go to a hotel to eat. There a Portuguese man named Rosa⁹ asked me for an interview; so after dinner I and my friends met him. We talked over a number of things; and he gave us tickets to a theatre in Hatchōbori, where some Italians plan to present an opera on the coming 25th. This must be the first theatre that the Westerners have opened in Tokyo. En route home we all stopped in at the Sakuraya for several cups, then returned home.

23 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/11] Cloudy. A holiday. I went

⁶ Francis Ottiwell Adams was the senior deputy to Minister Harry Parkes at the English Legation.

⁷ This is probably Captain J. Carr of the First Battalion, 10th Regiment, stationed with the English troops in Yokohama.

⁸ Yamaguchi Hanzō (1839–1892) was a Saga *han* samurai who studied the Dutch Learning at Nagasaki. In 1868 he was a functionary in the Japanese Foreign Office, and later from 1871–1873 he served as one of the associate ambassadors, along with Kido, in the Iwakura mission to America and Europe. Yamaguchi was selected for the latter post because of his expertise in international law.

⁹ F. da Rosa, though Portuguese in nationality, edited and published the English-language weekly, *Japan Commercial News*, in Yokohama, featuring articles selected by the Bakufu government for translation. Beginning 15 May 1868 he published the *Hyogo News*, a semi-weekly; and he was associated with John R. Black in putting out the *Nishin Shinjishi*, a Japanese-language paper issued from the treaty-port of Yokohama.

out incognito about 3 to search for antiques along the Nakadōri and in Nihonbashi. Things have changed since seven or eight years ago; for most antiques now are trashy. Only a few are articles of real value. I took a rest at the Okina'an, then went home at night.

24 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/12] Clear skies and mild. Mr. Imada of Iwakuni came to bid farewell. At 12 Satow and Mitford came; and we talked about the world situation. They showed me a draft of the English Minister's answer to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura in regard to the neutrality issue. During the visit I was made conversant with their intentions. Satow went to see Lord Higashikuze on business; and I invited Kinashi, Sakuma, and Hayashi to join Mitford and me for a Western-style dinner. I learned that Enomoto Kamajirō¹⁰ and Matsudaira Tarō have submitted a petition to the Imperial government by the hand of the English and French Ministers. Before 5 the others left.

In a little while Yamaguchi came bearing the orders of Deputy Chancellor Iwakura in regard to Enomoto's petition. I was ordered to be in the council chambers at 9 a.m. tomorrow. I went immediately to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura's, but he had gone out to see the Foreign Minister, and had not yet returned. There was nothing to do but to leave, so I visited Ōmura to talk about military affairs. I have always wanted to establish a financial base as speedily as possible to build a foundation for the military on. It has been very difficult, however, to put the financial part of it into effect. But a few days ago we made a start at implementing our plan. Deputy Chancellor Iwakura recognized the merits of it, and negotiated with the Department of Finance to get a decision to appropriate 1,000,000 *koku* for military expenses. The plan which I have long advocated calls for dividing the national revenues into five parts, appropriating three-fifths for the navy and the army, one-fifth for government administrative expenses—here

¹⁰ Kamajirō is the popular name of Enomoto Takeaki (1836–1908) who headed the pro-Bakufu government in Hakodate at this time. As commander of the Bakufu fleet he had taken the vessels from Shinagawa in Edo Bay north to Hokkaido rather than surrender when Edo Castle fell in 1868. A devotee of the Dutch Learning, Enomoto had studied naval science in Holland from 1862 to 1867; and, ever the patriot, on surrendering his position at Hakodate, turned over his navigation notes to the Meiji government for the good of the country. On being pardoned for his role in the civil war, he served as Minister to Russia and as Minister of the Navy in the new government.

changing the regulations to reduce monthly salaries of officials, and one-fifth to be applied to the welfare of the masses. The latter would include the application of money to conveniences for the use of the people, such as river steamers and horse carriages.

As long as these objectives remain unfulfilled, we have merely struck a blow at the head of the Bakufu. When we have yet to carry into effect plans which will preserve the Empire, even though we may have restored Imperial rule, there is little that is different from the political situation under the Bakufu. This point is not understood even though several thousand loyalists and young warriors have died for it over a span of many years. It is distressing that even the loyalist domains, not to mention the people generally, are unaware of it.

25 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/13]. Cloudy. In the morning I went up to the council chambers. England, France, Holland, and Italy have now sent replies to Iwakura in regard to the neutrality issue; and the Court Archivist was ordered to insert them in the *Official Gazette*.¹¹ The petition sent by Enomoto Kamajirō and Matsudaira Tarō through the English and French ministers is not only illogical in its line of reasoning, but the language itself is highly insulting; therefore, we decided to reject it. I left after 5. In the afternoon rain fell. Miyoshiya, the shop proprietor, came by.

26 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/14] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers. Prussia sent us a letter on the neutrality issue presenting the same view as England and France. We ordered the Archivist to print it as he did the others.

As Lord Iwakura will depart tomorrow morning, he made inquiries about pending issues; and I raised several matters with him. Two of them are particularly important. For one thing, we should determine without delay the course our nation is to take, then dispatch an envoy to Korea to question officials of that land about their discourtesy to us. If they do not acknowledge their fault, let us proclaim it publicly and launch an attack on their territory to extend the influence of our Divine Land across the seas to cover their territory. If this be done, the reactionary

¹¹ *Nisshi*.

traditions of our nation will be altered overnight. By fixing our goals on an overseas land, we shall make advances in developing all sorts of practical skills and technology; and we shall wash away our undesirable practices of spying on one another, criticizing and reproaching each other, rather than reflecting each on his own self. The great advantages of this policy to the country are incalculable.

The other important matter is that the great principle that a subject's highest loyalty is to his sovereign has not yet been made clear. The oldest of the feudal lords go back to the Kamakura era—from then down through the Ashikaga, Oda, Toyotomi, and the Tokugawa, each of whom allocated the Imperial lands as he pleased to reward his deserving retainers. On the occasion of the present Restoration, all of the lands of the nation should be gathered for return to the Imperial Government. Once that is done and rules are regularized for these lands in accord with His Majesty's wishes, the proper relations between sovereign and subject will be clear to the nation now and passed along to future generations. Nevermore will disloyal and intriguing vassals emerge.

Those who have labored in the loyalist cause over the years, of course, have regarded this as their objective from the beginning. Our own Lord, for example, is possessed with a sincerity for the Restoration cause that would move Heaven. Our Lord feels his loyalty for the Emperor in his very bones. I want our Lord, therefore, to lead the nation in this eternally righteous cause; and I have secretly encouraged him to do so since early last year. Although it must be vowed that the highest loyalty is to the Emperor, with never a contrary thought, today no one other than our Lord is aware of the rationale for it, so much time having passed since 1853, the Year of the Ox, and 1854, the Year of the Tiger, when these things were widely known. Incessant argument has raged in Chōshū since last spring. Owing to this controversy I have endured a bitter experience (on account of Mihori and the others) beyond the power of my writing brush to express. Unavoidably I have had to wait for a favorable moment, and have been unable to launch the project. If we continue to let the time pass leaving the situation as it is, we shall end by losing a great opportunity for the nation and for generations to come. If the project be carried out during the next month or two, are there any, including even the lords of

the Tōhoku, who will not join in? We have already lost several opportunities; and, if we also lose this one, there may be no other day for it. For this reason I consulted with Ōkubo Ichizō the other day about having the Lord of Satsuma bring the subject up for discussion as a matter of public interest. Ōkubo willingly agreed to my proposal. When we carry the plan into effect, I pray, for the sake of our Divine Land, that as many lords as possible agree to it. I request, however, that my own Lord be a leader as well as the Lord of Satsuma for the reason that I do not want forgotten for a moment the fact of our Lord's loyalty and sincerity in regard to the Emperor. I told Deputy Chancellor Iwakura, therefore, in a general way in private that now is the most favorable time. Lord Iwakura praised the concept; but my troubles and anxieties in the meantime have been indescribable.

The matter of local government in the Mutsu-Dewa provinces came up; and it was after 5 when we were through with official business that I withdrew. I went out to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura's and returned home at 6. Kinashi Sei'ichirō departs tomorrow morning; and he came to bid farewell, as did Nawa Kan. We talked about pending matters in detail; and we drank a toast and I gave him a farewell present. Fujii Yasoe who will leave with Kinashi also came to say goodbye; and everyone left by 10. Further, in my absence Nakajima Shirō came to say farewell.

27 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/15] Fair. In the morning Ōjo Magosaburō, Endō Buntarō, Kasahara Jukichi, and Satō Yasudayu of Sendai came by to talk about the situation in their province. In the afternoon I enjoyed myself by doing calligraphy; and I had an appointment with Ōkubo Yaemon, Nagahara Gokuto, and . . . , all of the Ōkubo domain.¹² After 3 I went to the Matsumototei in Fukagawa with Saitō Shintarō. I worshipped at the Hachiman shrine¹³ there; but as a drama was being performed by the company attached to the shrine, the place was crowded. I returned to the Sakuraya after 11. All of my party, starting with Shintarō, stayed the night at their request; but I returned home. The geisha, Kame, saw me off. In the night a

¹² This probably refers to Odawara *han*, 113,100 *koku*, headed by a *fudai* daimyō who bore the surname Ōkubo.

¹³ Shinto places of worship to the God of War, tutelary deity of the Minamoto family.

strong wind came up; and the waves beneath the Eidai Bridge were enormous.

28 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/16] Fair. I paid a visit to Hashi'ichi with Saitō; and on the way we passed the former Aizu mansion which had been completely overgrown with grass now dead. I can imagine how the Aizu men feel; and I cannot refrain from compassion. I paid a visit to Nemoto, and inspected several hanging scrolls of calligraphy and ink painting, left to worship at the Jimmyō shrine, and returned home about 3. Inoue Shin'ichirō came to see me. He had finished his investigation of the possibilities for Chōshū mansions as ordered a few days ago. Our domain wishes to have Imperial permission for a mansion in a good location in the future, so he put a lot of effort into his search, considering a number of places. He recommends the Shinobu domain¹⁴ mansion in Marunouchi, and the Sakai mansion in Ōkawabata. The Shinobu mansion is well-prepared to serve as the residence for a family; and our Lord can live in it whenever he comes up to Tokyo without refurbishing. The Sakai mansion has been used to store local products and grain; and it is splendidly protected against fire. We decided, therefore, to aim at acquiring these two mansions. In the past other domains have put a great deal of effort into careful arrangements for facilities; but our domain has been shorthanded, and careless about business outside the domain. We were forced, therefore, to make this special effort to arrange things now.

Iseya Ichibei came to talk. Seven or eight years ago when Shishido Kurobei and Kijima Matabei were on duty here, he was unofficially made the official agent for local products of Chōshū. This summer he went as far as Aizu in support of Narazaki Raizō and others when he was ordered by Narazaki to reconnoiter rebel territory. The rebels captured him in Kōzuke province; and he was about to be executed when he was miraculously spared. It resulted from the fact that the advance of the government army was so rapid, he explained, in telling me about the incident. At night Hayashi Hanshichi came to talk; and Shirogane came to

¹⁴ A mansion belonging to a domain closely connected with the Tokugawa would be available; and Shinobu *han*, 100,000 *koku*, in Musashi province, had been headed by Matsudaira Tadakuni, a daimyō of a *kamon* family.

deliver a short sword bearing a picture of an autumn field, and a long sword depicting a horse and a deer.

29 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/17] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chamber, and I withdrew at 5. I had an appointment with Kuragake Torajirō of Mimasaka province; and after 6 I went to the Okinatei. Rain came down as if poured from a bowl on high. After midnight I returned home.

30 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/18] Cloudy. At 4 I went up to the council chamber. At the Palace, Katsu Awa requested an interview; therefore, I received him in the Audience Room. Both of us deplored what has happened in the past. I first made his acquaintance at Naniwa six years ago. After 4 he withdrew from the chambers.

In the council today we discussed several matters relating to the appointment of civil officials in Mutsu and Dewa provinces, and the question of the three prefectures of Shōnai, Fukushima, and Morioka. I sent Ōkubo a letter, telling him in outline of the decisions we reached with the Department of War on the attack on the rebels at Hakodate, and relating developments here in Tokyo since the departure of the Imperial palanquin. After 5 I left the Palace.

At dusk I went to the Sagamiya in Mi . . . chō to visit Komai Seigorō. A letter had come in from Yamada Ichinojō, who has been dispatched to Aomori, revealing that the people there do not understand the situation in Tokyo for the most part; therefore, I have wanted to have Komai tell them directly of the reasons behind the decisions on military strategy and equipment, and of the stance of Tokyo. Komai, however, was not there, having gone to Yokohama; so I had to make do with leaving a note for him. We should resolve the Hakodate problem by making a vigorous push forward in order to break the courage of the traitors. Since foreign countries are involved, however, we should not proclaim our real intentions to the public in an arrogant fashion. Inevitably there are those who would procrastinate, so in our private moments we have no end of worries. Invariably misunderstandings will arise in the remote reaches of the land. This is the thing which I regret most. En route back I went to the Sakuraya to drink in its quiet surroundings.

31 January 1869 [Meiji 1/12/19] Fair. Today I had an appointment with Hishida, Kusakabe, Sakuma, and Hayashi Hanshichi, so I took a boat to the Matsumototei in Fukagawa to meet them. Hayashi had been at the Sakuraya since morning, and Saitō as well; so they brought Ohama, Omatsu, Okatsu, Okame, and Otetsu along with them. Misako and Okiyo came as well.¹⁵ We all took great pleasure in doing calligraphy together. Hashi-ichi also came over. At about 12 midnight we returned home by boat.

1 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/20] Cloudy. In the morning I went up to the council chamber, where we made a decision in broad outline on the form of local civil administration in Mutsu and Dewa. After 5 I withdrew. The snow today was driven by wind which penetrated to the bone, the wind scattering the pure white snow as it fell. Tomorrow at the house of Iseya Yabei of . . . in Fukagawa a small party will be held with Lord Ōhara serving as host. I am going there at his invitation; therefore, Sakuma and I decided to go to the Sakuraya to spend the night. On the way I met Hishida; and we promised to take the same boat tomorrow. On reaching the Sakuraya we had several drinks.

2 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/21] Cloudy. After 11 Sakuma, Hishida, and I took a boat to the villa of Iseya in Fukagawa. Last night I thought it would snow, and I was delighted with the idea; but today it rained instead, much to my disappointment. We arrived at the villa about 2. On hand were Lords Akizuki and Arima plus Hijikata, Shima, Kagawa, Yamanaka, Ono, Kusakabe, and more than ten other samurai who have been summoned to Tokyo to serve the central government.¹⁶ We watched sumō; and as most of the wrestlers were impressive, the occasion was very enjoyable. After sumō, brushes and inkstones were brought out for those present; and each person did calligraphy on whatever caught his fancy. Lord Akizuki showed me his poem. Kagawa is a man of Mito.¹⁷ I was reminded of my past

¹⁵ The women are all geisha.

¹⁶ *Chōshi* were *han* samurai and able commoners summoned to duty with the central government by the *Dajōkan* to handle the business of state.

¹⁷ Kagawa Keizō (1839–1915) was a Mito loyalist, disciple of Fujita Tōko, and aide to Iwakura Tomomi prior to the Restoration. He fought in the Eastern expedition of the 1868 war, and later entered the Imperial Household Ministry.

friendship with Old Takeda and Fujita;¹⁸ and I could not help being deeply moved. When they lived we engaged in spirited discussions; and, as the purposes of those wise men move me still, I pray that they may rest in peace beneath the sod. Members of the group promised to meet again on the 13th of this month. I returned home by boat after 8.

Recently I composed two *haiku* poems:

(On seeing the unkempt grounds of the abandoned Aizu mansion)

“Not a single blade of grass

Has failed to grow

For even a day.”

“In this world

At the sight of cherry blossoms or of the moon

My tears fall—indeed!”

3 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/22] Fair. Today was unusually warm—just like spring. I went up to the council chamber with the other men, arriving at 10 a.m. Sakē was given out in commemoration of the year's end.¹⁹ Lord Yōdō extended an invitation to me to visit his place, but I had an appointment with Prince Sanjō first, so on withdrawing from the Palace I went to Sanjō's inn. We discussed revision of the coinage system for gold, silver, and copper coins, a matter for heated controversy in recent days. In addition, we talked over several problems which are currently pressing; and I left after 9. I then went to the Tosa mansion where Lord Higashikuze had already arrived. We had a few drinks, recited in the *Gidayū* style²⁰ for the pleasure of it, and talked about calligraphy and brush painting. I returned home after 12.

4 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/23] Cloudy. In the morning

¹⁸ Takeda and Fujita were two well-known loyalists from Mito. Takeda Kōunsai had been executed in 1864 after an unsuccessful coup attempt in Mito and an abortive march on Kyoto, as noted earlier. Fujita Tōko (1806–1855) died in a great earthquake in Edo after having headed the Mito historical documents project in succession to his father, Fujita Yūkoku. Both Fujitas revered the Imperial family, but believed that the Shogunate system should be retained in a subordinate position to the Emperor.

¹⁹ The end of the year was approaching according to the lunar calendar then in use.

²⁰ Takemoto Gidayū (1651–1714) was the master chanter of the Bunraku puppet theatre when it flourished in Osaka; and his impassioned delivery of the narrative and dialogue, leading at times to distended throat muscles and faces red from exertion, became the favorite style for that theatre. Chikamatsu Monzaemon wrote his great *Jōruri* plays for the successful puppet theatre founded by Gidayū in Osaka.

Hayashi Hanshichi²¹ came to bid farewell, for he left today for Aomori by way of Nambu. Nomura Dōzō came by, having arrived from Kyoto yesterday. He brought me a letter from Nomura Uchū. Saitō Shinzō came; and the moment he arrived he began talking over old times—altogether about things which happened ten years ago or more. Komai Seinoshin came; and we talked about the Hakodate military equipment and about recent developments in Tokyo. I want him to return to Aomori as speedily as possible. The time was already 2 p.m., so I hurried to the council chamber. We reached a decision on the matter of the gold, silver, and copper coins; and many other problems came up. I returned home after 5, meeting Sakurai en route. In the past few days I have been troubled by my stomach from time to time, so I have had . . . of the Honda *han* examine me. He comes often to my house to visit Seiho and Asajirō; he is a man of good taste in artistic matters, appreciative of calligraphy and brush painting.

5 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/24] Cloudy. At 11 I went up to the council chamber. Today we finished dividing Mutsu and Dewa provinces into cities and prefectures. We examined the territories to be newly granted to those domains which have surrendered; and we completed our inspection of the village registers for those places which are to be handed over to *han* which will supervise the cities and prefectures as well as to those domains which have surrendered. Rain began to fall about 2; and I left after 5. Ōmura and I discussed the matter of the infantry in some detail. Saitō Shinzō came at night. We talked about old times, had a few drinks, and, in compliance with his request, I did calligraphy on several sheets of paper.

6 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/25] A rainstorm. I went up to the council chamber at 10. As today was the death anniversary of the late Emperor, I paid my respects to the present Emperor at the office of the Imperial Secretariat. In reward for my diligent service I was presented with an Imperial gift of silk cloth. Government offices will be closed beginning tomorrow. At 5 I left—when the rainstorm was at its height. At night I went with Saitō to the Sakuraya.

²¹ This is transcribed "Hayashi Heishichi," but probably refers to the Chōshū samurai Hayashi Hanshichi.

7 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/26] Fair in the morning. I took a stroll around the Hachikanchō area, returning home before 12. Today I had an appointment with Mitsuoaka, but he did not come. Nemoto Shinzō and Fukui Jundō came over; and we had a few drinks and a relaxed conversation. Soejima happened by to talk about the current situation for a while. After his departure Nemoto and Fukui asked for some of my calligraphy; so I applied the brush to the paper a bit haphazardly in my intoxication. At about 7 everybody left. Rain fell again tonight.

(Note) In the morning Lord Ōhara came, and some Aizu men who had surrendered were sent up here today.

8 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/27] Fair. Mitsuoaka came in the morning; and we talked about government finance and other pressing issues. After he left Ogata Kōan and Fukui came. After 12 I visited Soejima; then we went together to Lord Ōhara's, and on to Prince Sanjō's to bid farewell. There we discussed current affairs for a time. Lord Ogimachi-sanjō arrived today. I had an appointment with Shima Dan'emon for a Year's End Party,²² so I went directly to his house. Lords Higashikuze and Ōhara were present, as was Nakajima, Fifth Court Rank. Ōki also came after me. Several geisha from Shimbashi were there to serve us sakè; all of them are girls whom I know in a general way. I returned home after 12. Today Takahashi Shōshichirō, a man of Omikawa, sent me a wild goose.

9 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/28] In the morning, cloudy—then rain. At 10 I went up to the Palace to offer my congratulations and to express my gratitude at the year's end. As is customary we were served sakè in celebration. I left after 1. This morning Prince Sanjō made his departure, and this evening I had an appointment with Saitō Shinzō of Matsushiro. After 3 I took a boat from the Sakuraya to the Yūmeirō. Hishida, Kusakabe, and Sakuma accompanied me; and we took along the three geisha, Ohama, Hamakichi, and Okame. While we were aboard the boat to the Yūmeirō, the rain stopped; and by the time we reached the teahouse the sky was clear. Shinzō was already there; and I met . . . , the manager of his domain's affairs in the Lord's

²² Bōnenkai.

absence. I also met Iwasaki Naonoshin of Ueda domain²³ in the same province. Naonoshin was my acquaintance of ten years ago when we had great times together in Edo. We were all tireless practicing swordsmen. He was a man of integrity and firm character, extraordinary among the swordsmen. That is why I can never forget him. It is fortunate that I happened upon him in Tokyo.

More than ten geisha from here and Shimbashi were seated around the table; and, as they pressed so many cups of sakè on me, I was very drunk before I realized it. I slipped out of the party with Saitō Shintarō, therefore, to return home by boat. It was already midnight when I arrived. This evening I had an inspiration for a poem:

As I prepare to make clear to all the meaning of enduring
loyalty,
I wish to conquer the five continents,
How grievous that my comrades have died!
All my pleasures are accompanied by sorrow.
By Heaven's grace my own life has been spared,
So I vow to myself that I shall repay my country.

That I should be floating about in Tokyo today is like unto a dream. I do not know how many times I took a boat up and down the mainstream of the Sumida River during the cherry blossom season, both day and night, six or seven years ago. Of my samurai comrades on those outings, not a single one is alive today. I alone have enjoyed the good fortune to survive to this time. My emotions overwhelm me.

10 February 1869 [Meiji 1/12/29] Fair. In the morning I wandered about Hachikanchō and Kubochō; and I returned home about 12 noon. I have promised to entertain Lords Higashikuze and Ōhara on New Year's Day; therefore, I tidied up my place, arranged some flowers, and did my best in my humble way to prepare for them. In the evening I drank with Sakuma and some others whom he brought with him in celebration of the close of the year.

²³ Ueda *han* was headed by a Matsudaira, *fudai* daimyō, 53,000 *koku*, in Shinano province.

Meiji 2 1869

First Month

11 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/1] Not a cloud in the whole sky. In the morning the sun shone brightly. I arose to tie up my hair and to take a cold bath. I worshipped in the direction of the Imperial Palace and toward my home province of Chōshū.¹ I then paid my respects to the myriad gods of Heaven and Earth, praying for the prosperity of the Emperor and for good fortune to come to my Lord. All the members of my family drank the traditional New Year's sakè;² and before 10 I went up to the Palace to offer my congratulations. At the Chamber of the Senior Councilors,³ the Senior Councilors, Junior Councilors, and all officials of the third rank and above received New Year's sakè and layered *omochi* rice cakes. I left at 2.

This evening Lords Higashikuze and Ōhara, Mr. Shima, and others came to my place as had been arranged; and we had several drinks. Hishida and Sakuma also came; we composed poems, and each did his own calligraphy. Misako—a young girl from the Okina'an, the wife of the Sakuraya proprietor, and the geisha Ohama and Okame served us. Everybody left before 12. A letter arrived from Ōkubo.

12 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/2] Cloudy. From morning on until about 3 I received guests and drank with them. The ladies stayed over from last night; and they played New Year's games.⁴ I felt as if I were celebrating my first true New Year's in seven or

¹ Kido paid his respects to the Emperor and to his feudal lord, Mōri Takachika.

² *Toso*, a medicinal sakè, was taken to purge the body of noxious vapors for the coming year, and to promote long life. A package of spices was soaked in sweet sakè overnight to prepare this drink, developed by a Chinese herbalist.

³ *Giseikyoku* probably refers to the *Giseikan*, translated as Council Chamber, which consisted of an Upper Chamber (*Jōkyoku*) of Senior and Junior Councilors, *Gijō* and *Sanjō*, who legislated, and a Lower Chamber (*Kakyoku*) of officials who prepared details of legislation.

⁴ One such game was the *hyakunin isshu* card game, or "one hundred poets, one hundred poems"; another was *hagoita*, the battledore and shuttlecock.

eight years. I must bear in mind, however, that we have a long way to go. After 3 I went to Lord Ōgimachi-sanjō's inn, to Lord Ōhara's inn, and to the mansion of Prince Higashikuze. Lords Kuga, Ōhara, and Nishiyotsuji were there; and they delayed their departures because of me, so we drank until 10. Dancing girls and the comic story-teller Sakuragawa⁵ . . . came to liven up the party with entertainment. I slipped out secretly to go to the Sakuraya.

13 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/3] Windy with rain. Last year on this date⁶ the war began in Fushimi. In the intervening year the country has been pacified in the main; therefore, as celebration, in the last month of the old year, we arranged for sumō matches at the villa of Iseya Yabei⁷ in Fukagawa. With Hishida Sakuma, Saitō, and Inoue, I took a boat at 12 noon to go to the villa. Lords Kuga, Higashikuze, and Nishiyotsuji; the Lord of Hizen; and Yamanaka, Kagawa, and others had already come when we arrived. In the garden temporary stalls had been erected for sushi, tempura, and *dengaku*.⁸ The sumō wrestlers today were the stoutest now active; and their matches provided enjoyable watching. My one regret was that the weather was bad, though it stopped raining toward evening. After the matches, each of us poured sakè from a large bowl and offered it to the sumō wrestlers.

Six or seven geisha were there. Presently one of them called my name, and I realized for the first time that it was the geisha Oteru whom I had known six or seven years ago in Yanagibashi. She reminded me of my friends from the old days, now dead; and the tears streamed down my face without my realizing it. I returned by boat after 11.

14 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/4] Fair. Today was the first day the government offices had been open in the new year; so I went up to the council chamber at 12 noon. Tomorrow the Englishman Satow leaves Tokyo for his home country; at the urging of Lord Higashikuze, the Lord of Bizen, Lord Ōhara, Mori, Machida,

⁵ He belonged to the line descended from Sakuragawa Jihinari (1761–1833), who revived the art of *rakugo*, comic storytelling.

⁶ On the third day of the first month by the lunar calendar.

⁷ He was purveyor to Chōshū *han*.

⁸ *Dengaku* is baked bean-curd daubed with *miso*.

Kanda, and I gave a farewell dinner for him in a hotel. Mitford and Alexander von Siebold⁹ also came; von Siebold is the replacement for Satow. Once Satow came to Shimonoseki with Parkes to argue the case for the subordination of the feudal lords to the Bakufu. I refuted their arguments emphatically, and rejected their view, so that Parkes became very angry. Four years have passed since that occasion. My boarding their warship with Tōgyō¹⁰—all that seems like a dream now. This evening I discussed the contemporary situation with Satow, and learned a great deal about Europe. We parted from each other at 10, and I returned home. Today I interceded in the matter of the Chōshū mansion, and have almost settled the problem.

15 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/5] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers; and I left after 3. Today I had an appointment with Saitō, so I went to the place which he rents from the government in Banchō. The members of the Saitō family had all come; they had prepared food and sakè in the New Year's style; and they were eager to have me stay over. I decided to remain, therefore. Everyone took off his *hakama*, and we had a relaxed time drinking sakè. . . . of Fukui, the master of the Bun'endō academy,¹¹ and many others attended the party. In my intoxication I enjoyed myself at calligraphy. Otetsu and Okame also came.

16 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/6] Partly cloudy. In the morning I had a few drinks with Tōyō . . . ; and I met Honda and Tange for the first time. I had an appointment with Etō Shimpei, so I went directly to his house where we had a long leisurely talk, discussing all aspects of the contemporary situation. We had a number of cups of sakè. In the afternoon I had another appointment with Saitō Shinzō, so I took a boat to the Yūmeirō. Hasegawa, Fifth Court Rank; Tamagawa Ichigaku; Shirakawa

⁹ Alexander von Siebold (1846–1911) was the son of the estimable Phillip Franz von Siebold, a German physician who had served at the Dutch factory on Deshima in the 1820s during seclusion days. After his father returned to Japan in 1859, Alexander went to work for the English, as interpreter at the Nagasaki consulate in 1863, and in the same role with the mission of Prince Mimbukyō of the Tokugawa to Europe in 1867. He left his work with the English to enter the employ of the Japanese government in 1870, as adviser to Matsukata Masayoshi and Inoue Kaoru.

¹⁰ Tōgyō is the pen name of Takasugi Shinsaku.

¹¹ A fencing academy.

Chikara; and Yokota Kazuma . . . were already there. We drank heartily, putting the place in wild disorder. I left quietly by myself after 10 to take a boat back. There has been a disagreement over the matter of the surrendered Aizu men; and I wrote a letter to Ōmura to put a stop to the departure of these men for their home.

17 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/7] Fair weather this morning. This evening I had an appointment with Lord Akizuki,¹² so after 2 I went to his mansion at Ōkawabata. It was formerly the mansion of the Suwa family. The landscaping of the garden there is superb. While I was there rain began to fall, covering the plants and trees with moisture, and causing the plum blossoms to give off a strong fragrance. Lord Yōdō had promised to come; but he had not yet put in an appearance; so we went out to the detached pavilion overlooking the garden for a few drinks. From there our view of the beautiful scenery along the Sumida River was excellent. At 6 Lord Yōdō did put in an appearance; and we spent several hours in drinking at our leisure. Sakata Kiyoshi, a retainer of the Akizuki family, took a seat at the pavilion; and he spoke out strongly in advocacy of the expulsion of the barbarians.

Lady Akizuki had arrived from Kyoto on the 13th; she is the younger sister of Lord Karasumaru. Lord Yōdō and I met her unexpectedly tonight; and, indeed, Lord Akizuki himself has just met his new bride by an arranged marriage. I had taken particular trouble in this matter because I had an obligation to Akizuki. Nammei, the painter, arrived with Lord Yōdō. I had seen him once previously at Old Naitō Suruga's house thirteen years ago. I returned home about 10. Today Lord Satake presented me with a sword made by Hankei.¹³

18 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/8] Cloudy, then rain. Because of a slight cold I stayed home all day. Endō Bunshichirō of Sendai domain, Ōmura Masujirō, Hori Shinjirō, and other visitors came without a break.

¹² Akizuki Tanetatsu was the heir to the lordship of Takanabe domain.

¹³ Hankei was a swordmaker of Musashi province, active about 1673. (John M. Yamamoto, *The Samurai Sword* [Rutland, Vermont, Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1958], 142). The man who presented the sword to Kido was Lord Satake Yoshiyaki of Kubota domain.

19 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/9] Fair. In the morning Motonami Heijūrō came. I went up to the council chambers at the usual hour, and withdrew at 4. Today I had an appointment with Mr. Ōki to go to his new house. Lord Ōhara, Yamanaka, Ono, and Etō were there.

20 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/10] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers, and left before 4. Today Lord Yōdō of Tosa, Lord Akizuki, and the Lord of Bizen all came to my place by invitation. I also invited over Yamanaka, Hishida, Kusakabe, and Sakuma; and Araki Kan'ichi and Kaburagi . . . came as well. We enjoyed ourselves to the full with an evening of painting, calligraphy, and music. Everybody left after 12.

21 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/11] Fair. Today I had an appointment with the Lord of Bizen. After I went to the Matsumotoya villa at Imadochō, taking this road for the first time in seven years, I went inside the precincts of the Kannonji temple¹⁴ in Asakusa. The place was crowded with worshippers, just as in the old days. As I was crossing the Imado Bridge I recognized the horse-carriage of the Lord of Tosa at the Yūmeirō. When I arrived at the Matsumotoya villa, it was already close to 4 p.m. Lord Akizuki and the Lord of Bizen were there; but the Lord of Tosa had not yet arrived, being still at the Yūmeirō. So I went back there and brought him with me to the Matsumotoya. Hijikata Dai'ichirō was present.

22 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/12] Because of illness, I stayed home all day. Fair weather.

23 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/13] Clear skies. In the morning Iwasaki Naonosuke came. Today I took possession of Sayama's house. Komai and Okura came. At 11 I went up to the council chamber. Today was the busiest since the beginning of the new year. I by myself have a greater work load than any number of other bureaus which operate in Tokyo Castle right now. I

¹⁴ Kannonji, the famous temple of Asakusa, is dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy. The main hall was built in 1651 and burned during World War II. Restored, it is still a mecca for throngs of temple-goers, and the busy promenade lined with shops is crowded today, just as it must have been in Kido's time.

withdrew at 5. At night Saitō Yakurō and Minami Teisuke came; we had a few drinks and talked.

24 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/14] Clear skies. I went up to the council chamber in the morning, and left about 4. Today I met with my old friend of ten years ago—Iwasaki Naonoshin, an Ueda man—and Saitō Shinzō, a Matsushiro man, at the Kawanagarō. We had an enjoyable time over drinks talking about old times. The Kawanagarō is the place in which I often enjoyed myself with Takasugi Yasuo¹⁵ seven years ago; and I do not know how many times I drank together with Old Asada here. As I recalled the past, the tears drenched my sleeves in spite of myself. Several geisha whom I had known in the old days came in to wait on us; nearly ten geisha gathered from all around here.

Sakata Yū of Akizuki domain brought a letter from Lord Akizuki whom I had an appointment to meet at this teahouse today. The Lord was unable to come, however, because he had a visit from Lord Umayama tonight. Akizuki wanted two geisha; therefore, I called two more girls to send out to him. I had a discussion with Yū and the other two gentlemen over the current situation. Saitō Shintarō accompanied me here; and we returned to the Sakuraya by boat, then home. It was nearly 4 a.m.

25 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/15] Clear skies. This morning I could hardly raise my head from my pillow because of my hang-over. I had an invitation to a small party give at the Bunkaidō in Kanasugi. People who gathered there included Lords Higashikuze and Ōhara, Keian, Fukui Jundō, Ichikana Yoro-zuan, Lady Okuhara Seiko, Sakuma Seimu, Nishijina Seihō, Saitō Shintarō. We did New Year's calligraphy¹⁶ as we felt like it. The two lords left at 2 o'clock in the morning; but I stayed overnight with the others. Although the villa was close to the city, it was very quiet. Seven or eight plum trees in the garden were all in full bloom. Their fragrance which floated on the breeze the whole time was exhilarating.

Today on the way to the villa I passed through the temple grounds of Ueno. The two-story gate and most of the buildings

¹⁵ Takasugi Shinsaku.

¹⁶ It was a tradition to do calligraphy at New Year's; and *shihitsu*, the word used here, meant the first calligraphy of the New Year.

were burned in the battle last summer;¹⁷ so now the grandeur of the past is but a dream. I want to purify this ground, and dedicate it as a memorial to the war dead.

26 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/16] In the morning I went to the Chūshuntei with the others, entered a bath, and gave a small saké party. The old couple who have the Bunkaidō and the proprietor of the Chūshuntei also took part. The old lady had come to Hagi in Chōshū to enter service with the Mōri family in the time of Lord Kuninori; and she talked about Hagi castle-town. She made me instinctively aware of the difference between the style in our native place and that in the city. We enjoyed ourselves with brush painting again. Seiko was not there, having gone back home last night. At about 6 those of us still at the party went to the Imado Bridge together, and took a boat. At 8 we were at the Sakuraya to drink again; and I returned home at 10.

27 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/17] Fair. . . . of Satsuma came. Hasegawa, Fifth Court Rank, and Fukita Shirōbei came, also Kuroda Ryōsuke of Satsuma.¹⁸ Saitō, Fukui, Minami, and Kōno came. I went up to the council chamber at 12 noon, and left at 4. From there I went directly to Ōmura's to visit; and we deliberated over several important issues. I returned home at 6. Araki Seizaburō then came; and we talked over in detail the Ezo Colonization Bureau's School, the promotion of the commercial code, the Assembly, and the minting of coins. Today I received several fresh fish from Lord Akita. This morning there was an official notification that the Sakai mansion of Himeji for which I had been negotiating would be assigned to our domain. Many other domains coveted this mansion; therefore, I engaged in several discussions about it before the decision was finally made to assign it to us.

28 February 1869 [Meiji 2/1/18] Rainy weather. I had

¹⁷ The temple which had burned was the Kan'eiji, built by the Shogun in the seventeenth century as the family temple of the Tokugawas.

¹⁸ Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840–1900), Satsuma samurai, was soon to become chief of the Hokkaido Colonization Bureau; and he probably came to discuss that project. His first experience in Hokkaido was as general with the forces which reduced the five-sided fort at Hakodate. Later Kuroda served in many offices and became a *Genrō*—and was prime minister, 1888–1890. He was also a dipsomaniac who murdered his wife.

accepted an invitation from Lord Akizuki today; so, on leaving the Palace, I, with Lords Higashikuze and Ōhara, went directly to his mansion. Lord Yōdō was already there. We drank and made merry almost until dawn. More than ten geisha from Imado, Yanagibashi, and Shimbashi came to help serve us saké. Each of us took the brush in hand to do calligraphy and ink painting as it pleased him. Today Lord Yōdō and I discussed the main trends of the future; and we agreed on the need to establish the Imperial foundations, and to make clear the proper relations between sovereign and subject.¹⁹ In my heart I rejoiced.

1 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/19] Fair. Today I had an appointment with Saitō Tōyō; and we went to the old Somei villa in Moto Hongo. Tosa men had felled the large trees, dug up rocks, removed plants and trees, and pulled down the stone lanterns. Although the place had been almost ruined, because it had been designed as a small-scale natural landscape it still had its unspoiled natural beauty. Fukui Jundō and others had already reached there; and we did several dozen pieces of calligraphy and ink painting. Katō . . . , my acquaintance of more than ten years ago, also dropped by. The retainer of Honda Tange came to help with the party. After 1 in the morning the moon rose, casting its reflection on the water of the pond. The scene was superb. I returned home before 12.

2 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/20] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers where I had a very busy day. Lord Saionji came in from Echigo province, and told us about recent developments in that place. Sakata Kiyoshi accompanied him. On orders from Lord Higashikuze I dispatched a letter to Maebara in regard to his business with officials of the Foreign Ministry. Lord Saionji is the most brilliant youth among the court nobles. I withdrew from the council chambers at 5; and Sakuma and I visited Shibata's place, but he was not home. I then went to the Okina'an; but the place was crowded with customers, so I made my escape and returned home. I visited Shibata again; and this time he was home. On his invitation I went off to the

¹⁹ This entry was two days before the presentation of the petition from the four lords of Western Japan for the Return of the Registers, *hanseki-hōkan*, the presentation of the registers of lands and people back to the Throne.

Bahishōrō. This place turned out to be small and filthy; it was the most unpleasant experience I have had in recent days. I returned home after 10, and talked and drank with Saitō.

3 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/21] I visited Seiko in the morning with Seiho and Saitō; and, finding her at home, we talked for a while. We then moved over to Ryōgoku, and had a small party at the Seiryūrō where Seiho, Seiko, and I did calligraphy and ink painting. I dispatched a letter to Lord Akizuki to come over. Lord Saionji came looking for me. I then invited Lord Akizuki over again, and he came. Unexpectedly then the gathering turned into a very lively party. This evening Lord Saionji and I had an extensive discussion on current developments. For the most part the Lord accepted my opinions; and I felt that the Lord combined spiritual strength with intelligence, surprisingly so for one so young. I advised him, therefore, not to become a common official right away, but to make a tour of the world to be prepared to render important service to the Imperial Government at a later date. The Lord is strongly committed to his ambitions to serve. The party broke up after 3, and I went to the Sakuraya when the cocks were beginning to crow. The geisha, Fuku and Kane, saw me off from there.

(Note) Seisui came along with Seiko. Sakata accompanied Lord Saionji.

4 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/22] Rain, then clearing, and rain again. I went up to the council chambers where today we were extremely busy. There was a rumor that Iwakura would resign his office; therefore, I wrote him a letter to stop the resignation, and also reported to him on recent developments here. Further, I wrote Ōkubo. I left close to 6, and went directly to call on Ōmura with whom I discussed several important issues. We also discussed the matter of local government for the Tōhoku in fine detail. I returned home after 8. Today the two pictures of the war in the Occident, which I obtained from Minami, finally came.

5 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/23] Rain. In the morning I had many visitors. At 11 I went up to the council chambers. We discussed in detail the affairs of the Mutsu and Dewa domains, and what disposition to make of the village commons after taking care of

Sendai domain. We also talked over the matter of the fiefs of the Tayasu, Hitotsubashi, and Shimizu families.²⁰ There was a great deal of business; and I withdrew at 5. Today I invited Seiko over; and Saitō Tōyō, Kaburagi Keian,²¹ and Fukui Jundō also came. We had a splendid little party at which we did calligraphy and painting. Hishida Kaiō also came.

6 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/24] Wind and rain. In the morning I went up to the council chambers where we discussed what to do with those Aizu men who had surrendered. We decided to place the 5000 men in the custody of Matsushiro and Takada domains at the start. We want to let their wives and children and parents join them later so that they may live as families. We were also busy with other details. I left about 5.

7 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/25] Rain. In the morning I went up to the council chambers; and I left there after 4.

8 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/26] Clear skies. Today I had an appointment with the old Lord of Tosa; and I promised that I would go to his place with Lord Higashikuze. I visited Minami Teisuke after 11, then I went on to the house of Lord Higashikuze; and we rode together to Asakusa on horseback. We visited the Baisō, and purchased some *suichiku* bamboo plants and some *se-kiran* orchid flowers. After 4 we arrived. The place which was formerly the Toki mansion²² has become the mansion of Tsugaru domain.²³ There were four guests—Lords Higashikuze, Ōhara, Akizuki, and me. The pond in the garden of the Lord of Tosa made a splendid scene. I returned home after 11.

9 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/27] In the morning I went up to the

²⁰ These were the *sankyō*, or three Tokugawa families, residing in Edo, and empowered to provide candidates for the Shogunate in the event of failure of the main line to produce an heir.

²¹ Kaburagi Keian (1819–1870), Edo-born musician, taught singing in the classical Chinese style of the Ming and Ching periods. Yōdō and Kido were among his disciples, who numbered in the hundreds. He opened an antique shop when the popularity of this music declined.

²² Toki was the family name of daimyō stationed at Numata in Kōzuke province—*fudai* daimyō worth 35,000 *koku*.

²³ The daimyō was *tozama*, rated at 94,000 *koku*, with a castle at Hirosaki.

Palace. I looked over the Naishidokoro building²⁴ and also saw Momijiyama²⁵ and the Fukiage Gardens.²⁶ Lords Ogimachi-sanjō and Higashikuze likewise inspected these things, so many of which remind us of the grandeur of the old Bakufu. After 5 I withdrew. I talked about current trends with Mori Kinnojō. At night Saitō Shinzō, Kawase Sotoe, Kaburagi Keian, and Fukui Jundō came; and we talked about the situation today, told jokes, and had a few drinks.

10 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/28] Clear skies, but windy. This morning Koide Tetsunosuke of Aizu came, accompanied by. . . . Koide entered the priesthood at the time of the fall of Aizu; and he is secretly making efforts on behalf of his old country. I must have compassion for a man who feels as he does. If any man who has surrendered has not been treated properly, the fact will cast doubt on our aspirations for benevolent government. I fear that some have stood in the way of His Majesty's benevolent will.

I was told that my old friend, Takei Kampei, an Aizu man, has become a merchant, and that he came to see me this morning. Tanaka Rentarō also came; and I inquired of him about Nakajima Saburōnosuke.²⁷ He told me that Nakajima's boat capsized and sank because of strong winds at Chōshi Inlet when he was fleeing with Enomoto last winter. Nakajima was one of the most upright men among the lesser officials of the Bakufu; and I shall never forget my debt of gratitude to him. I felt miserable on hearing this news. These people came to such a fate because they strayed from the proper road temporarily. But there are so many others who are persistently insensitive to the principle of morality or of gratitude, yet now brazenly ask for reaffirmation of title to their old fiefs. Some things in this world I cannot bear to discuss. Once the government makes a mistake in a judicial decision, the masses of common people will at once fall into a pattern of criminality. Should we not be cautious in dealing with this matter?

I went up to the council chambers after 11. We were busied

²⁴ This is the building which now enshrines the sacred mirror, one of the three Imperial regalia.

²⁵ The Tokugawa had a library here; now the Cabinet's Library is located on the rise.

²⁶ These famous gardens within the Palace grounds were near the spot at which the Emperor now receives crowds of visitors at New Year's and on his birthday.

²⁷ Nakajima Saburōnosuke had been Kido's teacher of Western military science at his school on the Izu peninsula in 1854.

there with routine matters; and I withdrew before 5. Last night I heard about the matter of Yamadera of Matsushiro domain; and I deplore the fact that he has become a victim of slander. Today I had an argument about the matter; but nothing can be done about it. I am worried about the matter of my servant. . . .

11 March 1868 [Meiji 2/1/29] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers. The news from Kyoto is that a sharp public controversy has broken out there.²⁸ As I give thought to the future, there is no end to the things which fill me with apprehension. Since the beginning of last year I have been deeply concerned about the fate of the Empire; and I have quietly been making efforts to clarify the principle that the focus of the highest loyalty should be fixed on the Emperor; to establish a foundation for the Empire enduring for all ages; to lay down a political structure which will allow us to stand preeminent in the world, and to reassure the 300 feudal lords and their descendants of their hereditary rights for all time to come. How I regret that even my friends misunderstand my intent.²⁹ My heart is heavy.

Between the summer and fall of last year I consulted with Ōkubo Ichizō in private; and he expressed strong agreement with my proposal. I wanted to let Satsuma advance the matter first, have my domain of Chōshū agree, then in league with other domains holding the same view have them memorialize the Imperial Government on behalf of the reform. In the fall Ōkubo and I talked briefly about the steps to take, then parted. Since then half a year has passed, the whole nation has now been pacified to a degree, the Emperor is scheduled to come East again this spring, and the feudal lords and court nobles will gather in Tokyo. If my proposal is not carried into effect for this occasion, of what use will it be?

Since winter, therefore, I have made every possible effort to put it into effect—ultimately arguing the case before the Deputy Chancellors Sanjō and Iwakura with the hope that we might seize this opportunity to make a start. At length the situation jelled, and arrangements were made for the four lords of Satsuma,

²⁸ *Haneki-hōkan* is not mentioned, but it is obviously this problem which has stirred up people.

²⁹ Conservative Chōshū samurai regarded Kido as a traitor to the domain for advocating this step.

Chōshū, Hizen, and Tosa to memorialize the government on its behalf. Although it may be long before the principle becomes fact, the petition in itself should be enough to establish an enduring foundation. I want to devise some means, therefore, to make the many domains act in concert on behalf of this proposal after the Emperor reaches Tokyo, that we may gradually come to achieve more of our purpose.

At 5 I withdrew from the Palace. I had promised to see Mori Kinnojō and Minami Teisuke at a hotel today for a farewell party; therefore, I went to their hotel after 5. Besides Minami and Mori, people whom I met included Samejima Seizō and Kanda Kōhei. . . . I returned home before 10.

12 March 1869 [Meiji 2/1/30] Clear weather with wind. In the morning I went up to the council chambers. I heard some more about the situation in Kyoto. I regret that it is so difficult to restrain the emotions of the people of the Empire. My long-held plan for the invasion of Korea has come up; therefore, I sent Ōmura a letter which I had written long ago. In it I told him that even though I speak of invasion, I do not mean that we should invade the nation without good reason. I want to put forward a rationale that will be universally accepted. The rationale which I wish to advance is that we shall bring our superior national policies to that land. I have written down my full argument elsewhere.

I had made an appointment with Lord Ōgimachi-sanjō long ago; therefore, on withdrawing from the Palace, I went directly to Lord Ōgimachi-sanjō's inn. We drank together and chatted. I returned home after 9. Today the War Department submitted a proposal for the disposition of the Aizu men who had surrendered. I immediately sent Yamanaka Sei'itsu my opinion on the matter, written some time ago.

Second Month

13 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/1] Clear skies, not a trace of wind. At 10 I went up to the Palace where I paid my respects to His Majesty and received ceremonial sakè from his hand. I was delighted that my proposal for clarifying the fact that the highest loyalty of a subject is to the Emperor, a matter which I discussed privately with Yamanaka last year, has been realized in some measure today; and I told Yamanaka of the news, pleasing him immensely. A letter arrived from Nawa Kan, dispatched on February 24.

This evening I had an appointment with Lords Higashikuze and Ōhara; so I went to the Kii domain villa at Hamamatsu-chō in Shiba to see them. The two nobles intended this as a farewell party for me. The Lord of Tosa, Yamanaka Sei'itsu, Shima Dan'emon, Nakahama Manjirō¹ (the man who was born in Tosa and once was a castaway who lived in the United States), and Araki Seizaburō gathered. Lord Akizuki joined us later. The Englishman Mitford also came; and we carried on a spirited conversation and drank freely. Between 10 and 12 the party gradually broke up.

(Note) Letters arrived from Hirosawa and others in Chōshū.

14 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/2] Cloudy. Rain, starting about

¹ Nakahama Manjirō (1827–1898) was “the man who discovered America.” Born the second son of a fisherman who lived in a small village in Tosa, Nakahama was cast adrift in the Pacific Ocean at the age of fourteen. The kindly Yankee whaling captain who picked up the Japanese youth arranged his education in the schools of Fairhaven, Massachusetts. By his own decision, Nakahama returned to Japan in 1850, but under a cloud of suspicion because he had violated the seclusion edicts. By 1852, however, he had been assigned to duty with Egawa Tarōzaemon, the Bakufu's modernizing *Daikan* of Nirayama in the Izu peninsula. Kido studied military science with Egawa in the Izu peninsula in 1854–1855; and Kido may have met Nakahama at that time. Later, as a teacher of naval science and English interpreter, Nakahama served the Bakufu and the Meiji government, going to the United States with a Bakufu mission to exchange treaty ratifications in 1860, and to Europe with a Meiji government mission headed by Ōyama Iwao and Shinagawa Yajirō to observe the Franco-Prussian War.

12 noon. In the morning I went up to the council chambers. Today I met Matsudaira Yamato-no-kami in regard to the matter which I had previously discussed with Lord Akizuki. Matsudaira has a clear view of the proper focal point for loyalty of subjects of the Empire; he is perceptive about the trends of the world. He takes a broad perspective on things now at the time of the Restoration. I talked with him, therefore, about what future steps we should take in our attempt to establish, as speedily as possible, an enduring foundation for the Empire. Thus, I want to try to bring about a consensus among Ōgaki² and other domains which support our cause; and I asked Matsudaira to meet with Hishida Bunzū.

I also sent letters to Lords Sanjō and Iwakura reiterating my views on invading Korea.³ After 5 I left. In the night, heavy rain.

(Note) I went with Lords Ōgimachi-sanjō and Higashikuze to the Tatsuguchi Infantry Post for an inspection of the government army infantrymen who were in on the first surrender. These soldiers were very well-drilled; I have never seen any to compare with them. Now that I know what they can do, I regard the drill of other troops as very slipshod.

15 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/3] Fair. In the morning Honami came. He brought along swords by Awataguchi, Kuniyoshi,⁴ Kuniyuki,⁵ . . . of Bizen, Hankei—and written statements attesting to their authenticity.

At 11 I had an appointment with Mitford and Alexander von Siebold. Adams . . . came too, bringing . . . who has recently arrived in Yokohama on his world tour. I served them Japanese dishes; we talked about world affairs; and they left after 3. At 5 paid a visit to Ōki; but he was not home—then on to Fukui's, but

² 100,000-*koku*, *fudai* daimyō of the Toda family, located in modern Gifu prefecture. Ōgaki castletown was a way-station on the Tōkaidō.

³ Kido, a leading proponent of the plan to invade Korea to exact vengeance for an insult to Japanese diplomatic envoys, changed his mind later. After direct observation of the West with the Iwakura mission, 1871–1873, he became a member of the Peace Party which gave priority to internal development in debates in the Council of State.

⁴ Two famous swordmakers bore that name: Kuniyoshi of Yamashiro province was active around 1247, while Kuniyoshi of Higo province dated swords at 1329. Both produced valuable swords. (Yumoto, *The Samurai Sword*, 150.)

⁵ Two Kuniyukis were famed as swordmakers. Kuniyuki of Yamato was active in 1248, while Kuniyuki of Yamashiro came shortly afterwards. Both were estimable swordsmiths. (*Ibid.*, 150.)

he was also absent. I returned to my place, and did twelve sheets of calligraphy as requested by Hishida. Fukui came by at night; and we had some drinks. At night, rain.

16 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/4] Fair weather. In the morning I went up to the council chambers, and withdrew at 4. I went to Ōmura's in regard to the Aizu men who have surrendered. As this was the first Day of the Horse, I paid my respects at the shrine in the Palace precincts. A multitude of inebriated worshippers were on hand. At twilight I returned home; Nomura Dōzō was in to talk about affairs in Yokohama. I paid a visit to Saitō Shinzō; and we took a walk around the Hikage-chō area. The vicinity of the Inari shrine presented a lively scene as it was the festival of the first Day of the Horse. People had brought out festival lanterns which they had not used in six or seven years. I had a few drinks at the Isegen, then returned home. The Isegen is a saké house which I frequented with my friends six or seven years ago. When I am reminded of the old days, I am filled with regret for my lost comrades.

(Note) Hishida departed to make a temporary return to his province today. A letter arrived from Ōhara today containing a draft of the petition of his domain for the Return of the Registers of Lands and Peoples to the Imperial Government. I have to be pleased that the proposal for which I have worked so hard since the beginning of last year is being taken up by the other domains.

17 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/5] Fair. I went up to the council chambers in the morning. Because we planned to observe the Assembly of Domain Representatives, the *Gijisho*,⁶ in session today, I withdrew from the chambers at 3 to accompany the Senior Councilors, Ōgimachi-sanjō, Higashikuze, and the Lord of Hizen. The eighty Representatives, *Kōginin*, were already in their seats; and the members of the steering committee, Mori, Kanda, Katō, and

⁶ This body was more commonly called the *Kōgisho*, one of several proto-legislative bodies in the early Meiji period. Each *han* was entitled to one representative; and, to ensure that able persons served, the *han* government had to appoint one of its two chief administrators to the post. The *Kōgisho* did not legislate, but gave advisory opinions to the Council of State on revenue measures, post stations, agriculture, and the like. Ishii writes that it formally opened on 27 March 1869 and closed on 16 August 1869, (*Japanese Legislation*, 150–152); but the opening date does not jibe with the diary entry. (See also McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, 20–21).

Tsuda, likewise were on hand. Akizuki, the President of the Assembly, *Gichō*, handled the proceedings well throughout. The meeting broke up after 5; and I returned by way of the Chōshū mansion where I inspected the living quarters of our Lord and had a few drinks with Naitō Sabei at his quarters. I returned home after 9.

18 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/6] Fair. In the morning Kawachi Sōichi came, also Minami Teisuke, Ogura Uemonnosuke, and Kawano Mitsuta. Reports from Aomori in Mutsu province and from Aizu were sent round by the War Department for my perusal. I then sent them on to Lords Ōgimachi-sanjō and Higashikuze.⁷ After 12 I called on Kaburagi Keian, but he was not home. I then went to see Fukui Jundō who was out also. I did find Saitō Tōyō at home; and he accompanied me to my place. We inspected my sword guards and other pieces of sword equipment. We walked to the foot of Ueno hill, then over to the Shōgenrō. I called for Seiko; and she came out at once for a few drinks and small talk. I returned home at 10; and Tōyō came with me. Today at the approach to the Yushima Tenjin shrine⁸ I purchased two hanging scroll paintings by Chinzan⁹ as well as some antiques.

19 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/7] Cloudy. Naitō Sabei came in the morning. At 12 I went up to the council chambers where we reached a decision on the Aomori and Aizu matters brought to our attention by the War Department yesterday. The Aizu men who had surrendered on 17 March were destitute; they had hidden in Tokyo as a base for suppressing their more rebellious countrymen, thus to make up in part for their own lord's treason. Harried within their domain and outside it, they were in a destitute plight unbearable to witness. Prompted by sympathy for their distress, I reported their circumstances to Lords Ōgimachi-

⁷ The two lords were the chief government figures in Tokyo while Sanjō and Iwakura were in Kyoto.

⁸ Tenjin shrines were erected in honor of Sugawara Michizane (845–903), the patron of scholars. This famous shrine is located in present-day Bunkyo Ward, Tokyo, near the Yushima subway station.

⁹ Tsubaki Chinzan (1801–1854) specialized in scroll paintings of nature in microcosm: birds on flowering branches and the like. He had been the teacher of the loyalist painter Watanabe Kazan, who was forced to commit suicide by Bakufu officials in 1845.

sanjō and Higashikuze; and we bestowed 1000 *ryō* on the hard-pressed men. Saitō came to report the response of the grateful recipients to me; and I passed along their appreciation to the two lords. After 3 I left the chambers, going at once to see Ōmura at the War Department where I reported to him on decisions reached. At 4 I returned home.

This evening I had an appointment with Hasegawa Kazutada, and I went to his house. Nammei, Seiko, and Keian also came; and we did a painting jointly. Shima, Fifth Court Rank, also came; and Saitō Shinzō was there, keeping the party moving along. Shintarō and Seiho accompanied me. Many amusing things occurred, good for much laughter. During the evening rain fell; and I returned home by palanquin.

20 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/8] Wind and rain. Keian¹⁰ and Seiko¹¹ came home with me last night, and stayed overnight, leaving this morning. At 11 I went up to the council chambers. Several problems have come up requiring inquiries to Kyoto; so I wrote a letter on the matters, and sent it off by express messenger. I also sent letters to Ōkubo and Hirosawa. After 5 I withdrew from the chambers. Minami Teisuke came at night, as did Nomura Dōzō, who reported on the problem of the steam warship.¹²

21 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/9] Fair, then windy. In the morning Naitō came. Shinryūin of Aizu, the former Koide Tetsunosuke (at present a priest), came to my house. He called to offer thanks for the gift the other day. The Aizu men are really penitent; and they are going to a great deal of trouble to obtain redemption for their treason against the Imperial Government. Their feelings deserve our pity. The Imperial Government now regards everyone in the Empire as equal to everyone else as a matter of course; it would be highly improper to show partiality to any particular group. Thus we shall naturally do our utmost to carry into effect His Majesty's wishes in that regard.

¹⁰ Keian was a friend who wrote and painted, one of Kido's many artistic acquaintances.

¹¹ Seiko was in the circle of artists and literary people who gathered around Kido.

¹² This apparently refers to the *Stonewall* affair, described earlier.

I went up to the council chamber at 11, and retired at 4. Today I received the following order:

“Kido Jun’ichirō:

As the War Department has been ordered to take charge of the matter of the Aizu men who have surrendered, and inasmuch as you have dealt with the problem from time to time, you are hereby ordered to assume control over it, in consultation with said department.

March 1869¹³

Executive Office”¹⁴

This evening I went to Ōki’s house to keep an appointment. A great many matters requiring my attention have arisen from the discussions over the Return of the Registers of Lands and Populations; so I stated the purposes which I have in mind. He agreed with me on every point. We also talked over the Aizu problem. Afterwards we had a few drinks, and engaged in small talk. I returned home at about 11.

22 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/10] Clear skies, windy. At 11 I went up to the council chambers to write an official report to Kyoto; and I withdrew at 4. Today I visited Kaburagi Keian as I had promised. At my urging Lord Higashikuze and old Yamanaka met at my place; and we went together to visit Keian. There we had green tea¹⁵ and ate Chinese food. Present were the Saitō brothers, Fukui, Seiho, Hashi’ichi—altogether seven men of refined taste¹⁶ who played their instruments and intoned verses of the East. I returned home at about 11.

23 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/11] Clear skies, windy. Hori Shingorō came, as did Naitō Reizen. Today I had an appointment at the Satake mansion in Higashibashi; so Naitō Sabei and I took a boat, sailing against an unfavorable wind and current, finally reaching our destination at 4. We took a stroll around Okuyama in Asakusa, then went to the mansion. Its garden is elegant. . . . of the domain came out to help with the drinks. When night came on, the moon was especially bright as we strolled around the

¹³ The second month of Meiji 2, the only date given, ran from 13 March to 11 April 1869.

¹⁴ The *Gyōseikan* was a forerunner of the *Dajōkan* as the chief executive organ of state.

¹⁵ Ordinary tea was served to them in accordance with a relaxed tea ceremony ritual.

¹⁶ *Gajin*.

garden. When we took our boat back about 10 p.m. the wind had died down completely. We reached the Sakuraya at 11, and I returned home at 12, bringing Hashi’ichi along with me.

24 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/12] Fair weather. I went up to the council chambers, and met there the Lord of Uwajima and Mr. Gotō who had arrived in Tokyo yesterday. I withdrew at 4. Saitō Shinzō and Kawase Sotō¹⁷ came to my place; and at night we had a few drinks. This evening I had moxa applied.¹⁸

25 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/13] Fair. In the morning I went up to the council chambers; and at 3 I withdrew. I paid a visit to Gotō Untō¹⁹ after 5, and was informed of recent events in Kyoto where a number of unanticipated events have occurred. I returned home after 9.

26 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/14] Rain. Yamada Sōhei of Inaba came to keep our appointment. We went to the Daishichirō in Imado this evening. Kasuya Umanojō and two or three other men of his domain came to join us, as did Shingorō. Heavy rain at night. I returned home at 10.

27 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/15] Cloudy. In the morning Gotō Untō came to visit, and Hasegawa Kazutada came as well. After 2 I visited Samejima Seizō; Kitajima . . . came also; and together we discussed the matter of the Tokyo government and its present plight. This evening I had an appointment with Lord Akizuki to go to his mansion. Hasegawa Kazutada accompanied me; and when we reached the mansion it was already past 6. The Lords of Tosa and Uwajima, Higashikuze, Ōhara, Yoshii,

¹⁷ Sotō was an earlier name of Kawase Hideji (1839–1907), one of the most creative modern bureaucrats in the Meiji government. He was then governor of Takekura (Buzo) prefecture, and soon would become governor of Gunma prefecture where his work in development of sericulture and the silk reeling industry attracted national attention. Promoted to the Home Ministry in Tokyo in 1874, he directed the development of light industry under the supervision of Home Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi. As a cultural traditionalist, Kawase founded the Painting Appreciation Society in the 1880s with Ernest Fenollosa to revive pride in native Japanese art.

¹⁸ Moxa, or moxibustion, is a traditional medical treatment which relies on burning a substance made of mugwort into the skin to stimulate specific sites of the body by heat rather than by needles as in acupuncture. It is used to combat a wide variety of illnesses including sciatica.

¹⁹ Untō is a pen name for Gotō Shōjirō.

Yamanaka, and Gotō were already there; Mori Kinnojō²⁰ came later. Keian and Sei'ichi came to help out with the party. After 2 I returned by boat with Mr. Gotō, after having gotten dead drunk. Fortified with wine, everyone engaged in calligraphy and ink painting.

28 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/16] Cloudy. This morning Mihara came to talk over Finance Department matters. He is a straightforward individual; and he often comes to talk over official business with me. His words have a ring of sincerity about them; and I am deeply moved by his purposes. Kawachi Sōichi came and I gave him a little present. After 12 I went out to visit Ōmura, but he was not home. There was no alternative but to leave him a note concerning two or three important issues which have come up.

Today was the second Day of the Horse to be celebrated this year. An Inari Festival was held at the Kanda mansion of our domain; so I went straight over there to visit Saitō Sabei. A great many many people from that locality had come to worship Inari. There were numerous exhibits on the mansion grounds, all of them prepared by merchants patronized by our domain. This evening I had an appointment with Satō Shūkichi of Okabe domain; so I went to the Yaozen to meet him. Keian and Yoro-zuan were also present. A man of that domain asked for some of my calligraphy; therefore, I used my brush to do seven or eight pieces for him. This evening I had an appointment with Lord Yōdō of Tosa; but, having made a previous engagement with the Okabe domain people, I had to excuse myself. I returned home at 2 a.m.

29 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/17] Windy, rain. I went up to the council chambers after 12. On withdrawal I went over to the War Department where Ōmura and I discussed several problems

²⁰ Kinnojō is an early name for Mori Arinori (1847–1889), a diplomat and founder of the modern educational system. A Satsuma samurai, Mori went abroad to England and the United States prior to the Restoration for a very nontraditional education which included a stay on a utopian socialist commune in upstate New York. As a member of the Assembly of Domain Representatives, then in session, Mori campaigned against the wearing of the traditional two swords by samurai. Later, in 1872, as a young diplomat in Washington, Mori's iconoclastic attacks on Japanese tradition in the presence of foreigners upset the more conservative Kido, who was passing through as a member of the Iwakura mission. In 1889, Mori, then Education Minister, was assassinated by a reactionary on the false charge that the Meiji official was a Christian.

in detail: the matter of the Aizu men who have surrendered, the groundwork for a Military Academy,²¹ and a general policy regarding the invasion of Korea. At night I went to Lord Higashikuze's to discuss several pending problems. I returned home at 11. Keian and Seiko came to stay overnight.

30 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/18] Clear and windy. Visitors came continuously from morning on; and Lord Ōhara was here for a visit. I was expecting to leave the city tomorrow, but I have been ordered to postpone my departure for a while. After 4 I went to the house in Banchō which Chōshū *han* leases from the central government, and stopped in at Saitō's on my return for a few drinks until 10. Fukui Jundō and Katō . . . were also there. I came home with Saitō Shintarō.

(Note) Hiranoya Kabei came in from Echigo. Ono Sekisai came, bringing along his family journal.

31 March 1869 [Meiji 2/2/19] Fair. Kaburagi Keian and Ichikawa Yoro-zuan came last night to stay overnight. Naitō Sabei came. I went up to the council chambers about 12, and withdrew after 3, going directly to the Chōshū mansion in Kanda. From there I went with Naitō to Ueno, where the cherry blossoms were in full bloom and the hill was crowded with flower viewers. the melancholy atmosphere left over from the war has not yet been extinguished, however; and the people all had an air of defeat about them. The sounds of song and dance were not to be heard today. More than ten years ago I had a splendid time at this very place. The throng of flower viewers and the coming and going of inebriated men produced a spectacle unparalleled in the land. Now as I call to mind those times, it seems as if it were a dream. On the cherry trees and other trees are countless bullet holes.²² Leaving there, I went to the Benten Shrine on the island in Shinobazu pond,²³ relaxed at the Shōgenrō, and left.

²¹ *Heigakkō* 兵學校.

²² The climactic battle of the War of the Restoration took place on Ueno hill on 4 July 1868 when Imperial troops commanded by Saigō Takamori defeated Bakufu remnants. The famous statue of Saigō in simple dress with his hunting dog at his side stands on the hill today, framed by cherry blossoms in the appropriate season.

²³ Shinobazu pond is an attractive body of water, filled with lotus leaves, just below Ueno hill to the southwest. The pond is cut across with walks which lead to the tiny island on which is located the shrine for Benten, the goddess of virtue, wisdom, and wealth.

1 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/20] Cloudy. In the morning Ono Sekisai came. At 11 I went up to the council chambers, and withdrew at 2, going to my Somei villa from which I took a stroll over to the plant nursery in the neighborhood. Saitō Tōyō and his brother and Hashi'ichi came to the villa. Toward evening the wind blew and rain fell. Geisha from the Sakuraya—Tetsu, Kame, Omatsu, and Oharu—came over; and we chanted poems as our fancy moved us, sang, and danced. It was the most enjoyable time I have had lately.

2 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/21] Fair weather. It was a pleasure to drink with my friends; we had the time of our lives. Fukui Jundō came to join us. This evening I went to Kuroda's villa in Akasaka with Lords Ōhara and Higashikuze. Shingorō had gotten there ahead of us. Seven or eight *littérateurs* and calligraphers came in, and enjoyed themselves with brushes and inkstones. I returned home after 11. I then accompanied Mr. Ishikawa to a place in Toranomōn. It may be that he is one of the feudal lords with whom I should talk.

3 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/22] Fair. Nakajima, Fifth Court Rank, came to see me. I stayed home all day to recuperate from my illness. I attached a leech to my chest to ease the sharp pain there. Hashi'ichi also came to talk.

4 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/23] Fair. Today the Fukiage Gardens were ordered open to the people of the city, and a huge throng came to view them. I left the Palace after 3, going directly to visit Mr. Ōki to discuss in detail the problem of bringing good order to Tokyo, and the problem of land reclamation in Koganebara and other places. He had no objection to our plans. I hold the belief that it is essential for a government to put people in the offices for which they are qualified. Even though members of the rebel party once committed treasonable offenses, once they have purged themselves of their crimes, I want them to be given important duties. The government itself would commit an offense if it continued to regard those who had once committed crimes as enemies, and neglected to give each man the treatment he deserves. I returned home after 7. The woman Tama came to talk.

5 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/24] Rain. I stayed home all day to make preparations for returning to Kyoto. In the evening I had an appointment with Gotō Untō; and we went to the Kawaguchirō in Imado. The cherry blossoms of Mukōjima were in full bloom; and the view of the blossoms in the rain was exquisite. Sessō, the Zen Master, and old Yamanaka Sei'itsu were there. We took a boat back home around midnight. The Kawaguchirō is the place in which my senior colleagues, Shishido, Sufu, and Kijima,²⁴ used to have a rollicking good time in the old days. I was deeply moved to be reminded of those times.

(Note) So many people crowded in to see the Fukiage Gardens today that six old people and children were crushed to death. I conferred with Gotō, and we decided that a sum of money should be bestowed on the families of each as a solatium.

6 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/25] Fair. I stayed at home to do some calligraphy requested by people from time to time. In the evening I had an appointment with Hasegawa, Fifth Court Rank; so I summoned Gotō and we went off to Hasegawa's house. I wrote a letter to Lord Higashikuze, so he came also. In the garden of the mansion was a large pond around which several varieties of cherry blossoms have already begun to bloom. The *sumō* matches were fought under these trees. Men from Hasegawa's domain came in to join the party; and the Lord gave a magnificent banquet. I returned home about 12. Today I composed a haiku poem:

This world of ours
Is a *sumō* match
Under the cherry blossoms.

7 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/26] In the morning fair weather, in the evening rain. I stayed home to take care of miscellaneous business matters. As the former Kii mansion at Mannenbashi in Fukagawa²⁵ is in a convenient location, I petitioned the

²⁴ These gentlemen were important Chōshū domain officials in the 1860s. As noted, Sufu was Kido's ill-fated mentor who committed suicide in 1864 to atone for his policy failures. The others died violently as Chōshū scrambled for power under the Emperor's banner.

²⁵ Kii domain was rated at 550,000 *koku* with its castle at Wakayama under a Tokugawa family which was one of the *Sanke*, the three families entitled to provide heirs on failure of the main line. The Fukagawa section of Tokyo lay east of the Sumida River.

government the other day for the use of it by my domain; and it was finally awarded to Chōshū. Today Ōmura and Naito went out to the mansion, and they invited me to go along; but I had a previous engagement with Lord Yōdō of Tosa, and to my regret could not join them. About 4 p.m. I called on Gotō Untō; and we went together to the Tosa mansion in Hakozaki. There was violent wind and rain; but the magnificence of the farewell party for me was beyond expectation. Finally at 5 a.m. it broke up; and, as I returned home, light appeared in the sky to the east.

8 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/27] Fair. In the morning Ōki, Samejima, Kitajima, and Yamanaka, as well as Lord Higashikuze, came to bid me farewell. In addition, thirty or forty other guests came, keeping me busy and distracted. At 12 I went up to the council chambers, and there said farewell to the Senior Councilors—Lords Ōgimachi-sanjō, Uwajima, Higashikuze, and Bizzen. I also said farewell to Lord Ōhara and the officials of the Imperial Secretariat²⁶ as well as to Lord Akizuki. I also took care of the matter of administration for Tokyo; and at 11 [sic] I left to return home and drink farewell with the servants. After 3 I took a carriage to Kōshū where Untō came to see me off. Besides him, twenty or thirty other people who gathered at the Kawasakiya sent me off after 5. I reached Yokohama about 8, and stayed overnight at Ise Den'emon's.

9 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/28] Cloudy, then clear. I wrote letters to Echigo and Edo. After 3 I went to a photography studio, then after 6 to the official residence of Hasegawa, Fifth Court Rank. We had a few drinks and talked; and finally I stayed overnight there.

10 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/29] Slight rain. The report from the *Costa Rica* was that it would hoist anchor today at 4 p.m.; so I returned to my inn to make preparations for boarding ship. Hasegawa came to send me off as I went aboard. This morning Terashima Tōzō came to talk and . . . saw me off. Saitō Shintarō and Nakagawa Kichinosuke also came to Yokohama. (Kichinosuke was originally an Edo man.)

²⁶ Shōbenji.

11 April 1869 [Meiji 2/2/30] Cloudy weather, slight rain. At dawn we were 50 *ri*²⁷ offshore from Toba in Shima province. Inasmuch as the Englishman Black²⁸ is fluent in Japanese, I talked about world affairs with him. Daikokuya Rokubei was also aboard this ship. Rokubei used to call himself Izukura; and in the barbarian expulsion era, he spared no effort to purchase ships for us in Chōshū and to aid our men who went abroad in secrecy.²⁹

²⁷ 196 kilometers or 122 miles.

²⁸ John Reddie Black (1827–1880) was an English newspaper publisher who was active in the treaty-ports between 1861 and 1876. At different times he published the *Japan Herald*, the *Japan Gazette*, and the *Tokei Journal*, English-language papers in Yokohama; and he later produced *The Far East*, the illustrated monthly magazine of literary distinction, to tell the outside world about Japan. His *Nisshin Shinjishi* was the most important of the foreign-owned vernacular papers and established him as a frank, friendly critic of the Japanese government. He was supported by the government, then discharged from its service. (Fox, *Japan and Britain*, 418, 441–446.) Grace Fox has also written about Black in a brief introduction to the reprint edition of John R. Black, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Edo* (New York, Baker, Pratt & Co., 1883).

²⁹ The Chōshū youths Itō, Inoue, and others went abroad to England to study in 1863.

Third Month

12 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/1] Windy with rain. At 10 we reached Kobe port. Last night we could not enter the Settsu Sea on account of darkness, so we sailed in this morning. On landing I went to Tetsuya Yagobei's inn, tied up my hair, and took a bath. Itō Hōbai, Tanaka Kensuke, and Sufu Kanatsuchi came to talk about recent developments; and in the evening we went over to Itō's together. On the way we paid our respects at the tomb of Lord Kusunoki in Minatogawa.¹ Today I met Hinoki, Takada, and other students; we talked about painting and calligraphy, and discussed the present situation. When the conversation turned to current affairs, I was terribly upset by what I heard—much of it was unthinkable. Finally, I stayed overnight at Itō's; but I was unable to sleep even when the hour grew late.

13 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/2] Fair weather. At 7 I went on board the *Kobe-maru* with Hōbai and Kanatsuchi to cross over to Kawaguchi in Naniwa. The north wind was intense; and the water on the river was choppy, preventing us from sailing upstream. I landed, therefore, at the Tempozan fort to go to the Customs Office. Lord Iwakura was supposed to be in Naniwa; and I was greatly disappointed to learn that he had already left for Kyoto. I went directly by horseback to visit Nakai Kōzō, therefore; and we spent several hours talking about old times. He filled me in on recent developments in Kyoto and Satsuma. The most disconcerting thing about which he spoke was the situation in my own domain of Chōshū. It is indeed to my great regret that the matter is still not settled to this day.

¹ Men of the Meiji Restoration regarded Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336) as their prototype. He was the premier Emperor loyalist in all Japanese history. Kusunoki it was who supported the Emperor Go-Daigo in his days of adversity, and who went to certain death in the Battle of Minatogawa in 1336, though he knew that his Emperor had blundered in selecting that battlefield. (See the diary entry for 14 May 1868.)

I went to the Onomichiya after 12 to find that all the people in my entourage had arrived. Satō . . . left at once from Naniwa for our native place. Yamagata Yahachi,² Masaki Ichitarō, and Fujii Shichirōzaemon came over; and I went to the Chōshū mansion with the three of them, and had a little talk at Fujii's official residence. His official residence is Kōnoike Ichibei's villa, where I stayed with Old Ise last year. I went to Nakai's again at 6 to talk; then Fujii came after me; so I went on to the Tatsurō in Sakai with Fujii, finding Yamagata and Masaki were already there. I left after drinking several cups when it was already 2 a.m.

14 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/3] In the morning, fair weather; in the afternoon, occasional rain. Nakai rode up leading my horse as he promised yesterday; so after 7 I left the Onomichiya, and reached Hashimoto post-town before 12 to take the noon meal there at the . . . ya. I reached Fushimi after 2. Between these places the dikes which had been destroyed by the flood last year had been newly rebuilt in most places. I reached Kyoto at 4, and paid a visit to Hirosawa. It happened that he was in bed with an illness, pale in appearance and emaciated. Ōtsu and Nakamura also came to see him. I had a few drinks and left. Then I went up to the Chōshū military headquarters, and had an audience with my old Lord, reporting to him on recent developments in Tokyo. Chamberlain Hayashi was at his side. I returned to my home at 6; and Mori Kansai, Nagamatsu Bunsuke, Makimura Hankurō, Yagorō, and many others came. Members of my household all exchanged saké cups with the visitors.³

15 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/4] Cloudy. I did not feel as well as I should have, so I did not go up to the Palace today. Visitors arrived all day; and in the evening I met Yamagata Kyōsuke at Taki Yatarō's place. I visited Nakamura Sei'ichi at his place; and we went together to meet Hirosawa at his home to discuss the contents of our memorial and to prepare a draft of it. Chief Inspector⁴ Hayashi Ryōsuke was also there. Mr. Nakamura and

² Yamagata Yahachi, a Chōshū samurai of *Ōkumi* rank, early on specialized in spear-manship. He was prominent in Chōshū finance and military administration in the years of Kido's ascendancy in local government; and after the Restoration, he continued to served in Chōshū, particularly as Prefectural Councilor, or *Daisanji*.

³ Kido maintained a home in Kyoto.

⁴ *Daikansatsu* 大監察.

Mr. Hayashi accompanied me to my house for a few drinks and some leisurely talk. They left after midnight.

16 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/5] Rain. In the morning Yamagata Kyōsuke came to talk; and, in addition, other visitors came without a letup. At 12 noon I went to the Chōshū Lord's inn for an audience; and we held another conference on the draft of the memorial. When we finished I went on to the council chambers at the Palace. Because the Emperor's departure is imminent we were very busy. I had an audience with Deputy Chancellor Sanjō, and told him of the present situation in Tokyo. At 4 I left to go to Lord Iwakura's for an audience to give a detailed report to him, in like manner, on the present Tokyo situation. At 7 I returned to my place. Letters arrived today from Lord Akizuki and Junior Councilor Gotō. In Tokyo there is much support for the reform to put the main focus of loyalty on the Emperor, while in Kyoto a mountain of criticism of it has piled up. People here are preoccupied with criticism of other people's errors, envy of the abilities of others, and indignation at the vices of others; meantime, among them the corrupt practices of the past are enjoying a revival. There are so many things to lament when one thinks of our future. Nor can words describe the anguish I feel when I consider what is happening in my own domain.⁵ With a long sigh I retired for the night.

17 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/6] Cloudy. In the morning visitors came in a steady stream. At 12 I went up to the council chambers. Today I had an audience with Lord Shimazu of Ōsumi, seeing him for the first time since the winter of 1866, the Year of the Tiger, when I went to Satsuma. We discussed the current situation. Our Chōshū Lord also went to the Palace today; and all present, beginning with His Excellency, Shimazu Hisamitsu, received Imperial gifts. Matsuda Masato and I had a thorough discussion on current affairs; and I withdrew after 6. At night Mr. Kamiyama, Aoki, Hayashi, and old Baiei came to talk; and we had a few drinks.

18 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/7] Cloudy. In the afternoon, rain.

⁵ He refers to Chōshū resistance to his policy of centralization of authority.

The Emperor departed in his palanquin at about 5, but my illness prevented me from going to the Palace to see him off. Before noon Taki, Yamagata, and others came; and after 4 I took a leisurely walk, visiting Raizan and Seiga along the way. This morning Nakai Kōzō's letter came from Naniwa; it reported what Aoki Kenzō had previously sent me.

19 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/8] Cloudy. Visitors in the morning. At 11 I went up to the council chambers, and left at 4. A messenger came from Lord Iwakura at night.

20 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/9] Cloudy. Visitors in the morning. At 12 noon I went up to the council chambers where I wrote letters to Gotō and Ōki and withdrew at 3. Today Lord Iwakura invited our Chōshū Lord and the Lord of Satsuma⁶ to his place; and he extended invitations to Iwashita and me as well; so the two of us went together to Iwakura's. Yoshii and Kuroda, as well as Kajitori and Nomura, were also in attendance. We exchanged cups of sakè; and at 5 the two lords left for their mansions. Iwashita, Yoshii, Kuroda, and I had a talk and some drinks with our host, and left about 7. Today at one point the whole company roared with laughter over a funny thing which happened.

21 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/10] Fair weather. Today I absented myself from the council chambers; and in the evening I went to Hirosawa's. Yesterday I was presented with some delicious cakes by our Chōshū Lord; so today I went up to his inn to offer thanks. Just before the departure of the Imperial palanquin, a heated controversy erupted here. Although there was some basis for it, it produced an excessive degree of unrest among the people. As an aftermath of it several hundred *rōnin* of Totsugawa⁷ deserted their posts to go in pursuit of the Imperial cortège. The War Department sent out Kawata Sakuma, who subdued these men and dispatched them back to Kyoto from Ishibe. Other soldiers who observed military discipline raised an outcry over this breach of

⁶ The name is given as the Lord of Satsuma and Ōsumi, the two provinces at the south end of Kyushu; Shimazu Tadayoshi held the office.

⁷ Totsugawa was the place at which the *Tenchūgumi* rising of loyalists took place in 1864. It is in Nara prefecture.

regulations; and they have a point. My Lord asked me about these matters in some detail. I returned home at 7; and at night Hayashi, Nakamura, and Nomura came to talk. Today Yamagata Kyōsuke also came to talk.

22 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/11] Fair weather. Today Hirosawa departed; and in the morning I saw him off. I visited Nomura to discuss some important issues; and in the evening I was summoned by the Chōshū Lord, and was served sakè and food in his presence. I did not go to the council chambers today. Yamashiro came from Hagi; and Kizuya Kumajirō returned to Yamaguchi.

23 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/12] Fair weather. Our Lord of Chōshū made his departure today. Word was sent pressing me to attend at the council chambers in spite of my illness because we have business to attend to. Watanabe Noboru reported on the Gotō affair. I met with Kaga Issaku of the Finance Department, and we discussed and made some general decisions on future handling of finances. After 5 I left. I went to the Maruyama section of the city with the proprietor of the Raisandō to shop for calligraphy, paintings, and tea utensils; on our return we stopped in at the Nakamuraya for a few drinks. Today was the death anniversary of my mother; I held a memorial service for her. Today, the Lord of Ōsumi presented me with a set of three sword fittings⁸ and with two rolls of fine silk cambric.

24 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/13] In the morning, cloudy. In the evening, rain. I stayed home all day; and visitors arrived in a steady stream. Yamagata Kyōsuke came to report to me about his trip back to Chōshū. Lord Iwakura came unexpectedly, primarily about my petition yesterday requesting permission to return home to Chōshū. We also discussed several urgent official matters. Iwaya came under orders from Lord Tokudaiji in connection with my petition of yesterday.

25 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/14] Fair weather. Visitors arrived in

⁸ *Mitokoro* were the three sword fittings by a single maker. They were the knife for the sheath, or *kozuka*; the rod or skewer, called the *kōgai*; and the hilt ornament, or *menuki*.

the morning. At 11 I went up to the council chambers, and withdrew at 4. On my way home I visited Iwaya, and we dropped in at two shops—the Jinsō and the Kyōkyo, and I returned home before 6. Yamagata Kyōsuke came over at night; and I talked to him about the major trends in the nation; and he left before 4 a.m. While drinking, we lost track of the time.

26 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/15] Fair weather. I wrote letters to Tokyo. Nabeya Kishichi, Shioya Jūbei (Yūjirō), and Shioya . . . from Izushi; and we talked over old times. Yamagata Kyōsuke left for home today; he came with Taki and Fukubara to bid goodbye; and he requested a farewell message from me. I sent him off with these ten characters:

Deal with the people with the warmth of the cherry blossom;
Restrain oneself with the severity of a sword of frosted steel.

Sufu Kanatsuchi came in from Kobe, and talked to me about going to Tokyo. Since last year I have sent money to the students there totaling about 500 *ryō*—something which I had to do out of personal obligations. I wrote a letter to Naitō on Kanatsuchi's behalf. In the evening Sufu and I went to see Raizan, Seigan, and Gensei; then returned home at 6. Kagawa Keizō came over and we discussed the current situation. I shared with him my worry about two or three current matters; and Keizō told me that Lord Iwakura will go to Osaka tomorrow. I had a few drinks with Nakamura, Taki, and Sufu.

27 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/16] Fair weather. In the morning a Takamatsu man, Matsuzaki Juemon, came. He is a person about whom I had heard from Ryūtō Enseki.⁹ Today I put on tea ceremony with a formal dinner with Nakamura Sei'ichi, Suzukawa Heijirō, etc. Suzukawa, Nakamura, Yōshirō, and I were the guests; and Otsuru acted as hostess. This evening Ōkubo Ichizō came; and we talked about recent developments for a while. Ozaki Zenza, Raizan, and I went to the Yama . . . after 5; and we had some drinks at the Hasshin on the way home.

28 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/17] Fair weather. In the morning an Aizu man, . . . , came; he has now changed his name to Kaji

⁹ Ryūtō is the pen name of Kusanagi Enseki.

Kyūemon. According to what the Aizu people have told me in Tokyo, men of Higo are spreading rumors and saying scandalous things about Satsuma and Chōshū to stir up the public. Although they are motivated by jealousy for the most part, their actions are detestable. With an outrageous rumor that Satsuma and Chōshū are connected with Christianity, they have taken in a great many gullible people. Recently we searched for the source of these reports, and have found it. Lord Iwakura reported on it; then we decided to have Kenzō¹⁰ conduct an investigation.

29 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/18] Slight rain. At home all day. Visitors in a steady stream. I called on Old Hayashi after 4 to inquire after his illness. Today seven literati . . . of Kyoto arranged to display their paintings, calligraphy, and antiques at the Kashiwatei to a procession of guests, and to serve them green tea. I went to the teahouse with Hayashi Hide and Seiho to inspect the display. The thing which really caught my eye was a small scroll by Wong Kon,¹¹ belonging to. . . .¹² Today a Matsushiro¹³ man, Takano Hiroma, and Kitazawa came to visit with Saitō Shinzō; and I detained them for a while to talk about current affairs. After Takano and the others had departed, they sent a messenger to press their invitation to me to go to the Nakamuraitei; so I felt obliged to go there with Seiho. We talked and drank; and I returned home before 12.

30 April 1869 [Meiji 2/3/19] Fair weather. Home all day. After 4 I paid a visit to the Steward¹⁴ of Chikuzen. On my way home I visited old Hayashi again; and I returned home after 7. This morning Aoki Kenzō came by; and we went to the Kashiwatei

¹⁰ Aoki Kenzō (1815–1870), a Chōshū samurai-physician, joined the Meiji government as Imperial Physician. Having studied with Siebold in Nagasaki in his youth, and becoming an expert on inoculations, he was more renowned for his medical contributions than for the undercover political work which he performed on this occasion. In 1870, while in attendance on the Emperor Meiji, the doctor drowned in Tokyo Bay during a visit to Tsukiji. An adopted son, Aoki Shūzō, became Foreign Minister in the 1890s.

¹¹ Wang Kon was the founder of the Koryo dynasty (918–1392) which marked another surge forward in the establishment of the Chinese political pattern in Korea.

¹² The name of the person, among the seven, to whom the scroll belonged was omitted in the diary.

¹³ Matsushiro *han*, located in Shinano province, was headed by a *tozama* daimyō, 100,000 *koku*.

¹⁴ *Tai'fu*.

together to see the exhibition of calligraphy, paintings, and antiques again. The Tsūshima men, Ōgi Genzaemon and Morikawa Tamaki, came to see me on their lord's orders. Hearing that the two would leave for Tokyo tomorrow, I asked them to join me in a farewell toast. Recently, Kenzō has been busily engaged in investigating the intrigues of Higo domain.

1 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/20] Fair weather. Home all day to recuperate from my illness. Visitors continuously since morning. In the evening Hayashi, Nakamura, Aoki, Taki, and Kajitori came to inquire after my illness. We brewed tea and drank saké. I am outraged at Higo for putting such falsehoods into circulation.

2 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/21] Fair weather. Saitō Shinzō came to talk. I went out after 6 to visit Seiga and Raizan; and I returned home after 8. Today Torio Koyata¹⁵ came to talk about dissidence among the Chōshū troops. Koyata is a young man in the prime of life; and his insights far surpass those expressed by ordinary young men.

3 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/22] Wind and rain. I gave a party today with Hayashi, Nakamura, and Kondō; and Yoshiharu served us in place of the proprietor. The girl Tsuru also came in to help. As Nakamura is leaving for Tokyo tomorrow, this was meant as his farewell party. Raizen also joined us. After the guests had departed, I had an enjoyable conversation and some big laughs with Yoshiharu, a very pleasant occasion. A master of flower arranging, . . . , also came in.

Recently through my secret investigation of the situation in the country, I have discovered in a general way the motivation for the agitation of the public by Higo and Chikuzen. They often press the government to resign on the pretext that Lord Ōhara and others, who know but little of the current of the times, easily make people suspicious and mislead the masses, causing increased public

¹⁵ Torio Koyata (1847–1905) was a Chōshū loyalist samurai who entered the War Ministry of the Meiji government the following year, and who became a major general in 1871. His moment of military glory came during the Southwest Rebellion of 1877 when he led some government forces in the victory over Saigō Takamori. Later he was ennobled, became a privy counselor and a member of the House of Peers. Though he travelled abroad in his youth, he turned cultural conservative, and became associated with Tani Kanjō in the national essence movement.

unrest. Most of it derives from their envy of us. These people know nothing of foreign policy; and they will end up by diminishing the strength of our Empire. They have no understanding of what is happening in the world outside Japan; nor of the crisis which the Empire faces. I am terribly dispirited by all this. Kenzō had done a splendid job in conducting the investigation.

A letter arrived from Lord Akizuki in Tokyo; and another came from Itō Hōbai in Hyogo. Raizan brought over a letter from Hiiragiya Heibei. (He is a merchant whose pen name is Hankyō; and he enjoys doing haiku. He likewise is unhappy with the state of the country; but he is not free from thoughtlessness.)

4 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/23] Cloudy. Iwaya Yukiya came in the morning; and I reported to him (for transmission to Iwakura) on Lord Akizuki's letter, on the petition of the Buddhist sects in regard to the Christians, and on the issue of Today Nakamura Sei'ichi left for Tokyo; and yesterday Ukita Hachirō also left to follow the Emperor there. Suzukawa Heijurō likewise left for Tokyo yesterday. In the evening Makimura came to talk.

5 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/24] Fair. Many guests in the morning. Aoki Kenzō came by to talk again; he leaves for Tokyo tomorrow. Today at 1 I set out from my house accompanied by Sugiyama . . . , Asajiro, Toranojō, Matakichi, Sadakichi, and Raizō;¹⁶ we reached Uji before 5, and stayed at Kikuya's Banpekirō. Once I had an appointment with Old Asada at this place; but official business prevented me from keeping it. Another time I had an appointment with Ōhara Tesseki and Ōkubo Kōtō;¹⁷ but again official business kept me away. Today for the first time I had the leisure to visit this teahouse which has a superb landscape—its natural surroundings are beyond the power of the brush to describe. I wrote two poems in the Chinese *zekku* style.

6 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/25] Fair. Today, very warm. About 1 we crossed the Kizu River, and took our noon meal at the Ebiya in Kizu post-town. Because the Kannon statue in the Nigatsudō

¹⁶ Kido's servants.

¹⁷ Ōkubo Toshimichi's pen name was Kōtō, literally, the one who lives "East of the Kōtsuki River" in Kagoshima, Satsuma *han* castletown.

temple at Nara is open to public exhibition,¹⁸ there was a steady stream of worshippers, old and young, men and women, along our way. We arrived at Nara after 4 and went to Mr. Ise's place in Shimokiyomizu-machi, then on to an inn. Honda Jizaemon and Saeki Tatsuzō came over; and we had a few drinks, played *go*, and talked about current affairs. Hayakawa Tomozō and Ōtani Hidemi also happened to come. (Hayakawa, the Deputy Magistrate for Kyoto-fu, is a Chikuzen man; and Ōtani Hidemi is a Tsuwano man—a devoted retainer.) We drank sakè and talked until they left at 9. Mr. Ise reports disorders in the villages of Totsugawa, and that he accompanied the Governor, Lord Ikezono and Justice Minister Lord Ōhara there. Watanabe Noboru, a Commissioner¹⁹ in the Justice Department, also is at Gōjō. Ise's letter came to me from the hand of Hayakawa.

7 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/26] Slight rain in the morning, clearing up about 8. After 10, I went to the Kamiya antique store, then on to the Rokusōan tea cottage of the Araiike, originally a temple here, now in ruins. Nakagaki Seikurō, at present Ise's retainer, had come to this cottage ahead of us. He had the kettle boiling for the tea ceremony; and he served a cup or two of ceremonial tea. Saeki Tatsuzō had insistently invited us to take along *bentō* lunches and to enjoy some sakè; and all the members of my party joined us for a delightful time. At 12 noon I paid my respects at the Kasuga shrine,²⁰ and I saw Ōtani Hidemi there. After 1 I returned to my inn. Kamiya brought over several antiques for my inspection. This evening I had an appointment with Ōtani, and I went to his place with Tatsuzō and others. En route we dropped in on Jinshichi, the utensil dealer, and I purchased two copper seals. Hayakawa . . . also came to Ōtani's. I returned to my inn before 9. The sakè of Nara is excellent; and Ōtani pressed many cups of it on me. I drank them all, and became very drunk before I realized it.

8 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/27] In the morning light rain, then clear.

¹⁸ The eleven-faced Kannon here is one of the most famous images of the Goddess of Mercy in all Japan. The Nigatsudō is one of the temples in the Tōdaiji complex.

¹⁹ *Goyōgakari*.

²⁰ The Kasuga shrine, founded in 768, is the shrine to the tutelary deity of the Fujiwara family. Formerly it was reconstructed every twenty years without fail, whether in need of replacement or not.

Honda Jisuke came; we played a game of *go*, and he left before 9. At noon Tatsuzō invited me over to his place; and I went there. He served ceremonial tea, food, and sakè. It was an elegant meal indeed; and his towering mansion commands a view of Mount Mikasa²¹—some magnificent scenery. We walked together to the Daibutsudō²² about 3, then went up to the Nigatsudō, reaching the foot of Mount Mikasa after 6. There at the foot of the mountain Honda Jisuke was waiting for me at the Tamazōtei this evening; so we took a rest there, drinking and talking. Okumi²³ came along with us. At night I returned to my inn.

I had been told that Ise would come home tomorrow evening; therefore, Hayakawa had gone to Gōjō this morning to tell him that I awaited his return. Ise, however, had abruptly gone off with the Governor to Totsukawa; and I was told that it would be impossible to meet. I have decided, therefore, to move my return to Kyoto up to tomorrow.

9 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/28] Fair. In the morning Abbot Eian came from Naniwa to talk with me; and Okumi returned to Naniwa with him. (Okumi is a geisha from the south side of Naniwa. Ise became acquainted with her seven or eight years ago. For a while she was married, but recently became a geisha again, and she had come up to Ise's place where I happened to see her. She is also an old friend of mine.)

We departed from here at 9, reached Kizu post-town before 10, and Tamamizu at 11. We took a rest at Minōya, reached Nakaike post-town after 12, then rested at Hishiya where we had sakè and some food. We arrived at the Kikuya in Uji before 4; and Honda Jisuke, with whom I had made an appointment yesterday, was already there waiting at the inn. We took a boat up to the headwaters of the river, accompanied by Okame and Okiku, ladies of the teahouse. The scenery at the headwaters of the river was excellent; and I composed a poem about it.

²¹ Mount Mikasa, an umbrella-shaped eminence, begins within the shrine grounds and rises in an easterly direction. The mountain, 940 feet in elevation, is often mentioned in poems of the Nara era (710–784).

²² This is the Tōdaiji hall which houses the Great Buddha, standing 53 feet, or 16.2 meters, in height. The Emperor Shōmu commissioned this gold-plated statue of Vairocana, the Eternal Buddha, to ward off a smallpox epidemic in 743. Ten years were required for the building.

²³ A geisha.

En route home we climbed a hill up to the . . . temple, a very quiet, secluded place. The design on the inside and outside of its gate resembled a painting by a Chinese master. We returned to the Kikuya after 7; and in the middle of the night had a banquet at the Banpekirō, drinking with those who accompanied us on the outing. I recited a poem in reply to the two Chinese *zekku* which Sugiyama composed.

10 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/29] Fair. I left the Kikuya before 9. I had not realized whose residence the newly-built cottage on the river was until I learned from what a maid said last night that it is Nakai Kōzō's villa. Kōzō told me about this once. On realizing that it was his, this morning I went over to his villa, and watched the river from there for a while before returning. Kōzō has put a friend of his in charge of the house, . . . and this man was the one who took me through it.

I recrossed the river directly from there, and reached Mount Obaku before 11. There I proceeded to the temple of Ingen,²⁴ the Chinese monk, to view the sculpture of him. The temple does not appear to be old; but the area does give one a feeling of tranquility. I took a rest in front of the gate, passed through Rokujizō post-town; and I reached the Inari shrine in Fushimi before 12, paid my respects there, and had lunch at the . . . ya in front of the shrine. I returned to my inn before 3. At night I visited Kondō Yoshiki, and met Kawakami. . . . had come up to Kyoto recently from Hagi castletown. During my absence the wife and daughter of the proprietor of the Yariya arrived. This is the official inn for Chōshū in Kuwana.

11 May 1869 [Meiji 2/3/30] In the morning light rain—which finally stopped in the evening. Taki Yatarō came, as did Kondō and Kawakami, then Murata Ryōhaku. Last night Kondō, Kashiwazaki, and Hoshino told me that they had devoted themselves to the Imperial cause last year, but that their intentions were misunderstood. I wanted, therefore, to hear from Murata about it; and this morning when I saw Murata he gave me a general idea of what was involved. I enjoyed myself with tea ceremony

in the company of Kondō and Kawakami after 12. Kofuji and Sugiyama arrived about 4; and Old Hayashi also came. We had a few drinks and a quiet conversation.

²⁴ Ingen was a reforming monk who came over from Ming China to Japan in the early Edo period to start a new sect of Zen Buddhism, the Obaku-shū, in 1654. His dates are 1592–1673.

Fourth Month

12 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/1] Fair. In the morning I went over some matters of official business. Torio Koyata came to talk with me for a while about his deep concern over the current unrest in the Chōshū military units. I am truly impressed by his zeal about this matter. Sugiyama Kōtarō also talked about it. I loaned Torio four *yen* in gold to help out. I do not know how many hundreds I have put up to save the *shotai* units from distress since last year. But I do not begrudge making this loan to Torio at all, because his sincerity of manner warms my heart. I visited Kajitori at night; and we discussed the country's plight which we both decry.

This evening from Yarihiko I bought one scroll by Sanyō¹ and another by Chikuden.²

13 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/2] Fair. I sent off letters to Hirosawa and others in Tokyo. Iwaya Yukiya³ brought me a letter from Lord Nakamikado about 4. We discussed the political situation, and drank for a while. The old man, Kondō Yoshiki, also came; and at night Yarihiko came over.

14 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/3] Fair. After 12 the wind came up and rain fell; then suddenly the sky cleared. I wrote a letter to Lord Iwakura; and I shall send Kawamura Kenzō with it to Naniwa tomorrow. Honda and Kajitori came to visit. Sumimasa came to

¹ Rai Sanyō was the loyalist historian whom Kido had read in his youth.

² Tanomura Chikuden, landscape painter of the Southern school, had been a close associate of Rai Sanyō. Kido collected Chikuden paintings and calligraphy.

³ Iwaya Yukiya (1834–1905) came into the Meiji government at the very beginning from Minaguchi *han*, a 25,000-*koku tozama* domain in Ōmi province. He functioned as a kind of a Cabinet secretary in this period. The bureaucrat was also a scholar with a reputation as one of the two great calligraphers of the Meiji era. He set up his own Ichiroku school of calligraphy, and was commonly known as Iwaya Ichiroku. Another popular name was Osamu.

repair a sword. A night I paid a visit to Taki Yatarō.⁴ Recently I have been staying home to recover from my illness. Visitors have been coming in a steady stream every day; but I excuse myself from seeing most of them on account of my health.

(Note) I petitioned Lord Iwakura on behalf of several of my proposals.

15 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/4] Fair. About 1 I visited Kagawa's villa in Tadabayashi with Taki, Kajitori, Kofuji, Sugiyama, Hino, and Sumimasa. Each man present enjoyed himself at whatever suited his fancy, whether writing poetry, drinking saké, or what. This was the most pleasant party I have attended lately. En route home, I stopped at the Kikuchūtei for a few drinks, then left. By then it was already 8 p.m.

Tonight I stopped by the plant nursery to look at the trees and plants which I ordered last year. Today I composed two or three mediocre poems.

16 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/5] Fair. Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, came to deliver a confidential message from Lord Iwakura. Tanaka is a court official with whom I am on close terms; and he stayed on to talk over the current political situation with me. Torio Koyata came to talk. At night . . . [Seventeen or eighteen spaces left blank].⁵ I went to a party at the Kikūchutei with . . . Saitō and Satō, two men who have just arrived in Kyoto. At 12 I returned home.

17 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/6] Fair. Hayakawa Kōzō came; and I heard from him about the situation in Totsukawa. A letter arrived from Lord Iwakura. Today Kinashi Heinojō came to talk with me, having just arrived in Kyoto.

(Note) I sent letters to my friends in Chōshū by the hand of Murata Ryōhaku. Izushi Naozō came.

⁴ Taki Yatarō (1841–1906), a Chōshū samurai, served in several national offices after 1868. He was assigned to the courts of Nagasaki and Saga; then late in life he became a county magistrate for Sawa-gun in Chōshū province. On his resignation he returned to Hagi, where he died in 1906.

⁵ In writing his diary with a Japanese brush Kido used booklets printed with squares for *kanji*. Seventeen or eighteen of these squares were left blank, probably to be filled in later when the diarist acquired the missing information.

18 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/7] Fair. In the morning Taki, Hino, Narazaki, and Yasotsuchi came over, as did Torio. Fukuoka, Fourth Court Rank, came to talk. A letter arrived from Lord Iwakura telling of recent events in Tokyo. He had received a report from Lords Tokudaiji and Nakayama of numerous improprieties against foreigners: that a retainer of Hosokawa was extremely rude to the English Minister, and that a court noble had dragged a foreign ship captain out of his carriage. The representatives of the foreign nations, therefore, have lodged strong protests. Lord Iwakura says that he will hasten up to Kyoto. At night Hayashi and Kinashi came to talk. As I have been ill, the day before yesterday I consulted with Maeda . . . , a disciple of Iwasa Genkei; and he came to give me medical treatment again today.

19 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/8] Cloudy in the morning, rain in the evening. The other day Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, brought me a memorial by Lord Iwakura. After I had read it through I had Tanaka pass word of its contents on to Ōkubo. I sent yesterday's letter from Iwakura around to Iwashita. I paid a visit to Hayashi and Kinashi, then returned home. Torio came in the evening. Hirahara Heiemon and Aritomi Genbei have come up to Kyoto, and we resumed our talks about literary matters after a long interval.

20 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/9] Fair. In the morning I visited Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, to discuss various recent developments. We also held a confidential discussion on the contents of Lord Iwakura's letter which Tanaka brought me the other day. Ōkubo and Iwashita were present. We broke up about 2 p.m.; and I visited Kinashi on the way home. Today Mr. Ise came to Kyoto from Nara on his way to Tokyo; and I visited his inn after 7, and found that Hayakawa was staying at the same inn. I went home before long. Hearing that Tanaka had come to my place during my absence, I went over to his lodgings. From him I hear of the dissidence which is arising in Tokyo; and the matter has weighed heavily on my mind. He got the information from Lord Iwakura on going to the Lord's place tonight; for the Lord had secretly returned to Kyoto from Osaka today. Fujii Shichirōzaemon also came into Kyoto today.

21 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/10] Rain. Ise came over after 12 noon

by appointment; and I gave a party to which Hayashi, Kinashi, Fujii, Hirahara, and Aritomi were also invited. Okumi and the ladies from the Sakaitatsurō accompanied Ise here. Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank, came here under Lord Iwakura's orders after 8, with a reply to the memorial which I submitted today.

(Note) Today a letter came from Prince Sanjō.

22 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/11] Fair. This evening Lord Iwakura paid a visit to Tanaka, and invited me over; therefore, I went to Tanaka's house, and had an audience with Lord Iwakura, to discuss the confidential matter under consideration. I returned home after nightfall.

(Note) Tanaka Masatō came to discuss the current situation.

23 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/12] Fair. To keep an appointment with Lord Iwakura I went to the Tosa mansion in Kiyamachi⁶ after 3. Ōkubo, Watanabe, Tanaka, and Kaga were present. We conferred on the proposed emergency mission of Tanaka and Watanabe to Tokyo; and finally the decision was reached that they should go immediately. Tonight I had an engagement with Ise to go to the Hasshin. Kinashi and Itō accompanied us, Itō having come up from Hyogo this morning. Inoue Kinjirō also came to visit. Today the Kembutai military force was ordered to Tokyo.

24 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/13] Fair. This morning Ise departed for Tokyo; and Itō came to talk with me. In the morning Tanaka also came to discuss several confidential matters; and after 8, on Lord Iwakura's orders, I discussed two or three matters of the highest importance with His Excellency.

25 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/14] Fair. This morning Tanaka and Watanabe went back to Tokyo. In the morning Itō came to talk.

26 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/15] Fair. Today I wrote more than ten letters. Friends came to talk; and at night I took a stroll.

27 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/16] In the morning, a light rain, clearing suddenly. Torio Koyata came to bid farewell. In recent days

⁶ Kiyamachi is a section of Kyoto located east of the Imperial Palace along the Kamo River. It was in this section that Kido's Kyoto home was located.

Koyata has often come over to talk about the current situation. His ambitions are high; and he is much worried about the state of the nation. He is one of our most promising young men. Zuimatsu came for the first time; and two or three friends came to talk. Akagawa Keizō also dropped by to bid farewell; and after 4 Iwaya Yukiya came on Lord Iwakura's orders. Miyake Shinzō, a retainer of Lord Sanjō, came to talk, having just returned from Edo.

28 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/17] Fair. I sent a letter to Lords Sanjō and Higashikuze. Hirakawa Samon returned from Echigo; and he came at 3 to talk about the recent state of affairs there. Nawa Yurumi talked over recent events in Kyoto with me—what a great many deplorable things have occurred.

Everyone knows about the great service which Chōshū rendered to the Empire ten years ago; those Chōshū men who met violent deaths in that period are countless. Yet today Chōshū does not serve as it did in previous times. In many respects we seem to have had a breakdown in communications with the domain. This is unfortunate not for Chōshū alone; it threatens disaster to our nation. I want to talk with someone about this, but there is no one to whom I can turn. Only outsiders are aware of the trouble.

Makimura Hankurō came to Kyoto from Osaka three days ago, but hastened to return. Iwaya Yukiya came bearing Lord Iwakura's orders again. Letters arrived from Sakuma Seimu yesterday and today. It seems that *rōnin* have recently spread rumors which have stirred suspicions, and confounded the populace. If we do not build a firm foundation for the Empire, it has only a slender chance of surviving. I cannot help but perceive the dark future which lies in store for us. Yet even in the loyalist domains, it is rare to find men who are truly aware of this prospect, and who are truly concerned about the Empire. How I regret it all! Having heard that Ōkubo is to depart tomorrow, I wrote him about several current problems, then dispatched my letter.

29 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/18] Cloudy. Just as I was about to leave home to visit Ōkubo, after 11, he arrived here; therefore, we went to an isolated place to confer in secrecy about details of the matter before us. He is going to leave for Tokyo today with Lord Iwakura; therefore, the two of us bared our hearts to speak with

the utmost frankness. Mihara San'emon came here for the first time.

30 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/19] Heavy rain. A messenger arrived from Lord Iwakura about 6 this morning; therefore, I went to his mansion for an audience. We discussed confidential matters in some detail relating to seven or eight important projects which he expects to undertake after his arrival in Tokyo. I returned home about 12 noon. There was one remaining matter which consumed me with worry; so I dispatched a letter to Lord Iwakura in Hyogo inasmuch as he had departed from here a little after 12. At night I visited Seiga, then paid a call on Iwaya Yukiya with whom I discussed some important matters. Letters came in from Inoue Monta and Yamagata Kyōsuke late at night. Kyōsuke has finally decided to go abroad—to the West; and he says that Mihori Kōsuke will also go. My headache was so severe late at night that I could not sleep.

31 May 1869 [Meiji 2/4/20] Fair. Hirahara Heimon and Aritomi Gembei came to bid farewell, inasmuch as they are leaving for Osaka today, going on to Tokyo in a few days. Hayashi, Kinashi, and Taki came to visit with me. Mihara Kiemon also came, as did Fukuoka Tōji. At night I called on Maeda . . . in Sambongi.

1 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/21] Fair. I stayed home all day to recuperate from my illness. This morning Kōtō Jirōsuke returned to his home province; and Mihara Kiemon went as far as Osaka with him. I gave both of them letters of introduction to Godai. Today the pain in my chest was intense; therefore, I applied a leech.

2 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/22] Fair. I went to a photography studio in Teramachi with Kinashi and Taki at 11. Today Inoue Seigai, who has come up to Kyoto, dropped by to talk. Old Saitō Tokushinasi also arrived in Kyoto, and came over to talk.

3 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/23] Stayed home all day. Rengetsu sent me a booklet of his poems and some handmade pottery as I had requested. At night I went to Raizan's.

(Note) Taki was over. As our conversation turned to times gone by, a thousand emotions crowded into my mind.

4 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/24] Cloudy, then rain. Kawata Sakuma came. We discussed the current political situation, then talked about old times. I knew him six or seven years ago; but I rarely see him now. At night I went with Raizan to the utensil dealer's place.⁷

(Note) Iwaya came this morning.

5 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/25] Cloudy, then rain. We held a farewell party at the Hasshin in its new pavilion with Hayashi, Taki, and Masaki. Kinashi and Kajitori also came to join us.

6 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/26] Clear, then cloudy. I did some investigating into the recent situation in Naniwa and Kyoto, and I have found a great many disquieting things. I wrote letters to Lord Iwakura, Ōkubo, and Nawa; and I had an appointment with Iwaya Yukiya at 2 p.m. to go visit Ema Tenkō. We met at Raizan's studio, and proceeded to the Daihikaku in Kiyomizu. There we talked about recent affairs, and enjoyed ourselves with brushes and ink, while we were drinking. We left at twilight.

(Note) Kai Kurō, a Deputy Commissioner with the Finance Department, and Okada Junsuke came to talk.

7 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/27] Fair, then cloudy. Day after day, weather typical of the season of the plum rains.⁸ In the morning I sent off letters to Tokyo. Kinashi came to talk, as did Mihara Kiemon who has arrived in Kyoto. I had an appointment with Inoue today, so I went to his inn; and we spent the whole day in leisurely talk. We both find the present situation deplorable. Inoue's arguments have a great deal of relevance. I returned home after 7.

8 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/28] Fair. Kōtō Jirōnosuke has returned to Kyoto; and he came to talk to me in the morning. An official of

⁷ *Dōguya*.

⁸ *Baiu*, the annual rainy season.

Kumihama, . . . , came to talk. Makimura Hankurō has arrived in Kyoto; and he told me about the recent Naniwa situation, which is more than a little worrisome. Kinashi came to talk. . . . Genzō, who has recently arrived in Kyoto and will leave for Osaka, talked with me for a while.

Sugiyama . . . is investigating recent incidents involving *rōnin*; he meets frequently with Echigo Jirō to get reports from him. So many deplorable incidents have occurred; and if we do not take steps to deal with them soon, serious trouble will surely develop. After 4 Kōtō Jirōsuke came over, accompanying Nakane, Fifth Court Rank, who is a magistrate⁹ in the War Department. We had a few drinks and a leisurely talk dealing exclusively with current affairs. Hayashi Kenzō came again tonight to talk about the *rōnin*. Today I did six or seven pieces of calligraphy for which I had been asked.

9 June 1869 [Meiji 2/4/29] Cloudy, then light rain. I stayed at home all day, and did one or two pieces of calligraphy. During the evening I went to Senkyū's, then visited Raizan, and finally went to Iwaya's. We discussed the political situation for a while, then I went home.

⁹ *Hanji* was a rank rather than an office. Holders of it might be called commissioners or counselors.

Fifth Month

10 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/1] Fair. I stayed home all day to make preparations for my trip to Tokyo. In the evening I invited over Aoyama and Iwasa and their families. Kinashi also came to visit.

11 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/2] Fair, at night rain. I remained at home all day to make preparations for the trip to Tokyo. Inoue Segai came by to visit twice; and we discussed the recent situation.

12 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/3] Rain. I was ill in bed all day. Kōtō came to talk, as did Segai who was going down to Osaka today. This morning Uda Kurizono came to talk with me; and this evening Yoshii Gemma came by to discuss recent developments. There are many disquieting matters, the most worrisome of which is the prospect that the *rōnin* will get out of hand.

13 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/4] Fair. In the morning Nakane, Fifth Court Rank, came to talk; and I made more preparations for my trip to Tokyo. At night I visited Iwashita and Fukuoka. Letters arrived from Lords Sanjō and Iwakura.

14 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/5] Clear, then cloudy, followed by rain, then clear again. Saitō Shinzō came this morning; and many others came by from the Chōshū mansion to offer their good wishes this day. Mōri Kansai also came. This evening I invited more than twenty people over from the mansion; and we exchanged farewell toasts.

15 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/6] Fair. I went up to Lord Nakamika-do's at 6; and I took up several current Kyoto problems with him, advancing my own opinions on several points at issue. I paid a visit to Uda Kurizono to discuss lines of communication among the various government officials, and to put in a word for some

of my proposals. We made some progress toward agreement on our objectives. I visited Mr. Maeda after 2, and returned home.

(Note) Ōshima Jisui has returned from Korea; and this evening I learned about the situation there from him.¹

16 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/7] Fair. In the morning I had visitors continuously; and I have been talking with Katō Yūrin who stayed over last night. . . . Sakura Hanamori came to visit; and Yukiya came to report to me about recent developments in Tokyo. Ōshima Jisui came to talk. At night I called on Iwaya Yukiya; and, following up my letter to Lords Iwakura and Sanjō yesterday, I sent them another today.

17 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/8] Cloudy. In the morning visitors came in a steady stream. Sumishō came, bringing . . . along with him. We left my home at 11, reached Fushimi after 1, and boarded our ship before 3. The east wind was very strong, so we were under full sail with the current behind us. We reached Naniwa at twilight, and went to Hiro'oka's . . . cottage. Kinashi accompanied us. I brought the women and children in my household with me.²

18 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/9] Fair. Visitors in a steady stream. Inoue Segai came to discuss the current state of affairs in the city of Naniwa; and he told me of the situation in Tokyo. I went to the hospital with Kinashi after 2, but found that Bauduin had already left today, and that Ogata Gemban was absent from the hospital on account of illness. On the invitation of Ogata Sessai³ we went to the Ogata home; and Gemban received me, but was unable to go out on account of his illness. I made an appointment to go

¹ Ōshima Jisui was a prominent loyalist from Tsūshima *han*, the insular domain which was a major force in working for the opening of Korea. It was appropriate that he should have been a member of a mission there. Tsūshima lay midway between Japan and Korea; it was the traditional channel for trading and diplomatic missions to the Hermit Kingdom, which in 1869 was being pressured out of its isolation by Japan.

² This refers to his wife Matsu and maids plus his adopted son Shōjirō. Since singular and plural are indistinguishable in Japanese, perhaps the passage should be rendered "child," not "children."

³ Ogata Sessai (1834–1911) was the adopted son of Ogata Kōan, the celebrated teacher of Dutch medicine; and he succeeded to the headship of Kōan's school in Osaka in 1862. At the time of this diary entry Sessai was serving the national government in the field of medical education. Students of Ogata Kōan included Ōmura Masujirō, whom Kido had brought into Chōshū in 1865 to modernize the military forces of their *han*.

with him to Bauduin's tomorrow, then left. On the way home I stopped by Segai's where we talked and joked and had a few drinks. I returned to my inn after 10.

The reason that I have come to Naniwa is this: Since the beginning of the year I have been repeatedly ordered to Tokyo. But for the past seven or eight years I have applied my efforts to our cause with unremitting zeal, and since last year I have fallen into a state of exhaustion; hence I have requested leave to revive my spirits. But even after five or six requests leave had not been granted. Finally, Deputy Chancellor Iwakura gave me informal orders to take a leave of absence in April⁴ of this year. An Imperial Conference⁵ was scheduled at the time on the matter for which I have worked so assiduously since last year. Even though I wanted to give my opinions on this pressing issue and its future disposition to Deputy Chancellor Iwakura privately without actually attending the conference in person, the situation was so critical that I could not insist on retiring from office in the spring. My illness, though, is more serious this year than last; and I have been resting in Kyoto for several weeks to recover from it. Finally, Deputy Chancellor Iwakura ordered me down to Naniwa to seek a diagnosis from Bauduin—and that is the reason for my trip.

19 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/10] Fair. Kōnoike Ichibei came over. Yoshimura Gentarō, who has been dispatched to Hakodate, also came by; and there were many other callers. At 2 I visited Ogata by boat; and for a while we talked about things Occidental. After 4 I went with him to Bauduin's place where I told the Dutch doctor about my illness, and asked for a diagnosis. He said that it must have been caused by nervous exhaustion, and that if I do not retire to a quiet place to recuperate, my condition will take a turn for the worse. He instructed Ogata on medicines to be used in treating the illness. Kinashi, who accompanied me, asked for a diagnosis of his own illness. I returned to my inn before 8.

20 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/11] Fair. Bauduin said that the best

⁴ The third month by the lunar calendar lasted from April 12 to May 11, 1869.

⁵ A Conference before the Throne, participated in by daimyō, *kuge*, and the like, was held. Obviously the policy on which Kido had been working so assiduously was that of the Return of the Registers on land and population from the daimyō to the Imperial Government.

cure for me would be to go to the beach to bathe in the sea water. Sea bathing in the tidal water would also be appropriate for Kinashi's problem. In consequence, we hired a boat to go to a stretch of the beach beside Tempozan; and we bathed in the sea water twice between 7 and 10, returning home at 12. Ogata came over at night; and I asked him for diagnosis of an illness of one of the people in my household.

(Note) This morning I sent a letter to Mr. Kubo concerning Mihori and Yamagata.

21 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/12] Fair. I went to the foot of Tempozan to bathe in the sea water; and Kinashi accompanied me. I returned home after 12. My wife and child went to Bauduin's today; but the doctor had another appointment, so they returned without seeing him. I visited Old Saitō Tokushinsai⁶ at night, and we talked for a while. I met Kannosuke and his wife. Yesterday Old Tokushin called at my place during my absence.

(Note) Awaya Tasuke came up to Osaka after me in regard to the Korea problem.

(Note) Shōjirō suffered a bad stomach illness, and vomited what he had eaten.

22 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/13] Fair. A letter came from Makimura yesterday, telling me that some *rōnin* had been arrested when their nefarious plot to stage an insurrection was revealed. This morning I sent him a letter in reply. Nishimoto Seisuke came by to talk; and we discussed the recent situation. After we had had a few drinks, he left. Today Hirahara Heimon put on a theatrical performance; so I went to the theatre by boat with Segai, my first time for the theatre since I went in Tokyo seven years ago. Naitō Sabei returned from Tokyo yesterday; and this evening he joined me at the theatre, coming with us on the boat. En route home we stopped by the Sakaitatsurō where I put on a party. I returned home before 12.

(Note) Old Tokushin came by today during my absence, accompanied by the second son of Nemoto.

23 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/14] Fair. With Kinashi I went to

⁶ Tokushin is another name for Saitō Yakurō, once regarded as one of the three eminent swordmasters of Edo, and Kido's teacher in an earlier day.

Tempozan to bathe in the sea water, returning home after 12. Today my wife and child went to Bauduin's for treatment, and brought some medicine home with them. I sent my reply off to Makimura. After 5 I went to Doshō's with the Abbot Eian and . . . Hanzō to look at some tea utensils. We dropped in at a shop en route home, had a few drinks, and did not return until after 9.

(Note) Ōmura's letter was delivered, as was a letter from Hori Shingorō. I sent off letters to Lord Iwakura, Ōkubo, and Ōmura.

24 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/15] Visitors have been so numerous lately that I have not had the expected leisure for my convalescence. I went with the Abbot and Hanzō to . . . to see some scrolls of calligraphy and painting. Raisandō returned to Osaka yesterday; and he pressed me to view an exhibition of calligraphy and paintings today; therefore, I went to his house in the evening with Eian. When we arrived, however, all the visitors had gone, and the host was there by himself; so we looked at a scroll or two, had a few cups of tea, and left. We went both ways by boat. Last night Ōshima of Tsūshima arrived in Osaka, and came to my boat to talk. It was after 10 when I finally returned home.

25 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/16] Fair. Today I stayed at my place to recuperate. Awaya Tasuke came by to talk; and this evening I had an engagement with Fujii for a tea ceremony. I went to the Isshō'an for it after 5; the other guests were Kinashi, Eian, Kaji Gorō, and. . . I returned home at 9. Guntarō came to Osaka this morning.

26 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/17] Fair. I went to the Foreign Settlement with Inoue Segai to see the Englishman Gower.⁷ At the time that the policy of expulsion of the barbarians prevailed, Inoue, Itō, Yamao, and I consulted him in secret about going abroad. He readily consented to help us; and we entrusted the arrangements to him. As I already held a government post at the time, it was not ethical for me to defy the law in this way; so I

⁷ From the context this appears to be A. J. Gower who was an agent for Jardine, Matheson, and Company, serving at Yokohama in 1863 when the five Chōshū youths went to England with his help. (Fox, *Great Britain and Japan*, 85, 153).

separated myself from Inoue and the others, and strongly encouraged them to go to the West. It is ironic that all the men who went to the West are alive now, while more than half their friends who stayed in Japan are guests in *Yomi*, the Land of the Dead.⁸ Six years have passed since that meeting. How unpredictable is life!

Aston also came over to talk about the recent situation. I returned home after 5; and en route there I tried my hand at fishing with a net, and snared several small fish. I went to Hirahara's house with Kinashi at night, then went to Eian's before returning.

(Note) A letter arrived from Makimura, as did one from Nishimoto Seisuke who has been in Hakodate.

27 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/18] Fair. I paid a visit to Ogata Gemban, then went to the . . . rō with Kinashi in response to Hirahara's invitation. I returned home about 11. Awaya Tasuke arrived in Osaka recently; and he often comes by to see me in regard to the trip which he took to Korea with Yoshimatsu Heishirō. The Iwakuni man, Misu Bunrō, has come by often to discuss a government loan for his domain.

28 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/19] Fair. This morning I went to the villa of the Nagatoya; . . . entertained us in place of the proprietor. I returned home after 4. Today I went to the Sakaitatsurō for my appointment on the question of the *kogumi*.⁹ It seemed that more than half the people in Osaka were there. I returned home at 11.

Note: Hayakawa Kōzō's letter in regard to the Totsukawa affair came.

29 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/20] Cloudy. Nishimoto Seisuke came to tell me about recent developments; and I gave him my opinion up to a point. Daily a great many visitors such as Segai come here. At 1 I paid a visit to Ogata in the company of Kinashi, and

⁸ *Yomi* was the land which Izanagi visited in search of his deceased wife Izanami as recorded in the *Kojiki*. It is the subterranean afterworld to which all men go, good or bad. This Shinto term is written with the Chinese characters which mean "yellow stream." (Donald L. Philippi, *Kojiki* [University of Tokyo Press, 1969], 641-642.)

⁹ A *kogumi* was a platoon in the Chōshū military organization.

went on to see Bauduin, before returning home at 6. Tonight I had an engagement with Eian; and I went to his place with Kinashi, returning at 10. I brought two or three geisha of my acquaintance with me.

(Note) Tanōmura Kotori visited me. He had been here several times in my absence; but this was the first time I had met him since my arrival in Osaka.

30 June 1869 [Meiji 2/5/21] Rain. I went to the Foreign Settlement about 10 with Kinashi to pay a visit to Gower. Then Glover and one or two other English merchants dropped in; and we talked about recent developments. Glover and Gower once had two entirely different opinions about politics here; and both communicated their ideas to us for the sake of our country. They differed in every particular. Today I inquired into this matter closely, and came to understand what each had in mind. We had a meal together at 1, then went our respective ways. On my way home I paid a visit to Joseph Heco, and exchanged a word or two with him before leaving. The rain was heaviest at 10; I returned home after 3. Today I had an invitation to tea ceremony from Kaji Gorō, so I went to his place in spite of the rain. Fellow guests were Fujii, Kinashi, and Kaji Gorō.¹⁰ I returned home after 10.

1 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/22] Fair. It has finally been decided that I should take a ship out tomorrow; so I made preparations for departure. I visited Eian and Tanōmura Kotori after 2 with Kinashi. Kotori was ill in bed, and could not come out to see us. Then I visited Inoue Segai at his inn, and talked for a while. . . . had invited me to the Kawasa this evening, so I went to the teahouse with Kinashi and Nagayasu. The time was nearly 10. Fujii and all the other people from the Chōshū mansion were present. Before I realized it I had become very drunk, and went to sleep in my intoxicated state. I returned to my inn at 2 a.m.

2 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/23] Fair. Visitors came continuously from morning on, keeping me busy indeed. Hayakawa Kōzō came in from Nara very suddenly, and wanted to discuss recent events,

¹⁰ Kaji Gorō was a guest at tea ceremony in his own house, assigning the formal role of host to another.

so I could not avoid taking him in the boat to Kawaguchi at the river's mouth. We talked things over while sailing along, reaching Kawaguchi at 1. More than a dozen people including Fujii had come to see me off. They hired boats from everywhere, and formed a festive escort to bid me farewell. I did not feel the usual sentimental emotions at parting, but instead went off talking and laughing with them.

This morning Kashimaya came. . . . At 2 I went on board a ship named the *Miyako*, belonging to the English merchant Glover; and at 4 we reached Kobe. We could not take on the cargo owing to the absence of the official in charge of it; so we are compelled to remain anchored here for another day. I decided to go ashore with Segai. We called on Hōbai, who was absent, but unexpectedly met his mother. We went to the Tetsuya to stay overnight. A party from the Nankitai, made up of Takeuchi Shōzō and others, came to visit us. Hinoki and his wife came to talk.

3 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/24] Fair. Hinoki came to visit again. Nakajima Sakutarō came to talk. Sakutarō's Chinese servant is said to be the one whom Sakamoto Ryōma¹¹ bought in Shanghai and brought back with him. We boarded the ship at 10 a.m.; and several people came to see me off here. Shortly after 10 the anchor was hoisted; and we reached Hinomisaki in Kii at nightfall. On board the ship are three parties—those of Lord Sawa,¹² of Inoue, and mine. Ōshima is a member of my party, while Kajitori belongs to Lord Sawa's group. In addition, there are several Chikuzen men aboard, having no connection with any of the groups.

(Note) Lord Sawa, Inoue, and I paid 1000 *ryō* passage money; my share of it was 400 *ryō*. There are thirty-three persons in my party altogether; of that group only Ōshima and I are traveling first-class.

4 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/25] Cloudy, then rain. We were unable

¹¹ Sakamoto Ryōma (1835–1867) had been involved in foreign trade at one point, and in traffic in foreign arms. This Tosa loyalist was the go-between who arranged the Satsuma—Chōshū alliance between Saigō Takamori and Kido in 1866, to set the stage for the Meiji Restoration. The dashing Sakamoto, accomplished swordsman that he was, died at the hands of assassins in a Kyoto inn on the eve of the Restoration. In his short life he cut a splendid figure, and in novels and popular myth remains a heroic figure.

¹² Lord Sawa was Foreign Minister briefly during the early years of the Meiji government.

to leave Kii until dawn. At night the stormy sea became very rough. Nine people out of ten were unable to get out of their berths; and the boat made little headway. We did not catch a glimpse of the mountains on shore all day long.

(Note) The wind blew in from the southeast.

5 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/26] Cloudy. We reached a position off Shimoda at dawn; and we sailed into the port of Yokohama at 4 p.m. Everybody aboard this rolling, pitching ship had stayed in bed; not a voice has broken the quiet. But when we entered Tokyo Bay, there were no stormy waves to roll the ship around, so everybody came up on the deck of the ship, making a great commotion, calling to one another, and yelling. The sight moved one man to say that the people are as good as a barometer. We landed at 5 p.m.; and I went to the courthouse to visit Terashima.¹³ After failing to get a place at several inns, when night fell we finally checked in at Maruokaya Kōjirō's on Benten-dōri. Ōshima happened to stay at the same inn, the worst inn at which I have put up in a long time.

6 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/27] Cloudy. During the *baiu*, the Season of the Plum Rains, not a single drop of water fell on the rice fields of the Kyoto–Settsu area. Not a farmer there but prayed for rain. From what I have heard about the weather in the eastern provinces today, there has been a great deal of rain lately, and clear days are rare. It makes one realize how different the weather can be in places only 300 miles apart. Last year, when I came to Tokyo in July, the weather was quite different from that in Kyoto. I happen to have noticed the contrast two successive years.

At 10 a.m. I went to Lord Sawa's inn; but he had already left in his palanquin. I paid a visit to Terashima Tōzō, and had a briefing from him on recent developments. On the way back I stopped at Inoue's. Today I changed inns, and am now staying at the . . . of Isebun's. I took a stroll with Inoue after 2 p.m.;

¹³ Terashima Munenori (1833–1893) was Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs at this time. In a diary entry shortly after this one he was called Terashima Tōzō by Kido, who used an early popular name for the Satsuma samurai. Son of a rear vassal, Terashima had made his way up in the world through foreign studies—first with a Dutch physician, later as a foreign student in England. As a specialist in naval science, he had taught at the Kaiseijo, the Bakufu school for foreign studies; and he commanded the Satsuma fleet during the battle with the British expedition against Kagoshima in 1863.

and we went to the store of the Englishman Marks at No. 77,¹⁴ and purchased a number of home furnishings. All of the Americans and Englishmen in this firm understand Japanese. I went to a photography studio after 5, and there I purchased a number of pictures of scenic spots in Tokyo and Yokohama. Hirahara and Aritomi were along on this trip, as were Daikokuya Tetsujirō and Yamashiroya Wasuke.¹⁵ We went to my inn together for a few drinks. This morning I sent my baggage and entourage on to Tokyo; the only ones still with me are Kenzō, Asajirō, Mata-tarō, and Raizō. A man who was a servant of Kijima more than ten years ago, named Kisuki—now living in Yokohama, where he is a landlord of Honmachi Sanchōme and calling himself Gensuki—came to inquire after me without forewarning. One of the maids at my inn knows me by my former name.¹⁶ She is named Kane, and seven or eight years ago she was a maid at the Kawanagarō in Edo where I used to enjoy myself. Most of my friends of those years are now guests in the Land of the Dead, in *Yomi*. I was deeply moved by these unexpected encounters.

7 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/28] Fair. Ogura, Kawano, and Kawachi came by. The three of them attend the French School here. Shizuma . . . , Mitsuta Saburō, and Yamashiroya Wasuke came over to discuss current affairs. There has been so much intrigue inside and outside the country these past few years that I am deeply worried. All of us deplore what is happening. Before 12 Teijirō invited me out; and we went to a plant nursery, then to have a Western-style meal. Sufu Kanetsuchi, who had come to visit me, joined us. Before 2 we left to go to the photography studio of Kyūichi to have our pictures taken. We then took a stroll, went

¹⁴ A. Marks & Co. (Importers and Auctioneers), No. 77, in the foreign settlement at Yokohama, listed in the Yokohama directory of the foreign community the names of A. Marks, H. Marks, and S. Marcus, plus L. Marks in Edo.

¹⁵ Yamashiroya Wasuke was a merchant for Chōshū after he fought with the Kiheitai under his original name, Nomura Michizō. On December 29, 1872, he committed suicide in the waiting room of the War Department, when Yamagata Aritomo demanded an accounting of loans advanced to expand production of military supplies, but embezzled by Yamashiroya. (Roger Hackett, *Yamagata Aritomo* ([Harvard University Press, 1971], 71 fn.)

¹⁶ Presumably the maid called him Katsura Kogorō, Kido's name from his adoption into the Katsura family in Hagi until it was changed by order of the Chōshū Lord in 1865. The new name was conferred in honor of extraordinary services rendered to the *han*, and possibly to conceal the identity of the troublesome Katsura Kogorō from Bakufu agents.

to the Marks shop at No. 77 again, then to the . . . store with which Teijirō has a connection—after which we climbed up . . . mountain, rested at a teahouse, climbed down and went to a Chinese man's store, took another rest, and got back to the inn before 6. Shizuma, Mitsuta, Yamashiroya, Daikokuya, and others came by; we had a few drinks and talked for a while. Everybody left at 10. Watanabe Mamoru also came. He is a retainer of Lord Higashikuze, and at the present time is an Inspector¹⁷ in Yokohama.

8 July 1869 [Meiji 2/5/29] Cloudy. I left Yokohama at 10, met Parkes in Kanagawa, then encountered Nakai Kōzō and Itō Hōbai, who had come to Kawasaki. Kōzō was bound for Yokohama; and Hōbai had left Tokyo to see me in Yokohama by the orders of Lord Iwakura. We took a carriage into Tokyo, and had a few drinks at the Kawasakiya in Samezu. Segai who had left Yokohama yesterday met us there. I went to Hōbai's place after 2, and met Tanaka Kensuke, and Torio Koyata there. From Hōbai's I rode horseback to the Kanda mansion for an audience with the Prince Heir of Chōshū, then went to my place at Banchō. The Saitō brothers, Keian, Fukui Gendō, and Katō came.

¹⁷ *Junsatsu* 巡警.

Sixth Month

9 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/1] Cloudy. I remained at home all day. Sakuma and Nagamatsu came in the morning. Hiro-sawa also came.

10 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/2] Rain. In the morning Mr. Ise came to visit. I went up to the council chambers at 12; and there I met Deputy Chancellor Sanjō, Lords Iwakura and Tokudaiji, the Lord of Hizen, Ōkubo, Gotō, and others. I left after 7. Today I had an appointment with Ise, and went to his house to keep it, returning home at 11. Torio and Mitsuta came over, and all of us joined in deploring the state into which the nation has fallen.

11 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/3] Cloudy, then light rain. A messenger came from Deputy Chancellor Sanjō. In response I went to the Deputy Chancellor after 12, then on to Lord Iwakura. Lord Higashikuze was present; and we discussed the present situation for a while. On my way home I stopped at the Kanda mansion of Chōshū, and had an audience with the Heir Apparent of the domain. I congratulated him on the Imperial honors conferred on him yesterday. The Heir summoned me today to serve me some of the sakè and food which he had received from the Imperial hand. When I call to mind events of ten years ago, what is happening now seems to be a dream within a dream. I do not know how I can possibly repay the great favor which the Emperor has bestowed on us. Nine out ten of my comrades of those earlier days have fallen; and out of pity for them I could not help but let the tears stream down onto my collar without end. I returned home at 11. Hōbai and Segai came to visit.

(Note) I happened to see Yamada and Kijima in the presence of the Chōshū Heir; and I heard from them a report on the state of the fighting at Hakodate.

12 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/4] Cloudy, then light rain. Ise came to visit; and I went up to the Palace after 12. There I was summoned before the Throne to accept orders to serve as Junior Councilor, *Sanyo*, with the Fourth Court Rank, Junior Grade. Since last year I have several times refused this rank, but the present rules make it impossible for me to reject the court rank. I am told that everyone else in the same office has already received the court rank. I withdrew from the Palace at 5.

I visited Ōmura Masujirō, and met Yamada at his place. Ōmura and I withdrew to a separate room for a while to talk over matters past and future; and we agreed on everything. I left there at 7 to visit Sugi, then to go directly to the Chōshū mansion. There I had an audience with the Chōshū Heir; and I offered my congratulations on his succession to the headship of the family with the Old Lord's retirement. Saké and food were served me. Unexpectedly I met Mr. Maebara.¹ I returned home after 11.

13 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/5] Cloudy, with occasional light rain. Sesso came to visit in the morning. I did not go to the council chambers today; but there was a steady procession of visitors here. I went to see Ise at night; but he was not home.

14 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/6] Cloudy. Nakamura Sei'ichi and Masaki Ichitarō came over; and we went together to Ise's to have a few drinks and talk. Lord Shungaku sent some delicious cakes over today; and I brought them along to Ise's where I stayed overnight.

15 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/7] Cloudy, with light rain. I went up to the council chambers at 10, and withdrew at 5 to return home.

¹ Maebara Issei (1834–1876) was a samurai from Chōshū and, like Kido, a former student of Yoshida Shōin. The parallel careers of Maebara and Kido diverged in 1868 at the time of the Meiji Restoration, when Maebara assumed a military command in Echigo province, while Kido became a statesman in the capital. At war's end Maebara held a series of lesser posts: Prefectural Governor in Echigo, Vice Minister of War, and Imperial Councilor, or *Sangi*. Abruptly in 1872 Maebara resigned from office, in protest at the centralizing policies of the new regime, to return to his native Hagi. The tempestuous style of the ex-Imperial Councilor, revealed in chronic personality conflicts in the capital, carried him to leadership of the dissident samurai in the old Chōshū castletown. He articulated the outrage which many felt toward a central government which was depriving them of their hereditary prerogatives and stipends. The brief Hagi Rising, 31 October–10 November 1876, led by Maebara, collapsed before the Imperial Army. Maebara was captured, tried, and pilloried on 3 December 1876.

16 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/8] Cloudy, light rain. I went up to the council chambers after 10, and withdrew after 5. I received a letter of complaint from the Chōshū mansion in regard to problems over the transfer of money from the central government. Prince Sanjō and Lord Iwakura personally had told me about the efforts they were making to arrange this. I went to the mansion, therefore, to explain the situation to Sugi, Nakachi, and Masaki.

I brought Ise home with me; and he stayed overnight. This morning Yamada Ichinojō and Shinagawa Yajirō came over, and we talked about the deplorable situation in our domain. Lately a great many things have gone wrong there; and I cannot help but worry about the future.

17 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/9] Cloudy, with occasional light rain. In the morning Yamanaka Sei'itsu came to visit. I went up to the council chambers after 10, and withdrew after 3. Itō and Torio came to visit; and Yamashiroya of Yokohama also came.

18 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/10] Fair, with occasional cloudiness. Inoue Segai came to talk about recent developments. Hirosawa Shōgaku also came over; and we left my house together after 10 to go to the council chambers, accompanied by Segai. Today I met Itagaki Taisuke,² who is in the same office with me, for the first time. I left the council chambers before 6.

Recently the council has spent a good deal of time discussing the kind of punishment to be meted out to the rebel leaders at Hakodate; and an official request went to the military staff there for opinions. Most of them held that it would be a miscarriage of justice to allow our sympathies to enter in. Today, therefore, it

² Itagaki Taisuke (1837–1919) was the Tosa samurai whose career was a counterpart to that of Kido in Chōshū. He was the Tosa spokesman in the capital. An upper-class samurai, he had established his military reputation by conducting the successful siege of Wakamatsu Castle in Aizu domain 1868 to crush the most potent center of resistance to the new regime. He worked closely with Kido in arranging the Return of the Land and Population Registers in 1869. Itagaki was one of the Imperial Councilors who resigned in protest at the rejection of the Korean invasion plan in 1873, a policy which Kido by then had given up. The Osaka Compromise of 1875 was arranged to bring both Itagaki and Kido, who meantime had left in protest of the Taiwan Expedition, back into the fold, promising them representative government and a constitutional monarchy. Itagaki resigned within a few months in a dispute over putting the plan into effect. His political ideas were similar to those of Kido, but somewhat more radical.

was finally decided that we should dispose of the matter strictly in accord with the principle of a subject's duty to the Imperial House.

I went to the Chōshū mansion after 6. Mōri Takachika, the Lord of Chōshū, had invited the Lord of Mito and Lord Matsu³-ura.³ The Lord of Mito—that is to say Mimbukyō⁴—previously studied in France; and he entertained us with many fresh stories about that country. He is now seventeen years of age; and future greatness may be expected of him. I returned home before 10. Hirofusa was also present for the dinner.

19 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/11] Fair. We had our first hot weather today; and I realize that it is summer. Visitors came all morning. I went to Lord Iwakura's at 12 by appointment, then on to Prince Sanjō's. We reviewed the current situation in some detail. I visited Hōbai in Tsukiji after 5. We had some drinks and a leisurely talk. The hour had become late, so I stayed overnight. Haru and Matsu⁵ were also there.

20 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/12] Fair. I talked with the people who stayed over last night. Ōkuma came for me after 12; and we had a Western-style dinner together. He discussed government finance at some length. Ōkuma had invited me for yesterday; but I had another engagement, and had to decline, promising to do it another day. By chance I met him today. I returned home after 6. Sakē and food were sent over to me today from the Palace.

21 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/13] Cloudy, with traces of rain. In the morning Ise came to visit. I explained my plans to him, noting that as we survey the present situation and ponder the future that there are so many intractable problems. Following up, I sent off letters to Ōmura, and to Shumpō.⁶ In the afternoon Ōmura came over; but, as I had a guest, I could not discuss the subject fully; and to my dismay I was informed that unexpected problems

³ The Matsu'ura family ruled Hirado *han*, 61,700 *koku*, *tozama*.

⁴ This might mean "with Prince Mambu," or that the young Lord of Mito was sent by the Home Department, or *Mimbu-kyoku*.

⁵ Haru is Kido's younger sister, and Matsu his wife.

⁶ Shumpō is one of the pen names of Itō Hirobumi, used here by Kido for the first time. It means "Spring Ridge," referring to the ridges between wet-rice fields.

have arisen. I visited with Gotō for a while in the evening, then returned home.

In truth when I consider what an opportunity we now have, I am filled with dismay by the opposition to our plan. I hope to work out a procedure to put into effect the purpose which I have cherished these many years to bring the tranquility of Mount Fuji to our land, and to extend the Imperial influence abroad. Unless we seize on the present opportunity to return authority to the center, how can we possibly establish the true path of loyalty and filiality? In my anguish I shed tears of blood. Far into the night, I was unable to close my eyes.

22 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/14] Rain. I spent the whole day in bed. Shumpō came by after 5. He says that he also has difficulty in restraining his indignation over what is happening, and that he is going to offer his resignation. As Mr. Ise insistently invited me, I went over to his place. After a time a man came over to report that Lord Iwakura had come to pay a visit at my place, so I returned to my house immediately. I repeated what I had to say to Iwakura, and we discussed the matter until after 2 a.m. Nawa came in attendance on Lord Iwakura.

23 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/15] Cloudy. Ōshima came to talk in the morning. Ōkubo also came to visit, and we discussed the current situation, and filled each other in on what has been happening. After 12 we proceeded together up to the council chambers, withdrawing after 4. En route home I paid a visit to Kuchiki's but everyone was gone, so returned to my house.

24 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/16] Fair. I visited Gotō in the morning. He had wanted to see me earlier this morning, but I had too many other engagements, and had to decline. From there I went to Ise's house; and the two of us boarded a boat to go over to the Yaozen. Hiro'oka and others arrived as per the appointment which we made with them the other day. We spent the whole day playing *go*, drinking sakē, and talking. We returned to Ise's place after 7; and in the end I stayed overnight there.

25 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/17] Fair. Gotō came to talk; and we discussed several matters relating to the appointment of domain

governors.⁷ I took issue with several details of the arrangements. Inoue Segai happened to come by afterwards and entered into the discussion. I stayed home all day on account of my illness. In the evening Kadowaki, Fifth Court Rank, came to visit; and Lord Tokudaiji followed him by carriage. Kadowaki came to discuss the Board of Censors, or *Danjōdai*,⁸ while Lord Tokudaiji was here to offer his views on certain matters relating to the domain governors. In the evening we had a great deal of thunder and a heavy rainstorm, and the men left after 8. I had a matter which I wanted to discuss with Hirosawa in private, so I paid a visit to him. We talked for a while by lamplight; and I left after 11.

26 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/18] Fair. I established the regulations for my household, and informed each member of his duties. Yamashiroya Wasuke's letter then arrived reporting that he had landed in Yokohama with my household members yesterday morning. At 11 I went up to my post of duty, and at 6 I withdrew. En route home I paid a visit to Sugi, and talked with him for a while then left. Masaki was also there. We had a slight drizzle after 5; and at 5 my household members reached here.

(Note) Letters arrived from Kinashi and Makimura.

27 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/19] Rain. I went up to the council chambers after 10, and withdrew at 4. Ise came to visit in the morning, and stayed overnight, then left.

28 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/20] Rain. Ōshima came to visit in the morning; and I had an appointment to meet Parkes, the English Minister, today, so I went to the English legation at Hijirizaka in Mita after 10. Aston was our interpreter. . . . Unexpectedly I met Mitford, and also chanced to see. . . . I had dinner with them after 1, with two English students also present. Before 3 I had another meeting with Parkes, and we discussed the current situation for a time; and after 7 I returned home. Sugi, Masaki,

⁷ *Chihanji*.

⁸ The *Danjōdai* operated between 1869 and 1871, when it was merged with the Ministry of Justice. The title, and some of the functions, derived from the Chinese-style administration of the Heian era (794–1185). Like the Chinese censorate, the *Danjōdai* had the power of impeachment of public officials including the very highest; and it could bring charges against private subjects. The accusations were passed along to the *Dajōkan*, or to the Throne.

Nakamura, and Shishidō were already there in response to my invitation. We played *go*, drank saké, and talked until far into the night. All of them stayed overnight.

29 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/21] Fair. In the morning Inoue Segai and Torio came; and a little before 10 Sugi and the others left. Yoshimatsu Heishirō arrived from home, and he talked about things in Chōshū. I did a piece of calligraphy which had been requested by Sessō, the Zen priest. I had an appointment with Ōshima Jisui today; at 1 I left the house to visit Ise who was not at home. I happened to meet Sugi Donpō, and I invited him along to Yanagibashi. Then, with Jisui, we went on to the Mokuboji. We had a few drinks, and after 8 we went back to Ise's house. From there Sugi and I rode in palanquins, each going his separate way, as I returned home.

30 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/22] Fair. I went up to the council chambers after 10, and withdrew at 5. Today the Lord of Chōshū had an engagement at the mansion of the Lord of Awa.⁹ The Lord of Awa had also invited me, so I hastened to the Chōshū mansion from the Palace. By chance I met Yamada at the mansion, discussed Chōshū affairs with him, and had a chance to assess the situation at home. It was by then 7 p.m.; and the Lord had already gone to the Awa mansion; so I followed him there. We all had our drinks in the Three-Story Pavilion. The Lord of Chōfu was present. The party broke up about 10; and I was the last to leave.

31 July 1869 [Meiji 2/6/23] Fair. Miya . . . of Kaga domain came to visit; and we discussed the state of his province at some length. He was one of our loyalist partisans in that province. Uchida Nakanosuke of Satsuma came to discuss the withdrawal of the civil officials on assignment with the central government from his province. Yamanaka Sei'itsu also came to visit, and talked about current affairs for a while. I went up to the council chambers after 11, and withdrew after 6. There was a great deal of opposition today to my view on military reorganization, and on

⁹ Hachisuka Shigetsugu was Lord of Awa in 1869, with his castletown in Tokushima on Shikoku, 256,900 *koku*, *tozama*.

Korea. I did my best to make my case. I am still weakened from my illness, but I must be active on behalf of the several matters which came up today. Rain. Rain in torrents.

1 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/24] Rain. Old Saitō Tokushin paid a visit; and we talked for a while. Inoue Segai came to visit; and he told me that he will go to Yokohama tomorrow and directly from there to Naniwa. Today I talked with him about my purposes; and I explained to him my anxieties about what the future holds for us, as in the letter which I sent to him yesterday. I went up to the council chambers after 11. Once again today we discussed military reorganization; and, although the council disagreed with my views to some extent, I think that we must carry them out to protect the future of the Empire. En route home from the council, I visited Ōmura to talk over our next step in line with the turn events have taken. Next I talked over recent developments with Hōbai as well as the plans of Ōkuma. I have done my utmost for a policy which will maintain our financial position.

(Note) Today Oka Asajirō went to Kosuge province.

2 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/25] Cloudy. Yesterday I had a private admonition from Prince Sanjō, so today I sent a letter to Hirosawa in regard to it. Yoshimatsu Heishirō and Mr. Ise came to visit; Hirosawa also came to talk over the situation. I stayed at home all day.

(Note) Tonight I received a letter from my Lord. Toda of Yamato province came to visit.

3 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/26] Cloudy, light rain. Severe diarrhea several times in the middle of the night left me completely debilitated.¹⁰ I stayed home today to recuperate from my illness. Fukui came to treat me, and gave me the best medical care he could. Ise who stayed overnight left. Inoue Shin'ichirō came with his wife, and our family had a party for him. but I was unable to leave my bed.

An official notice was issued today for the removal of tradesmen's shops in Kudanzaka for the purpose of building a shrine

¹⁰ Possibly the illness from which he suffered at this time and later was amoebic dysentery.

in memory of the war dead.¹¹ The shopkeepers have all complained that this will make their positions impossible. This must be an unbearable situation. When I discussed their problem with Ōmura earlier, I expressed my distaste for making these people undergo such hardships, and there must have been some mistake, so I asked Ōmura to ease their lot by abandoning the removal notification.

(Note) Lord Higashikuze paid me the courtesy of a visit.

4 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/27] Light rain. I stayed home all day to recuperate from my illness. Today I purchased a short sword made by Sadamune¹² through the agency of Mr. Saitō.

5 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/28] Light rain. Yoshimatsu Heishirō came to play *go*. The court physician Itō came to diagnose my illness. Itō studied in Holland for six or seven years before returning to Japan last year. He is said to be the foremost physician of the age. We discussed a number of things. Fukui came again to give me medical treatment.

(Note) This morning Old Saitō came to bid farewell. We drank some saké and talked for a while.

6 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/29] Light rain. Yoshimatsu came over to play *go*. Today I had an appointment with Fukui . . . and I sent people out two or three times to invite . . . but he was not home; so no reply was forthcoming. After all my guests had dispersed at 7, however, Fukui came along with We engaged in a few *go* matches. . . . is said to be the champion player in the region.

¹¹ *Shōkonjo* was the generic name for shrines constructed in several places in honor of the spirits of loyalists who gave their lives for the cause of Imperial Restoration. The one in Tokyo is the Yasukuni shrine. Kido's home in Banchō was nearby; and he probably had personal relationships with the tradesmen who were adversely affected by the location of the shrine. The man with whom Kido discussed the problem, Ōmura, was to be honored with a statue on a towering pedestal at the approach to the shrine. He qualified for this honor when assassins did him in later in 1869 to protest his military modernization program which left no place for the hereditary samurai. Ironically, in the bronze statue, the army modernizer Ōmura is dressed as an old-fashioned two-sworded samurai.

¹² Sadamune is a name borne by two swordmakers of the fourteenth century, one of them active in Yamato province in 1318, the other in Sagami province in 1331. A sword by either was valuable. John Yumoto assigns them values of 145 and 160 respectively on his scale from 5 to 600. (Yumoto, *The Japanese Sword*, 158.)

(Note) Today the shrine in memory of the war dead opened in Kudan at the infantry post; and salutes were fired for several hours starting early in the morning.

7 August 1869 [Meiji 2/6/30] Light rain. A messenger arrived from Prince Sanjō in the morning; and I consented to appear at the council chambers tomorrow. I rested throughout the day to recuperate from my illness. Lord Iwakura had spoken to me earlier about a money matter; and today I made payment through Chūsuke. At night I paid a visit to Old Saitō. As the old gentleman will go up to Osaka on 9 August, I wanted to bid him farewell. We talked for several hours; and he pressed saké onto me. At 10 I returned home; Shintarō also came.

Seventh Month

8 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/1] In the morning, cloudy. Prince Sanjō sent me a note of apology because he had to attend to duties in the Palace early. Hiroosawa and Ōmura came to visit. Hiroosawa had an appointment to go with me to the Chōshū mansion, while Ōmura was en route to the Shrine for the War Dead, where he was to speak.

At 12 noon I went to our mansion where I had an audience with the Lord of Chōshū. We chatted for a while, then I was served tea and cakes, and presented with a gift of money from my Lord's hand. In his inner chamber, or *okōnando*, dressed in traditional court robes called *hitatare*, and wearing the *karasu bōshi* ceremonial hat, I was presented with five *ryō*. En route home I visited Shishidō, whose place was full of guests. I played *go* there with Masaki Kazutomo, and was able to win all of the matches. I reached home at 4, after which we had a light rain. Hashi'ichi came, as did Kawase Sotōe,¹ who talked about matters of local government. I entrusted Hashi'ichi with having Nagayoshi make me a short sword. . . . came, then Mr. Ise. After a few drinks, we lit the lamps, and played *go*. Ise and Hashi'ichi stayed overnight.

9 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/2] Fair. Ōmura came to visit; and after 3 I went to the Shrine for the War Dead with Ōmura and Ise to catch a glimpse of the sumō matches. I happened to meet a student from Yokohama there. After 5 I called at Ōkubo's place, but he was not home. I returned to my home before 7.

10 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/3] Fair. I went up to the council chambers after 10, and there listened to a discussion on reform

¹ This is Kawase Hideji, who made an excellent record in local administration before he was brought into the bureaucracy of the central Home Ministry in 1874, becoming a key adviser to Home Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi, who was in office 1873–1878. For biographical details see the earlier citation on Kawase, on page 199.

of the political structure and of methods of selecting personnel. Much of what was said was contrary to my point of view. I have argued my case often in recent days; but very little of what I have said has gotten through, so I can argue no more.

En route home I stopped at Hirosawa's to discuss several of my ideas. His views are at one with mine on these points. I returned home after 6. Sufu, Mitsuda, and . . . came to talk, and we discussed current developments thoroughly. All of them stayed overnight, and then departed.

11 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/4] Cloudy. At 4 I went up to attend to my official duties, and I returned home after 5. I paid a call on Hirosawa, but he was not home. Ise came to visit, and stayed overnight. Fireworks were set off today at the Shrine to the War Dead, the Shōkonjo. The crowds formed all day and all night; the sound of people's voices did not cease until dawn.

12 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/5] Fair. Yoshimatsu Heishirō came to visit in the morning. Honami came to take back swords by Hidari Kunihiro, and I went up to attend to my official duties at 10.

Today I had an appointment with Ise, so I went to his place, but he had not yet returned. A little rain then fell, so I returned to my house directly from Ise's. My family had gone to Asakusa today with Ise and Hirahara, and had by then returned.

13 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/6] Fair. The heat was intense—the worst of the year. Today His Excellency, the Heir Apparent of Chōshū, paid me the honor of a visit. He arrived before 12, as did the Lord of Chōfu. Yamanaka Sei'itsu and Okudaira Seiko came, as did the following samurai from our domain: Ise, Hirosawa, Sugi, Nakamura, Masaki, and Shishidō. The lady Saitō Kisa and the lady . . . Isamu came. Kisa had been in the Rear Chambers² of the Castle, and Isamu in the New Rear Chambers;³ and they had returned to Tokyo last winter. For the banquet we opened the library. His Excellency returned to the domain mansion after 7; and the Lord of Chōfu went back to his home at the same hour.

² *Onura*. Presumably the lady was a concubine of the Heir Apparent to Chōshū.

³ *Shinonura*.

The guests all dispersed, except for Ise and Seiko who stayed overnight.

14 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/7] Rain, clearing up about 2. I remained home all day. Mitsuda Saburō and Shizuma . . . came. Sugi, Nakamura, and Masaki also came to discuss reform of the domain government. Ōmura came to talk about his personal situation, for a multitude of problems have developed from the recent uproar. Ohara Tesshin came to visit unexpectedly; and Chikushu followed him here. I invited Ise over, therefore; and we had a drink and talked before they left at 11. Ise stayed overnight.

15 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/8] Fair. The heat was sweltering again today; the temperature was said to have reached 98 degrees. I received official notice to go to the Palace at 2. Yamada Ichinojō came to talk; and we discussed recent developments together. I went up to the Palace after 2. His Majesty the Emperor presented me with a sword, and I received an Imperial commendation, as recorded below. Next, in the Musk Chamber, the Jakōma,⁴ I received directly from the hand of Prince Sanjō the official notification of my appointment as a Fellow in the Imperial Academy. I have frequently requested release from my demnading position, and I am delighted to receive it through the grace of His Majesty.

Kido, Fourth Court Rank

For some years you have been engaged in the administration of affairs of state, and have served in responsible positions since the Restoration, assisting Us respectfully, and performing services without parallel. It is Our wish, therefore, to give full recognition to your meritorious deeds, to free you from the exhausting routine of daily work, and to allow you to take leave from your regular office. Your future services will be exceedingly important; for, although we have established our political structure in rough outline, We wish to study further the form the central government should take. We command you to spare no effort in assisting Us to find the ideal form of the state.

Kido, Fourth Court Rank, Junior Grade:

Your appointment as a Fellow of the Imperial

⁴ This was a room in the outer Palace, *Omote Goden*.

Academy is hereby proclaimed. 15 August 1869

In the Imperial presence, I was given a long sword decorated with a crest of chrysanthemums and paulownia.

16 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/9] Fair. I was summoned to the Palace. I have a reputation for being a person who is unlearned and unlettered, one who in fact by nature knows very little. I could not be at ease for a single day in facing the nation if I accepted the title which was offered me yesterday. I have, therefore, on facing reality, for the sake of the nation, prepared a statement of my unsuitability for the post. On account of illness I did not go up to the council chambers today.

17 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/10] Fair. In the morning I had an audience with Prince Sanjō; and I petitioned him for the correction of several undesirable policies presently in force. In them are the seeds of trouble to come. The fundamental source of our problem lies in the fact that the course of the Imperial Government is not yet fixed. It is forever turning right in the morning, then veering left in the evening, so that officials do nothing but fawn upon one another uneasily. I am deeply concerned about our situation. Do I not have reason to worry about whether we shall achieve our purpose of a unified political structure and a consistent policy? I estimate our chances of failure at eight or nine out of ten.

Further, I visited Ōmura to look at the future of the military; and we discussed ways of saving us from some unfortunate present practices. His views accord with mine. We talked for a while, and had a drink. En route home, I stopped in at the Chōshū mansion to bid farewell to Sugi Donpō, returning to the house at 5. Today I had a letter from Lord Tokudaiji, asking me to attend to my official duties. I replied that I could not do so under the present intolerable situation.

18 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/11] Fair. In the morning Yoshimatsu Heishirō came, then Ōshima, then Inoue Inseki. Yoshimatsu and Inoue did not know each other's names. I played *go* with the two of them. Ordinarily Yoshimatsu gives me trouble at the game, but today I had the upper hand. Afterwards we told humorous stories. Torio and Mitsuda came; and Ōkuma and Itō arrived.

We discussed the present situation at great length, all of us expressing our indignation about it before we scattered. Yamanaka Sei'itsu also came by; and it appears that Shiota Kaoru, who used to stop in often, has gone back to his native place without so much as a chat with me. Tonight I had an engagement to go boating. We lit the lamps, and with Fukui I went to Ryōgoku Bridge. A heavy rain then fell, as if it were poured out of a bowl. The sky cleared up, then it rained again, while we were en route to the Seiyūrō. I returned home after 12.

19 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/12] Rain. A summons came to me from the Kanda mansion. I went to the mansion after 4 for an audience with the Lord of Chōshū, and received sakè and food from him, returning home after 7. I sent Kenzō out in connection with the summons day before yesterday for me to come to the Palace. He returned with an official notification which was to have been announced yesterday. According to the orders to me yesterday:

Kido, Fourth Court Rank

Your appointment as Fellow in the Upper Chamber, Imperial Academy, is hereby cancelled; hereafter, you are ordered to serve in the Imperial Academy when there is an official consultation on affairs of state, and to present yourself at the council chambers.

20 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/13] A great many houses were blown over and walls collapsed by the typhoon. It finally quieted down toward evening. Fourteen years ago when I was visiting in Edo a typhoon brought a windstorm without precedent—which overturned houses, stirred up mountainous waves, and brought death to many people. Today's storm was not half so bad as that. Still it was the worst typhoon we have had recently. This morning an Aizu man, . . ., came.

21 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/14] Fair weather. Today I had an appointment to go to Sakurai's; and I invited Inoue Inseki to come along. As we were leaving Old Ise came, so he joined us. Ōmura and Yoshimatsu were present; and we spent several hours playing *go*, drinking sakè, and telling stories. I returned home after 9. Saitō Shinzō, who is leaving tomorrow for his home province,

came to bid me farewell. Torio Koyata, who will command the Seibutai in its return home, also came to bid farewell. I have gotten to know Torio lately; and I have high hopes for his future. Letters came today from Takasugi Kochūta, Kinashi Heinoshin, Makimura Hankurō, my younger sister, and Nomura Hansuke.

22 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/15] Fair. Today our Lord made his departure for Chōshū. After 2 p.m., Hirokawa and I went to Shinagawa post-town for an audience with him, and to bid farewell. I discussed with him several matters which are under his administration; and I returned home after 6. Yesterday Shinagawa Yajirō entrusted me with two swords to be evaluated. Today I had Saitō examine them, but he found them to be inferior.

23 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/16] Fair. Inoue Yakichi⁵ and . . . came. Then Sakuma, Saitō, and Inoue came by; and as I had an appointment with Ise at his place today, I took the three of them along with me to Ise's. Ōmura, had already reached there, and was seated. Yoshimatsu also followed along. We spent the day in relaxed conversation, playing *go*, and drinking saké. At 7 I walked home in the moonlight.

24 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/17] Fair. Tamura Minsuke came. Yesterday Itō sent me a letter; and I intended to visit him today. Before I could go, he came calling on me. We went to Tsukiji together, and dropped in on Ōkuma, with whom we spent the day talking. Nakai was also present. After 7 we moved over to Itō's place. Ise came; and we stayed overnight.

At dawn this morning Prince Sanjō honored me with a visit to tell me that, owing to a number of unpleasant episodes lately, doubts have arisen among the people about the government. Rumors are circulating, and an air of disquiet prevails. I have frequently petitioned for reform of the Imperial Government; but most of my reform proposals have not been adopted. Now it seems that the nobles in charge have finally awakened to the situation. In addition to his visit, Prince Sanjō sent me a letter last night.

⁵ This man was known as Inoue Masaru when he served the government as chief of railway development. See earlier entry for biographical details (p. 154).

25 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/18] Rain. I went home at 12. Today I met Ōshima Jisui at the foot of Ryōgoku Bridge⁶ by appointment; and I met Otama, an old acquaintance of mine. We sailed up the Sumida in two boats, past Hasegawa's house, to the bank by the Mokuboji temple. . . . We spent a long time over drinks; and after 10 p.m. we returned to Ryōgoku. Jisui and I then went to the Hachimanya; and I finally returned home a little before 2. Prince Sanjō sent me a note saying that we should gather at Lord Iwakura's tomorrow at 5 to deal with some urgent business.

26 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/19] Rain. After 5 I went to Iwakura's, where Terashima Tōzō had also come to be present at our meeting. Terashima reported that the foreign ministers entered a protest recently over the counterfeit money which is now in circulation. Our government is supposed to give an answer today; and the government council was convened today to resolve this issue. The matter involves both the Finance Department and the Foreign Affairs Department; and the government is giving the question its undivided attention. I did not have a special opinion to offer today, whereas the Finance and Foreign Affairs Departments do have their views: so I asked to be excused to recuperate from my illness. Prince Sanjō took me to another room where we talked over the current situation. I brought up several matters which I have pushed; and I voiced my concern about the crisis we are now facing. At 10 a.m. I reached home. I had a meal, took my medicine, and recovered a bit. At 5 I visited Gotō; and I returned home at 10 p.m. Minami Teisuke and Inoue Shin'ichi came; and Minami stayed for the night.

27 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/20] Rain. In the morning Ono Sekisai came, as did Yoshimatsu Heishirō. After 5 Itō, Sixth Court Rank, Junior Grade, came to give me medical treatment, as did Fukui. I had an appointment with Ohara Tesshin to go boating

⁶ The Ryōgoku Bridge over the Sumida River was near the geisha quarter which Kido frequented. The bridge was used by the great woodblock artist Hokusai (1760–1849) in several of his prints; and presumably the gently arched bridge supported by wooden pillars is the same one used by Kido to meet his roistering companions and his geisha.

on the Sumida today, but I was unable to go. At night I visited Gotō.

28 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/21] Fair. I presented a petition through Hijikata today, asking permission to go to the hot springs. Inoue, Yoshimatsu, and . . . came to play *go*; and Ōshima and Morikawa came as well. Ōgi could not keep his promise to visit on account of his illness. Everybody left at twilight; and I visited Tanaka, Fifth Court Rank.

(Note) 21st—On this date Murata Shimpachi⁷ and Kuroda Ryōsuke came to visit. We discussed the current situation thoroughly. As I called to mind the past, I had private fears that the old outworn practices of those times are emerging once more.

29 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/22] Fair. Ise came to visit; and Kaburagi Keian came as well. Today I had an enjoyable time with Ohara Tesshin. Ohara is leaving for home tomorrow, so he galloped over here on horseback to bid me farewell. We emptied a few cups of sakè; and he drew four large characters for wind, flowers, snow, and moon, on paper to be framed, doing it in the ecstasy of intoxication. Ōmura also came; then all dispersed at dusk, except for Ise who stayed overnight before leaving.

Yesterday a letter came from Prince Sanjō in regard to his recommendation of Hirosawa for service as Imperial Councilor;⁸ therefore, I visited Hirosawa this morning and told him of Prince Sanjō's intentions in detail.

(Note) Nagai Hizen-no-kami came.

30 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/23] Fair. After 7 I rode my horse to Ohara's, applying the whip the whole way. We emptied several cups of sakè, then parted. I went to Ōmura's to discuss several pending matters, then, on my way home, visited Masaki. I played a *go* match with Yoshimatsu, and returned home after 3. Kawachi

⁷ Murata Shimpachi (1836–1877), Satsuma samurai, was prominent in the Imperial Army's conquest of Mutsu and Dewa provinces during the Boshin War of 1868; and he was given command of Satsuma artillery in 1869. From 1871 to 1873 he was a member of the Iwakura mission to America and Europe, a mission which Kido served as Associate Ambassador; and in 1877 Murata died on Shiroshima, the mountain overlooking Kagoshima in his native Satsuma, as a leader in service of the lost cause of Saigō Takamori.

⁸ *Sangi*.

and Kawano came by to bid farewell; Nawa came to play *go*; and Sufu also came to bid farewell. Nawa and Sufu stayed overnight.

31 August 1869 [Meiji 2/7/24] Rain. I was very ill today, and spent the whole day resting to recuperate. Nawa left at twilight; and Sufu returned to Yokohama this morning. I sent a letter to Itō. With Nawa I talked over Lord Iwakura's disappointment at my leave from office and the matter of finding someone to assist in the future.⁹

1 September 1869 [Meiji 2/7/25] Fair. Hirahara and Aritomi went to the seamen's inn today to be ready to board ship tomorrow. This will be Aritomi's first trip to Ezo. Nawa came by, as did Itakura Chikuzen-no-suke. I knew Itakura seven or eight years ago; and today I talked with him for the first time since then. Fukuba Bunzaburō came to visit. In recent days the Cabinet has been faced with a mountain of problems; and I am deeply concerned about what lies in store for us. My request for permission to visit the hot springs was accepted.

2 September 1869 [Meiji 2/7/26] Cloudy. In the morning I called on Hirosawa, but he was not at home. Today Moridera, a messenger from Prince Sanjō, came. His purpose was to inquire after my health on behalf of the Imperial Court, which has awarded me a grant of 300 *ryō* in gold as a token of sympathy for me in my illness. Also, His Majesty has presented me with a case of superior sakè and a container of live fish.

3 September 1869 [Meiji 2/7/27] Rain. Ise came to visit; and Lord Higashikuze honored me with his visit; Masaki, Nakamura, and Shishidō also came. Itō, Sixth Court Rank, Junior Grade, and Gotō also came. Moridera's letter arrived. After careful investigation the government has reached a new decision in regard to the colonization of Ezo, altering the one which we reached earlier; therefore, I sent my views to Lords Sanjō and Iwakura.

4 September 1869 [Meiji 2/7/28] Fair. Inoue Inseki and

⁹ The meaning of this passage is unclear.

Yoshimatsu Heishirō came. Ōkuma, Moridera, and Tanaka Kuninosuke came to visit, Ōkuma having returned from Yokohama today. Tanaka will leave for Kyoto tomorrow; while Yoshimatsu Heishirō will go back to the home province tomorrow. Ōkuma's visit was related to the dissension over policy recently. This evening I had an appointment with Ise; and I went to his house with Hirosawa. Yamanaka Washizu was already there. We had a few drinks, talked, and the group broke up at 11.

5 September 1869 [Meiji 2/7/29] Fair. Ōkubo came; and I gave him a landscape painting of the Five Sacred Mountains of China¹⁰ as a farewell present. Itakura Chikuzen-no-suke also came here. I called at Ōkuma's place, but he was not at home; so I left a note and departed. I then visited Ōkubo, but he was not home either; so I returned to my place about 12. The government's decision on Ezo has changed again, back to the view which I advocated.

I paid a visit to Mr. Shima a little after 2, but he was not home. I then visited Gotō, who was also absent. Having made an appointment with Ise yesterday, I went to his house; but he had not returned, so I waited for some time. When he came back we went directly to take a boat to the Ariakerō, the Tower of Dawn. Hirosawa came in soon afterwards, accompanied by Aritomi Gembei. We left after 10, Ise for the Shimotani area, and Hirosawa and I taking a boat back to Sujichigai. I reached home after 12.

¹⁰ The most famous of the five mountains is mount T'ai in Shantung province in the east. The others are Mount Hsia in the south, Mount Hua in the west, Mount Heng in the north, and Mount Sung in the center—in Honan province.

Eighth Month

6 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/1] Fair. Mr. Shima came to discuss the development of Ezo; for he is about to go to that region. We said our mutual farewells today. Ōhashi Shinzō also came by as I am to leave for Hakone today. He is deeply concerned about the direction things are taking; and he sought to detain me and to persuade me to make an effort here. I told him why I could not stay now; and we parted on that note.

Saitō Tōyō came to talk. Saitō Shintarō came, bringing a sword made by Unshō.¹ His appearance called to mind times out of my past; and I was deeply moved; therefore, I entrusted the sword to his safekeeping and said farewell. At 4 I left my home to go to the Enryōkan² where Prince Sanjō and others were attending the sumō matches. The competition had not yet concluded; so I left to go on to Shinagawa post-town, and put up at the Matsuokarō, the Tower of Pine Hill. Ise had left Tokyo earlier today to take up his duties; and he was staying at this inn. Inasmuch as the main inn was exceedingly noisy, Ise and I went off to a detached building of the inn to spend the night.

7 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/2] Cloudy. Hirahara Hei'emon and Aritomi Gembei came at dawn. Not a one of the people in attendance on me had yet appeared, therefore, I took Saburō with me and set out with Ise. Toraijō, Seiho, and Kenzō did return to join me. I sent letters off to Hirosawa and Mitford. We stopped to rest at the Umeyashiki, when rain began to fall; so we hired palanquins, and sent our horses back. Sugiyama and Fukui came to travel with us; and we took our noon meal at the

¹ Two swordsmiths name Unshō worked concurrently in Bizen province in 1303. Yumoto assigns a relatively high value of 130 to their swords. (Yumoto, *The Japanese Sword*, 164.)

² The Enryōkan is a mansion at the north gate of the Hama Detached Palace in Tokyo, used for the reception of foreign diplomats.

Fushiya in Kawasaki. After 3 we reached the . . . inn in Kana-gawa, at which time the rain was very heavy. Itō's servant came, bringing my seal to me.

We crossed over the sea to Yokohama, and put up at the Ise-bun for the night. Takada and Itō came by at night. Yamashiroya and Ōsakaya came over, talking all the while.

7 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/2]³ Cloudy. In the morning Itō came; and I paid a visit to Li Ch'u-ch'uan, a Chinese man. I presented him with a framed painting and accompanying information; then we went off to a Chinese restaurant. On returning I took a stroll around the neighborhood. . . . was my guide throughout. Mitsuda, Kawachi, Kawano, Sufu, Kokura, and . . . came to visit me. Ise and I went out to a photography studio; but the hour was too late to have our pictures taken. The two of us visited Itō, then returned to our inn after 10.

8 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/3] Fair. Ise and I hired a horse carriage to take us to Odawara,⁴ having already sent our baggage ahead by palanquin. Only Matatarō and Kisuke among my servants are accompanying me; and I sent Kisuke on to Totsuka last night. Itō came to bid me farewell. Ōkuma was scheduled to come along with me; but he has been so busy with official matters in recent days that I do not want him to accompany me. I must not be swayed by personal feelings in this; it is in the public interest that he stay at his job. I so instructed Itō, then left him. We started off after 4, when I also said my farewells to Hei'emon and Gembei.

The iron bridge which was built on this road recently is the only one of its kind in Japan aside from the Nagasaki iron bridge. We reached Totsuka after 1, took a rest at the Iseya (Saburōbei), and took our noon meal there.⁵ We changed horses, made some

³ Two entries carry the same date, the first year of Meiji, 8th month, 2nd day.

⁴ Odawara was the castletown of the *fudai* daimyō Ōkubo Tadayoshi, whose *han* had been reduced from 113,100 *koku* to 75,000 *koku* after the Meiji Restoration. This was the family which sent Kido the *yuzumochi* rice cakes that evening.

A. B. Mitford, second secretary of the English legation, was less than overwhelmed by the prospect of Odawara when he travelled through the city a few days later, in early October 1869. "A pitiful mean little town it is," wrote Mitford, "with dilapidated houses much needing repair. . . . Poor in appearance as it now is, it still boasts a handsome feudal castle, with tower-cornered walls and a moat, and an official quarter for the dwelling of my lord's chief retainers." (A. B. Mitford, "Wanderings in Japan," *Littell's Living Age*, CXIII [April 6, 1872], 34.)

⁵ Mitford passed through Totsuka "four and twenty miles from Yedo" "on the great

travel preparations, then rode on to Ōiso. Just as the sun was setting, we rode into Umezawa. The time was past 7 p.m. From morning on, all of our horses have been exceedingly gaunt and weak; but we finally made it. We did not experience the pleasure which comes from riding in a swiftly moving carriage. At Tsutaya we took a short rest, had sakè and food, then hired an express palanquin. We reached Odawara at 9, staying at the . . . inn. I was told that a messenger had come in from the Ōkubo family⁶ today to bring me some *yuzumochi*, the citrus-flavored rice cake.

9 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/4] Fair. Last night Nakamura Sei'ichi stayed here in Odawara post-town. We started out before 7; and, when we reached Yumoto, rested at the . . . ya. There I purchased a large tray and some other things. After 11 we arrived at Hatake, and rested at the . . . ya which had served as the official headquarters inn for our *han*.

Today Ise went to the Sōunji temple⁷ to pay his respects before the graves of Hōjō Sōun and others; and I went along. We saw a portrait of Sōun with his utensils for tea ceremony.⁸ This portrait

high-road" on 6 October 1869; and he described the relaxed small-town scene outside his inn that night: "The day's work being over, the country-folk were standing about their doors in picturesque groups—the men for the most part naked to the waist, and fresh from the bath, the women almost always tidy, and sometimes even smart enjoying the cool of evening and chatting away in eager idleness, bestowing little or no notice upon the foreigner, whose presence among them has during the last ten years become a matter of familiarity." (A. B. Mitford, "Wanderings in Japan," *Littell's Living Age*, CXIII [March 16, 1872], 693.)

⁶ The Ōkubo family had by then ceased being daimyō; its head was the Domain Governor.

⁷ Sōun is the Buddhist appellation of Hōjō Nagauji (1432–1519), who conquered Odawara in 1494, and whose family dominated the Kantō from its castle through five generations. A man of obscure origins named Ise Shinkurō, he adopted the Hōjō name to associate himself with the Regents who succeeded the Minamoto Shoguns, ambitious that he might succeed the Ashikaga. Priest Sōun established this temple in his will, under the Rinzaï sect of Zen. Although he "donned the scarf," he "did not lay aside the sword," and continued warfare until he was master of the East. Murder and treachery marked the rise of this self-proclaimed cleric. He killed his own lord to become master of his own army in 1491. He betrayed his friend, the young Lord Ōmori, to take Odawara in 1494, receiving permission to enter the Ōmori domain on a deer hunt. "The hunt turned into a massacre, and the castle was captured," according to Sansom. (Sir George Sansom, *A History of Japan 1334–1615* [Stanford University Press, 1961], 243–245, 253–254.)

Kido's friend Ise might have been worshipping an ancestor or a kinsman in paying his respects at a temple founded by a man once known as Ise Shinkurō.

⁸ This portrait on silk is now an "important cultural property." Tombs of the five Hōjō lords who ruled through the ninety-seven years of the dominance of the Later Hōjō from Odawara are on the temple grounds.

of Soun is the oldest one extant; and it is well worth seeing for the skillful brushwork of the artist and for the expressiveness of the face. Here I said farewell to Ise. In Tokyo he and I saw a good deal of each other; for the old man is one of my oldest and closest friends. On this trip every time we stopped for a short rest, the two of us enjoyed ourselves in battle over the *go* board; and we avoided the usual boredom of travel. Now we have gone our separate ways; but I shall never forget his friendship. From this place I made a right turn to ascend a mountain road which was narrow and dangerous. We arrived at Ashinoyu⁹ after 3 to stay at the Matsudaya in this small mountain village. An old woman named . . . came out to talk; she said that her daughter formerly served at the Sakurada mansion of Chōshū. Lately a great many foreigners have come to take the waters in the hot springs here.

10 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/5] Fair. I went into the hot springs this morning, then took a walk up a mountain path in the area with Fukui and Sugiyama. I picked several kinds of wild flowers; and, when I returned, put them in a vase. The Italian Minister was here to take the waters.¹⁰ Kadota Kakuzaemon came to see me.

11 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/6] Cloudy. Rain started falling at twilight. I stayed at the inn all day.

12 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/7] Wind and rain. We could not go outside. The Englishmen Dunbar and Harrison have come to stay at the inn here; and they requested an interview with me. We talked through the evening. They are with a store at No. 58, Yokohama;¹¹ and their residences are at Yamano'ōban in Yokohama.

13 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/8] Fair. We went hunting today, enlisting seven hunting guides, among them Kōkichi,

⁹ The two hot springs of Ashinoyu contain sulphur; and the water is reputed to be especially efficacious against rheumatic ailments.

¹⁰ V. S. da la Tour served as Italian Minister from 26 June 1867 to 8 November 1870.

¹¹ According to the Yokohama directory for 1869, the owners of the store at No. 58 were Macpherson and Marshall. W. Dunbar was probably an employee.

Shinzō, Shinkichi, and Shigatsuna, from Ninotowara village; but we did not take any game.

14 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/9] Fair. We hired the same hunting guides today as yesterday. Although we stalked several deer today, just as we did yesterday, were unable to take any. Fukui Jundō exerted himself more than anyone else today. All members of our party came along for the hunt, including Matsu and Shōjirō, attended by Kenzō and Mitsumine.

I strolled around the area. The Englishman Dunbar sent me some cakes and candied ginger, or *shōgazuke*.

(Note) An Odawara man named Hiya Atsujirō came over today. Ōmitsu and Hirosawa Tomijirō, both of Aizu, also came; and I invited the two in for a talk at night. They said that they had come to visit the hot springs at the foot of the mountain, and in the end had come on up here. Hirosawa told me that he had met me in Kyoto; but I could not remember it.

14 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/9] [sic] Clear, followed by rain. Today we added two hunting guides to yesterday's contingent, and we started for the mountains at dawn to hunt on Kammurigatake. But clouds came up; and we could not see an inch ahead, so we had to descend the mountain. The Aizu men who were here last night came back with a gift of two domesticated ducks; and we drank and talked for a while. I sent one of the ducks on to the Englishmen.

15 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/10] Rain. Dunbar has also gone out hunting every day; but he has yet to bag any game.

(Note) I sent letters to Tokyo today. I bought some venison to eat with my evening saké; the flavor was excellent.

16 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/11] Light rain. The mist was so heavy throughout the day that one could not see his hand in front of his face. Dunbar and the other Englishman bade me farewell, and descended the mountain.

17 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/12] Weather the same as yesterday. Last night the wind blew very hard, and did not let up this morning. We closed up all the windows and doors, making it

so dark that we could not tell day from night. A man who came from the foot of the mountain told us that there has been no rain two miles [one *ri*] below here. It is only at the top of the mountain that rain has fallen day after day.

18 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/13] Fair. About 10 I went to Hakone; on the way I saw the graves of the Sōga brothers and of the young lady Tora.¹² I worshipped at the Gongen shrine¹³ after 12, then went to Kadota where I took a short rest. The two Englishmen came unannounced, and we took a boat from the rear of Kadota, and sailed around the . . . island, west to Moto-Hakone.¹⁴ Rain began to fall, so I took a bamboo palanquin back to my inn after 6. Today all the other members of my party went into Hakone.

19 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/14] Rain. Ono Tamehachi paid a surprise visit. We talked for a while; and immediately after our interview he left for Tokyo. He said that he had departed from Yamaguchi Castle on 4 September. I entrusted him with a letter to Hirosawa and Nawa, touching on matters which have worried me greatly in recent days.

20 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/15] Cloudy. After 10 Mihara Masa'emon and Yoshimatsu Heishirō paid me a surprise visit. The government has dispatched Mihara to Kurashiki prefecture; and Yoshimatsu is returning home to Chōshū. We had a few

¹² The Sōga brothers were famous for their twelfth-century vendetta against their father's murderer. The younger brother, Tokimune, or Gorō (1174–1193), fled the Gongen shrine to which he had been assigned to train for the priesthood for the purpose of joining his elder brother Sukenari, or Jurō (1172–1193), in exacting vengeance. After waiting for eighteen years, the brothers fell upon their blood enemy, Kudo Suketsune, while the latter was hunting with Shogun Minamoto Yoritomo. Sukenari lost his life in the successful attack on Kudo, while Tokimune was captured and executed. The woman Tora, beneath the third of the moss-covered stones which lie about 500 meters from Ashinoyu on the road to Hakone, was Sukenari's mistress who aided in the plot, and subsequently became a nun.

Yoritomo was said to have admired the boldness of the attack and to have considered sparing the surviving brother, but the Kamakura leader acceded to the demands of Kudo's son for death.

¹³ Gongen shirine, which lies at the foot of Mount Komagatake, was said to have been founded by Priest Manga in 757, dedicated to the spirit of Ningi-no-Mikoto and two others. Minamoto Yoritomo took refuge here after his defeat at Ishibashiyama battlefield near Odawara, in 1180.

¹⁴ Moto-Hakone lies on the southeast side of Lake Ashi, north of Hakone.

drinks and talked; and, since both of them requested my calligraphy, I dashed off some brushwork and gave it to them. They left after 12.

Wanting to see the full moon¹⁵ over the lake at Hakone, I hired some coolies who came here with a bamboo palanquin. At 2 we left Ashinoyu for Hakone, where I put up at the Hōya.

Itō Hōbai wrote me today that the Russians are putting pressure on Ezo. I have long worried about this matter; and I actually turned my hand to the problem last winter. I wrote Itō, therefore, that wise and courageous men have devoted their talents in loyal service to this problem and to the matter of setting up a system of rewards for deserving subjects over many generations. We have, therefore, made a good beginning toward building a foundation for our Empire; but it is up to him and his colleagues to carry on as best they can now that an opportunity presents itself.

Rain fell sporadically. It was overcast throughout the day; and I was unable to see the full moon after all. Rain fell again tonight; and I composed a poem during the evening.

21 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/16] Light rain. I set out down the mountain road for Nirayama to visit Mr. Egawa as well as Kashiwagi Sōzō. Kashiwagi has long been concerned about problems of local administration; and he is an old acquaintance of mine. We were both attendants with the Imperial procession to Tokyo last autumn. But I have never had a chance to talk with him about local administration, so I wanted to spend the evening with him, while I am at leisure, discussing the problem. At 11 we arrived at Mishima post-town where we took the noon meal at the Matsubaya, reaching Nirayama¹⁶ after 3. There I was told that Kashiwagi had left for Tokyo several days ago. We had, in fact, stayed in the same inn at Odawara post-town, at the same

¹⁵ The prettiest full moon of the year is said to be the one which shines on the night of the 15th day of the 8th month. Moon-viewing on that night is a Japanese tradition which is still practiced.

¹⁶ Nirayama had been the seat of government of the *Daikan*, or Intendant, who administered Izu province for the Shogun. The elder Egawa Tarōzaemon held that office in 1853 when Kido came seeking instruction in gunnery: the Chief Administrator of Izu was renowned for his instruction in Western artillery, and he had built a reverberatory furnace at the site. The Egawa Tarōzaemon whom Kido came to visit in 1869 was the son of the famous military modernizer, the elder Egawa having died in 1855. Their house, about 700 years old, was perhaps the oldest private dwelling in Japan.

time, without knowing it. I was also told that Mr. Egawa¹⁷ had gone to Atami recently to try to see me.

Okada Jirō led me to Mr. Egawa's house; and Egawa himself came out to invite me in. His entire family, including his aunt and a younger sister, spared no effort to make me feel welcome at the splendid meal which they prepared. Their frugality and unpretentious style of life is something to see. The father, Egawa Tarōzaemon, was deeply concerned about local administration; and most of those attached to him have followed his wishes.

It was in 1853, the Year of the Ox, that I wanted to investigate the situation around Edo Bay at the time of the American barbarian incident. At the time the Bakufu was suspicious of Chōshū men; and one could not undertake a reconnaissance without Bakufu permission. I disguised myself as Old Egawa's servant, therefore, and accompanied him for several weeks, long enough to discern the gravity of the crisis at Edo Bay. Even Mr. Egawa did not know who I was. He advanced the opinion that forts should be built in Shinagawa; and subsequently the project was realized.

I had heard that Saitō Tōyō's younger sister, Shizu, was to become Okada Jirō's wife; and I observed today that she has already arrived. Shizu also extended warm hospitality to me.

22 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/17] The typhoon which began last night reached its height at dawn. I fear that it will be as bad as the storm of 20 August. After 10 Egawa Tarōzaemon came to visit me, attended by Okada. . . . came to call one after another. I served them saké and food; and we talked about a number of things. The weather cleared up after 10 [sic], and we felt some of the summer heat which had lingered on. After 2 we started out to see the ruins of the old castle of Hōjō Sōun,¹⁸ and to go on to Hirugakojima to see the remains of the home of Minamoto Yoritomo.¹⁹ Egawa and Okada came as far as Hirugakojima with me, and saw me off there.

¹⁷ The younger Mr. Egawa was the person in question.

¹⁸ The main castle of Hōjō Sōun, previously mentioned, was located in Nirayama from 1491 to 1494. Now only the outer wall of the inner citadel and the moat remain.

¹⁹ Hirugakojima was the place of exile for Minamoto Yoritomo (1144–1199) following his narrow escape from execution at the age of eleven in the wake of the Heiji Tumult of 1160. A stone monument on a hill marks the site of the house. From here young Yoritomo corresponded with Kyoto, nurtured his ambition to overthrow the Taira, and finally acted in response to a message from Prince Mochihito, launching the campaign which led to the establishment of the Kamakura Shogunate in 1192.

After 5 I went to Mishima²⁰ to stay at the Kōjiya; in the evening I worshipped at the Myōjin shrine. The main shrine building and all of the other structures are newly built; I was impressed with the clean look about it.

Even when the mountains are not covered by mist, the temperature at the top of the Hakone mountains is much cooler than at their foot. While I was up in the mountains, I was always worried that the rice plants might die from the cold; but recently, when I descended to the base of the mountains, I inspected the rice fields personally; and I was relieved that the weather down here is much different from that at the summit, and that the rice has not died. This is, however, the poorest crop in several years. Moreover, owing to the continuing disorder, prices have naturally shot up. That, combined with the short crop, will bring hardship to our impoverished people.

23 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/18] Fair. I left Mishima at 6. When we went up into the mountains, the clouds and the mist which covered the Hakone peaks closed in on us; consequently, I was unable to roll up the bamboo blinds of my palanquin. I had lunch at Kadota, and returned to Ashinoyu at 2. I was told that rain has fallen in Ashinoyu continuously since morning. In my absence, Ōkubo Shōkan, Elder of Odawara *han*,²¹ and . . . had come.

(Note) Saitō Shintarō came yesterday, and was waiting for me at my inn.

24 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/19] Fair in the morning. After 10 fog enveloped us. I did not feel well in the morning, and stayed in bed. Egawa and Okada came to visit; we had a few drinks and talked. The Englishman Schmidt²² came to talk. At night all left.

25 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/20] Clear, then cloudy. This morning Egawa and Okada bade me farewell, and departed. Seiho came after 3, acting as a guide for Inoue Inseki. Letters arrived from Shōgaku, Shimpo, Kaiō, Kōtō, and Yamada.

²⁰ Mishima is north of Nirayama, and it is the gateway to Izu province.

²¹ *Karō* of the 113,000-*koku han* of the *fudai* daimyō, also named Ōkubo.

²² In the original *katakana* the name appears phonetically as *Shimeji* this time; but subsequently Kido rendered the name in a form approximating Smith. Like many persons hearing names in a foreign language, Kido reproduced such names inexactly.

26 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/21] Cloudy, then light rain, starting and stopping by turns. I paid my respects at the grave of the Sōga brothers with Inseki, Seiho, and Shintarō. Shōjirō accompanied us. The grave of the young lady Tora is next to that of the brothers. We returned to the inn after 4. Moridera Kuni-nosuke came bearing orders from Sanjō; so I led him into my room, and gave a banquet for him tonight, then conferred with him. I accepted the official letter from Sanjō who wants me to return to the capital immediately, because the national government is facing so many difficulties.

(Note) Prince Sanjō made me a present of tea from Kyoto.

27 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/22] Rain. Moridera came to visit at 3. We had some drinks, and conversed.

28 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/23] Rain. This morning I visited Moridera, and saw him off on his return to the capital. Ōshima Jisui came to visit at 3. The Englishman Schmidt is going to Atami tomorrow; and he begged me to let Shōjirō go with him. Schmidt teaches my boy English daily; and I am much obliged to him for his kindness. I decided, therefore, to let Shōjirō go to Atami accompanied by Kichijirō. In fact, Schmidt's request was to take Shōjirō alone; he did not want Kichijirō to go along to attend the boy. This evening I did calligraphy and brush painting with Seiho and Dōun; and I drank and talked with Jisui.

29 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/24] Rain. Shōjirō did not go to Atami on account of the rain. After 12 we all gathered at Ōshima's inn for a few drinks and to talk. Letters came from Segai and Hōbai.

(Note) Ōshima came by to visit in the morning.

30 September 1869 [Meiji 2/8/25] Rain. Shintarō, Kenzō, and Seiho set out this morning in spite of the rain. I entrusted my letters to Segai and Lord Higashikuze to them. I paid a visit to Jisui; and we talked all day. Inseki and Dōun came along with me. Both Ōshima and Moridera have stayed at the Yoshidaya.

1 October 1869 [Meiji 2/8/26] Fair. I hiked through the

nearby mountains with Jisui and Inseki; and Inseki, Matajirō, and I ultimately climbed to the summit of Hatamiya by the lower road, breaking our way through a heavy growth of white miscanthus reeds. From the top we enjoyed a panoramic view from Bōsō²³ to Miura Cape, Kamakura, Enoshima, Magome, Sagawa, and Odawara City. This prospect also commands the best view of Ashinoyu. Jisui was too corpulent to make the climb, so he settled himself in a place with a scenic view and waited for our return, brewing some tea with Dōun. I returned to my inn after 5.

2 October 1869 [Meiji 2/8/27] Fair. At 10 I left Ashinoyu for Miyanoshita. Jisui departed ahead of me for the same destination; and we stayed together at the Naraya. The Naraya is the best inn in the city: the building is refined, its landscape garden is tasteful, and the beauty of the scenery is indescribable. I had a few drinks Jisui, and generally enjoyed myself. Recently I have engaged Jisui in a number of *go* matches, and I have usually won.

3 October 1869 [Meiji 2/8/28] Rain. This morning Jisui took his leave, and departed. I took a stroll around the neighborhood at 12, going to Sokokura and Jōsenji temple—accompanied by Inseki and Dōun. Today each of us produced lines for a Chinese-style *fu* poem on the autumn rains; and the result was excellent verse.

4 October 1869 [Meiji 2/8/29] Rain. Finally after 2 it started to clear up; so I went to Dōjima with some others to see the waterfalls. Dōjima lies in a valley with mountains on the east and the west; and the waterfalls to the right and the left of the valley form a singular spectacle. We stopped to rest at the Ōmiya, had a bath in the hot springs, drank sakè, and enjoyed ourselves. I returned to my inn after 6 when it began to drizzle again. The Ōmiya has just been rebuilt. At the time of the fighting last year in Hakone, eight deserters from the Bakufu army fled to this place;

²³ The Bōsō peninsula lies on the east side of Tokyo Bay. The term Bōsō included Awa and Kazusa provinces; and it makes up the southern part of the present-day Chiba prefecture. In the diary Kido has reversed the *kanji* of the place name to read Bōbo.

and, while they were taking a short rest in the inn, Odawara men shot them to death.

The Englishmen Rickerby,²⁴ Broeschen,²⁵ and Jackson²⁶ of No. 168, Yokohama, came to stay at this inn. They were strangers to the proprietor of the inn; but they sent me a note asking for an interview. I went over to their room, therefore; and they served me sakè and cakes, and gave me a warm welcome. Jackson understands a little Japanese.

²⁴ Charles Rickerby came to Japan in 1862. First he was a banker, in charge of the Yokohama Branch of the Central India Bank. In 1865 he plunged into journalism as editor of *The Japan Times*, which published the writings of Ernest Satow under a *nom de plume*; and he published the *Daily Advertiser* in Yokohama, and sent the *Overland Mail* to Europe. Owing to a lack of tact, he had few subscribers. (Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 431.)

²⁵ This may be H. Broeschen, a clerk with Hecht, Lilienthal and Co., No. 8. The address is not correct, but may be a residence which is separate from the place of business.

²⁶ J. Jackson was Manager of the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank at No. 62, Yokohama.

Ninth Month

5 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/1] Rainstorm, with peals of thunder. I invited the three Englishmen over for dinner after 12. Katō Magodayu, Masaki Gondayu, and Yoshioka Orie of Odawara domain came by, bringing along fresh fish. Yoshioka is the man who joined our party bound for Nirayama the other day. We drank and chatted, and I made a gift of the *Nihon Seiki* (Political History of Japan)¹ to the Governor of Odawara.

The proprietor of the Rainsandō came to visit; and he asked for some of my calligraphy, so I flourished my brush across two or three sheets of paper while feeling the ecstasy of sakè. I presented the results to him, and entrusted him with a letter to Kinashi. A priest from the Sōunji temple also came to visit. This morning I sent a man to Atami to inquire after Shōjirō; he reported back at night that Shōjirō was all right.

(Note) The Englishman Schmidt² sent me a letter along with some sakè and tobacco.

6 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/2] Fair. Because visitors were here continuously yesterday, I was unable to talk with the priest from Sōunji temple; so this morning I invited him to my room and we spent a long time talking and emptying our sakè bowls. Unexpectedly Narazaki Raizō and Katsura Tarō³ came to see me. I

¹ *Nihon Seiki* was a posthumous work, published in 1845, by the loyalist historian Rai Sanyō (1780–1832). As a work which promoted reverence for the Imperial family, it was an appropriate gift from an architect of the Meiji Restoration. The volume covered the reigns of 107 emperors, from Jimmu to Go-Yōzei. It consisted of narrative plus commentary; the style was grand and polished.

² I have not yet established positively the identity of the Schmidt or Smith who kept and tutored Kido's adopted son, Shōjirō. According to the *Japan Herald Directory 1870* (Yokohama, 1870), several Smiths lived in Yokohama. The best guess is that K. E. Schmidt, English legation interpreter, took the eleven-year-old youth under his wing. Another possibility is W. H. Smith, proprietor, Yokohama United Club, at No. 5. Still another is Herbert Smith of Jardine, Matheson & Company, at No. 1.

³ Katsura Tarō (1847–1913) later served as Prime Minister three times, in 1901–1906, 1908–1911, and 1912–1913. The soldier-statesman was a Chōshū samurai who,

detained them here; and this evening we enjoyed ourselves at Dōgashima, hiked through the valley, and went to the Ōmiya where we bathed in the hot springs and had a few drinks. At 7 I returned to my inn.

(Note) The two men brought me a letter entrusted to them by Ōmura, saying that everything is all right in Kyoto. I sent the sakè and cakes which the Englishmen dispatched to me yesterday on to the Odawara men. The wife of the proprietor of the Matsuzakaya in Ashinoyu came to call.

(Note) This evening Kakino Saburō and Hashi'ichi came.

7 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/3] Cloudy. I went with Narazaki and Katsura to the . . . ya in Sokokura to try bathing in the hot springs. I went to Ashinoyu, taking along Matsu and Hashi'ichi; and we braved the rain to return at dusk.

8 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/4] Rain. Narazaki and Katsura made their departure; and they sent me a letter back from Odawara.

9 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/5] Fair. I took everyone with me to Kiga⁴ at 12. The landscape was magnificent; the natural beauty of the mountain pass was like an enchanted land. We went to the Kameya to relax; the hot spring contains iron, said to be very good for my illness. I returned to my inn at 5 in a state of intoxication from sakè. The bath today was most enjoyable.

10 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/6] Fair. I went to Kiga at 11 with Fukui and Inoue, and picked *shibaran*, an orchid-like flower, along the way, returning to my inn at 5. Nagaoka Kenkichi came to visit; and we had a few drinks and a leisurely talk. Kitazawa Orinosuke of Matsushiro domain⁵ sent me a letter, a box of cakes, and an inkstone. He deplors the state of the nation; and he

like Kido, attended the Meirinkan, the domain school. His military career flourished during the War of the Restoration, the Boshin War, in 1868, when he served as a staff officer for the Ōu campaign. At this time, in 1869, he was studying military science in Tokyo under French officers. The following year, 1870, Katsura went to Germany for a three-year study tour. In later life the Chōshū samurai felt indebted to Kido sufficiently to chair the committee which arranged publication of the official biography: Tsumaki Chūta, *Shōgiku Kido den* (2 vols., Tokyo, 1927).

⁴ Kiga is a hot springs resort which lies on the west bank of the Hayakawa River one kilometer northwest of Miyanoshita.

⁵ 100,000 *koku*, *tozama*, Shinano province.

told about the peasant rising in Ueda of Shinano province—which was a passing disturbance. Our destiny hangs in the balance over so many problems that this is not the time for a man to be pursuing the quiet life.

11 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/7] Rain. I hired a bamboo palanquin to go to Kiga with Fukui, and Nagaoka came there afterwards. I wrote a reply to Kitazawa at Kiga, and returned to my inn at 5. The Englishman Mitford, on learning that I was staying here, came to visit; so I ordered sakè and food; and we spent the evening talking.⁶

12 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/8] Fair. I sent Kakino Saburō and another man to Atami to inquire after Shōjirō; and I went to Kiga with Mitford after 10, returning to the inn after 5.⁷ On Mitford's invitation I went to his place to be served some drinks and meat.⁸ He told me many new things about foreign lands; and the conversation lifted my spirits, which have been low during this trip

⁶ Mitford described Miyanoshita as "a most lovely spot lying lost among the hills . . . I never saw a place in such complete repose; when we came upon it not a soul was stirring, not a dog was barking; perhaps rest is part of the cure." After securing a room at Kido's inn, Mitford was relaxing after a bath when the statesman came in from a country walk: "Seeing that my baggage had not yet arrived, he pressed me warmly to go across to his room and dine with him, an invitation which I was glad to accept."

The English diplomat was much taken with Kido's companions: Hashi'ichi the "artist in lacquer" who was "one of the drollest creatures I ever met," Inoue Inseki, "a professor of the game of chequers," and Dr. Fukui Jundō of Satsuma—a medical student of the English Dr. Willis. Kido's wife Matsu did the honors with "ease and grace," thought Mitford. She was "a bonny little lady, though eyes less familiar with the custom than mine would have objected to the disfigurement of shaven eyebrows and blackened teeth." A former geisha, she had "none of the shyness which I have usually met with in Japanese ladies"; and she brought out her *samisen* to accompany her song after dinner. Hashi'ichi provided a flute obligato. (A.B. Mitford, "Wanderings in Japan," *Littell's Living Age*, CXIII [April 6, 1872], 36–37.)

⁷ Kido called Mitford to say he "was off to take his daily bath in the hot iron springs at Kiga, a lovely spot among the mountains, and proposed that I should accompany him that we might make a picnic luncheon together." "On account of the delicate state of his health," Kido was carried "in a litter" open at the sides allowing him to join in conversation with the group accompanying him. Cooks were Dr. Fukui who made a fry of burn-trout, and Hashi'ichi who prepared a "stew," while Mitford furnished pale ale and porter. The afternoon was spent "chiefly discussing politics and application of European principles of government to Japan. Of all subjects this is the favorite among this improvement-seeking people" (*Ibid.*, 38).

⁸ Mitford told the romantic story of Kido's marriage, already in circulation. When Kido was considered active and dangerous, with a price on his head, "this young lady sheltered him and screened him from his enemies, and he fell in love with and married her. A very happy couple they seemed to be" (*Ibid.*, 37).

to the hot springs. Saburō and the other man came back about 8 to report that Shōjirō had left Atami this morning; so they returned after having tried in vain to see him.

13 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/9] Fair. Very warm today. I went to Kiga after 2, taking many people along; and we returned to my inn after 5. I took Inoue Inseki⁹ on this trip with me; and we played several games of *go*. Nagaoka Kenkichi had seen me playing the game frequently, and he sent me this poem in the Chinese *zekku* style as a kind of joke:

Your arms once wielded the long sword to subdue the whales
and the monsters of the sea

When the waters around our sixty provinces were warmed
by spring.

Now that the yellow autumn leaves are mirrored against
white clouds,

You do no more than contest a leisurely game across the
go board.

On reading this I felt ashamed of myself. This evening I joined the others in drinking saké in honor of the Chrysanthemum Festival; and we all talked in a relaxed way about the state of the world.

14 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/10] A light rain in the morning, becoming heavier at dusk. At dawn Kawamura Kenzō came, bringing me an urgent letter from Makimura Hankurō and Kawada Sakama to the effect that eight assassins broke into Ōmura Masujirō's place at Lane No. 3, Kiyamachi, in Kyoto, on the night of 8 October. Shizuma Hikojirō and a certain Adachi, a Kaga man, died in the struggle, while one of Ōmura's servants died the next day, the 9th, and another sustained several wounds. Thanks be to Heaven! Although Ōmura received several serious wounds, it is reported that he is safe. I was shocked at first, then relieved to realize that he is still alive.

Ōmura has recently observed to me that the situation in the

⁹ Mitford described their dedication to the game of *go* on the night of October 12: Kido and "the professor," "heads on hands," were "as completely abstracted from all earthly matters as Buddhists in a state of Nirvana, lost in the solution of some impossible problem in the mysterious game of chequers" (*Ibid.*, 38).

Empire is growing more critical by the day. Most Cabinet members are much too relaxed about it, unwilling to establish a government policy for dealing with it; but Ōmura went up to Kyoto, wanting to bring the lawless situation there under control before he left. Since spring, he has also sought to suppress the disorders in Tōtsugawa, and to arrest the ringleaders of the dissidents. These rascals have contrived to bring about the assassination attempt on Ōmura by circulating many wild rumors about him. Was it not Heaven which assisted Ōmura in escaping from this peril?

Letters arrived from my younger sister¹⁰ and from Terauchi Yōzō. Kashiwagi Sōzō came to visit this evening; and we spent the whole time in relaxed conversation. I heard from him something of the recent situation in Tokyo.

15 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/11] High winds and heavy rain. Kashiwagi said farewell to me on his departure after 10. Yesterday I wrote letters to Hirosawa, Narazaki, Katsura, Nawa, and Moridera, and to Ōmura, Makimura, and Kawada; and this morning I tied them into a bundle and sent them off to Tokyo. We kept the doors and windows closed all day; so that it was just like night in here. I rubbed down my inkstick to try my hand at calligraphy. At night I relaxed over drinks with several people.

16 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/12] Rain in the morning. Clearing a bit after noon. Nagaoka Kenkichi came to talk, and he told me how much we have to worry about the road ahead, before bidding me farewell and making his departure. Last night again I turned my mind to the current state of affairs; and I was so overwhelmed with worry that I could not sleep. I composed a short Chinese poem¹¹:

The wick of a single, lonely lamp casts a flicker of light across
me

As I sit in silence, meditating, overfilled with my emotions.

When I look about me, old friends are nowhere to be seen.

A man does not, after all, attempt to promote his fame.

¹⁰ Kuribara Haruko (1835–1875) was the widowed younger sister whose husband Ryōzō had committed *seppuku* in 1862.

¹¹ Each line consisted of seven syllables.

Through turmoil these many years, the bones of countless comrades lie bleaching.

How often has the scenario in the Palace changed.

The years pass on like the flow of a river never to return,
Yet men struggle for glory as surely as plants compete each
spring for space.

Uneasy is the future of our country in times like these.

And what of the fate of the masses, our thirty million people?

Thus in this grass hut through the night, I lie awake,

Hearing the sound of wind and rain sweep down from the
summit of the mountain.

I went to Kiga after 3 with some other people, and stayed there overnight.

17 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/13] Fair. A hunter who comes by daily brought with him a stag which he had taken. I bought two quarters of it from him. Inoue Inseki and I went up the mountain stream as far as Miyagino. The scenery around the mountain village was magnificent; and the torrent in the mountain stream was spectacular.

Tonight was the night of the later full moon;¹² and the people of this village had made special preparations for moon-viewing tonight, picking flowers, arranging miscanthus reed in vases. To be sure their taste is different from that of city people. The village is famous for its *soba*;¹³ and the proprietor of our inn has often served it. We returned to Kiga at 12, had the noon meal and a few drinks, and entered the hot baths before leaving. I went to the Hatsugetsurō to view the moon from the pavilion with friends; there I composed a Chinese *zekku* poem:

Since autumn began the long dreary rains have fallen continuously,

But tonight the mountain peaks were swept clean of clouds.

Must not Heaven have responded to my heart's desire?

The bright autumn moon has soothed my troubled heart.

18 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/14] I have suffered from my hemorrhoids since this morning, but finally recovered somewhat

¹² The 13th day of the 9th month, by the lunar calendar, was a traditional night for viewing the full moon, second in importance only to the 15th day of the 8th month.

¹³ Buckwheat noodles.

after 2. Still, I could not sit squarely on my seat. Yesterday Kubota Jinshirō and Matsuki Chō'emon came from Odawara Army Headquarters; and they have been asking for an interview with me. I saw them, therefore, and talked for a while between attacks of my illness. Matsuki is a rural samurai of the Hotta domain in Shimōsa province,¹⁴ and he is an unusual man. Hashi'ichi has been in attendance on me, wearing his wooden sword.¹⁵ Matsuki heard about it and begged to see it. So impressed was he with its singularity, that he took off the fittings from the pommel of the sword he was wearing and presented them to Hashi'ichi. His generosity is to be praised. The two men asked me for my calligraphy; and I applied the brush to two half sheets of paper for presentation to them.

This evening I had a few drinks with my friends. By chance two British Army officers, Strong and Hood,¹⁶ as well as Shand¹⁷ of No. 78 (Yokohama) came to the room of Wilkin¹⁸ of No. 3 on the coast; and I asked them to sing us some songs of their own country, so the three men burst into song in unison. They also talked about several things relating to their home country. It was quite a diversion.

19 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/15] Cloudy. Cold wind. Today was the festival of Kumano-no-Gongen at this place.

20 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/16] Fair. After 12 I went to Kiga, and returned to my inn after 5, and there made preparations for my departure. The proprietor of the inn served us food and saké as a token of his best wishes for our safe journey.

21 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/17] Rain in the morning. We

¹⁴ The Hotta family, *fudai* daimyō, ruled over Sakura domain, 110,000 *koku*.

¹⁵ Mitford had noted in his visit of 11 October 1869 that Hashi'ichi carried, in place of a sword, "the wooden beater which his mother had used to pound rice, and which he had decorated with a curious fancy in lacquer, and studded with gold coins." "What need had he to carry a blade?" The artist in lacquer was said to be rich, but he wore a *chōnin* haircut, closely shaven, with a tiny queue brought forward as was customary among artisans. (Mitford, "Wanderings in Japan," 37.)

¹⁶ O. H. Strong, captain; G. Hood, lieutenant, 1st Battalion, 10th Regiment, Yokohama. (*Japan Herald Directory* 1870.)

¹⁷ Alexander Allan Shand was acting manager of the Chartered Merchantile Bank, Yokohama. Later he was consulted by the the Currency Bureau of the Finance Ministry.

¹⁸ A. J. Wilkin was with the firm of Wilkin & Robinson.

set out before 10 just as the weather cleared up; and the proprietor of our inn came out to see us off. We passed through Ōhiradai, took a rest at the Fukuzumi in Dōgasaki, bathed in the hot springs there, and had a few drinks. After 3 we arrived at the Fukuzumi in Yumoto to stay overnight. Yoshioka Orie of Odawara came to visit us; and we held a little party at night. The scenery in the mountains through which we passed on our way here was superb.

22 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/18] Fair. After 12 I went to . . . with my companions to visit the priest of the Sōunji temple. We looked over the paintings and calligraphy in his possession; among them was a scroll by the Priest Ikkyū.¹⁹ Among three poems by Ikkyū, this one was the most unusual, giving us basis enough to imagine what his personality was like. The priest of the temple here served me red bean soup in a bowl decorated with designs of watercress. This bowl has belonged to the temple since the time of Sōun himself; and it is exquisite in its classical elegance.

I returned to my inn at 4, and did several pieces of calligraphy for my own enjoyment. Ōkubo Yaemon, the Elder of Odawara domain, a man whom I often saw in Tokyo, returned from there last night. He had heard that I was staying here, so he came to visit me. The Abbot of the Sōunji also paid me a visit; and, when they came, we drank and talked, with Kyūzō, the proprietor of the inn, attending on us. He told us that he had once devoted himself to the National Learning.²⁰ Everyone asked for my calligraphy; so I dashed off a few examples of it in my intoxicated state. Today the Abbot gave me some *soba* and persimmons; and I gave him a present in return.

23 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/19] Fair. Ōkubo Yaemon came to talk; we drank and played *go*. I took a walk in the neighborhood after 4; and at night the Abbot of the Sōunji came by again. I had some drinks with my friends. Yaemon came after going to Tōnosawa and returning.²¹

¹⁹ Ikkyū (1394–1481) was a Zen priest of the Rinzai Sect, famed for his comic verse. His home temple was the Daitokuji in Kyoto.

²⁰ The “national” scholars had reasserted a native tradition against the Confucian studies which were officially sponsored in the Tokugawa era. *Kokugaku*, or the “National Learning,” produced a revival of Shinto, the native faith, and a great awareness of the ancient prerogatives of the throne. (W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* [Stanford University Press, 1972], 144.)

24 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/20] Fair. We set out from Yumoto before 10. A canal had been dug for irrigation purposes between Yumoto and Sammaibashi, a project undertaken, it is said, during the Bunka era, 1804–1818, to open up the land. The men of those days certainly made a herculean effort—excavating the mountain and drilling through solid rock.

I went to Odawara in the company of Yaemon; and, on the way, paid my respects at the grave of Nakai Hanzō, an Inaba man. Hanzō fled his province for Chōshū at the time of the civil disorders in Inaba. In 1867, the Year of the Hare, I gave him 50 *yen* in gold, and sent him ahead secretly to Kyoto to investigate the situation there so that we might carry out our plans. But I never again saw him. He came to the Kantō, and met an unfortunate death in the Battle of Hakone. His case was a pitiable one indeed!

After 3 Yoshika Orie came to press me to go for a stroll on the beach, so all of us went. Katō Magodayu, Ōkubo Shōkan, Ōkubo Yaemon, Masaki Gondayu, and Nakagaki Saigū had already come there, and hired fishermen to cast their nets. At the second try they caught a large red fish. We had a little saké on the beach. On our way back we stopped at a teahouse and drank together. Nakagaki is a man who enjoys lively discussion. The name of the teahouse was Shūbetsu. I returned to my inn before 10. Magotarō and Saigū came along.

25 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/21] Fair, then cloudy. We left Odawara at 10. Naraya Heiji came this far with us to send me off. Naga, the daughter of Shimizu who has the officially appointed inn for Chōshū here, also came along with us. She has helped us with our arrangements throughout our stay at Miyanoshita. The girl is no more than twelve or thirteen years old.²² We reached Ōiso at 1 p.m., and took our noon meal at the Yamatoya. We arrived at Fujisawa after 7, and stayed at the Fujiya.

26 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/22] Rain. We set out from Fujisawa

²¹ Tōnosawa was another hot spring resort, downriver from Miyanoshita, near Yumoto.

²² This may be the girl whom Mitford observed: Kido's wife Matsu had with her, noted the Englishman, “as companion and playmate a charming little girl about eight or nine years old, whose special function appeared to consist in being petted and stuffed with sweetmeats.” (Mitford, “Adventures in Japan,” 37.)

before 9; and we reached Enoshima after 10, taking a rest at the Ebisuya and worshipping at the shrine.²³ Then we entered the grotto at the rear of the island to view a singular spectacle. Fishermen dived into the sea for abalone and lobster which they asked us to buy. We returned to the Ebisuya and had saké and food, then went to Hasedera and on to Tsurugaoka, at which place we worshipped at the Hachiman shrine²⁴ where I paid my respects to my ancestor²⁵ and to Prince Daitō.²⁶ We passed Asahina Kiri-dōshi, and reached Kanazawa, putting up at the Azumaya. Rain fell all day today; and at 5:30 when we passed through Kamakura the mud on the road was quite deep, so that my attendants had a very hard time.

(Note) Eight or nine years ago when I came to Kanazawa on an outing, the arrangement of the houses was very different from what I had seen before. Today I observed that still more changes have been made. It is difficult to fathom what transformation will next occur in such a world as this.

27 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/23] We left Kanazawa; and I went to the . . . temple with friends after 8. We had a view there of the Eight Scenic Wonders of Kanazawa. The weather was fine today; and the scenery excellent. We reached the Nōmidō, a Nō theatre, then went on to Sugita, and hired a boat to go to. . . . After 2 we arrived in Yokohama, stopping at the . . . ya, then transferring to the Isebun. I went with Schmidt²⁷ and Shōjirō to the . . . ya to talk for a little while. Sugita has a great many plum trees; but

²³ A well-known shrine to Bentei is located on Enoshima.

²⁴ The Hachiman shrine, dedicated to the Emperor Ōjin—God of War, was moved to this location by Minamoto Yoritomo in 1191. It is the shrine to the tutelary deity of the Minamoto clan. Before the shrine stands a huge, aging ginkgo tree which was the site of the assassination of Shōgun Sanetomo in 1219, third in the Minamoto line, and last direct descendant of Yoritomo.

²⁵ *Senkō* 先公 may refer to Ōe Hiromoto (1148–1225), from whom Kido's family claimed descent. Hiromoto, grandson of a court noble, helped Yoritomo found the Kamakura Shogunate. It was Ōe Hiromoto who, as Chief Secretary of the Kumonjo, recommended the system of Constables and Stewards by which Yoritomo maintained order across Japan.

²⁶ Prince Daitō is the priestly name of Prince Morinaga (1308–1335), the son of Emperor Go-Daigo. Like Kido, Morinaga was an Imperial Restoration proponent, though he worked for the Kemmu Restoration of his father in 1333, heading an Imperial expedition east against the Kamakura Shogunate. That was successful, but in 1335 he was defeated by Ashikaga Takauji and executed. As Chief Abbot of the Tendai sect of Buddhism, Morinaga was known by his priestly name Daitō.

²⁷ The mysterious Schmidt of Yokohama I have tentatively identified as K. E. Schmidt, as noted on page 273.

their setting is nothing out of the ordinary. People in this area are rather devious. Several pupils from the School²⁸ came to visit me.

28 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/24] In the morning cloudy, followed by rain. I visited Schmidt at 9, with Endō²⁹ serving as interpreter. Schmidt wants very much to give instruction to Shōjirō, so insistent was he that I found it very difficult to ignore his kind offer. Finally I decided to entrust him to Schmidt for a year, with the proviso that, if I have to leave Tokyo before the year is up, Shōjirō will leave with me. Schmidt agreed to that. I paid a visit to Rickerby at No. 168; but he was not at home. I purchased a carpet in the shop at No. . . . ; and I returned to my inn after 1.

In the evening the students of the School came to talk; and we had a lively discussion, expressing our concern about the calamity which occurred in Kyoto³⁰ and other things which prevent us from establishing a firm central political structure.

(Note) Today Itō and others came to talk unannounced.

29 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/25] Wind and rain. In the morning Ogura and Sufu came to report to me on how critical they feel the situation is. I told them that I am morally bound to do the thing which is best for them personally. Although I may not myself be able to build a satisfactory central political structure, I shall at least be able to call attention to the problem, and get to work on it. It will be no easy task. But when students plunge in recklessly, and blunder, their actions will have unfortunate later consequences; so I do not believe that it is a good policy for them to agitate on behalf of matters which are not their responsibility. Although their intentions are praiseworthy, I cannot permit this; therefore, I calmed them down. Mitsuda, Kawano, Sufu, and . . . left; and Ogura followed a little later.

The naval officer, Hijikata Kenkichi, came to visit; and I heard from him that Watanabe Noboru is staying here. In the evening

²⁸ I think that this is the Naval School, operated by the French.

²⁹ Endō Kinsuke had studied five years in England (1863–1868); undoubtedly he was fluent in English. He was one of the five Chōshū youths who had gone to London surreptitiously in 1863; but, unlike Itō and Inoue who returned within the year, Endō remained to attend to his studies. His most important government position in early Meiji was that of Director of the Mint in Osaka.

³⁰ The calamity referred to is the assassination of Ōmura Masujirō.

I visited Noboru to talk; and the naval officer who is staying at the same inn joined us. After 8 I returned to my inn, and had a few drinks with my comrades. Gotō and Yamashiroya come every day to visit.

30 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/26] Cloudy, then clear. We took the steamship from Yokohama before 9, and reached the landing at the foot of Eidai Bridge after 12. Everyone went ashore; and I happened to meet Nakajimaya, who took good care of our baggage. I then went to the . . . to drink and eat, and returned to my home about 3. Inoue, Fukui, and Hashi'ichi accompanied me; and I paid a visit to Hirosawa at once. A few days ago Merit Awards³¹ were conferred by the Emperor; and I was in the ranks of those commended. Hirosawa accepted the written order and the oral command on my behalf, and he handed over the document to me today. I am deeply moved to be so honored by His Majesty.

I presented my petition on the matter of Merit Awards last year, with the hope that room would be left for meritorious subjects to emerge in generations to come, that the foundation of the Empire might become ever firmer. When we discussed hereditary awards, I made the point that if we limit the strength of our nation with the hereditary system, how can we hope to confront those nations whose power is not limited by this system? How can we maintain the prestige of our Empire in the future? This evil practice would produce stagnation in future generations. I argued the case relentlessly, but my view was not put into effect; and once more today hereditary awards are being made. The abuse which I took during my campaign is indescribable.

The written order and the Emperor's oral commendation to me follow:

Kido Takayoshi, Fourth Court Rank, Junior Grade

You have devoted yourself to the service of the Imperial House for many years. His Majesty is grateful to you; for, having participated in the work of the Council of State from the beginning of 1868, the Year of the Dragon, you have applied yourself early and late to the task of developing the plans which have allowed His Majesty to carry to consummation the great work of the Restoration. In appreciation of your

³¹ *Goshōten* 御賞典.

service, therefore, we shall advance your court rank, and grant you an annual stipend of 1800 *koku*.

September 1869, the Year of the Snake

Council of State

Ōe Ason Takayoshi,³² Fourth Court Rank, Junior Grade
Annual Stipend of 1800 *Koku*

In recognition of your distinguished services this amount will be bestowed upon you and your descendants.

October 1869, the Year of the Snake

Seal, The Council of State

Imperial Seal

Ōe Ason Takayoshi, Fourth Court
Rank, Junior Grade

We confer upon you the Third Court Rank, as proclaimed by Minister of the Right Fujiwara Ason Sanetomi,³³ First Court Rank, Junior Grade, through Fujiwara Ason Toshimasa, Third Court Rank, Junior Grade, Chief Imperial Secretary.

Emperor's Seal affixed over

30 October 1869, the Year of the Snake.

On 3 October 1869 officials of the rank of Imperial Councillor, or *Sangi*, were called before the Throne to be served saké and cake. As I was in Hakone at that time I could not be present. The gold coins, *habutae* silk, and seal case presented to me were accepted for me by Hirosawa, who passed them along.

31 October 1869 [Meiji 2/9/27] Fair. I had visitors all day; and in the midst of receiving them, my toothache became very painful. On account of it, I was unable to go out to my official duties. Masaki and Shishido came, as did Shizuma and Kawano. The latter two are public-spirited men indeed.

1 November 1869 [Meiji 2/9/28] Fair. Hayashi Hanshichi, Inoue Inseki, and Moridera came. After 12 I went to Waka-

³² Ōe is the family name of Kido's ancestor from the court nobility, adopted for use in this document assigning court rank to Kido. *Ason* is a polite term for Imperial subjects who belong to the court nobility.

³³ Sanjō Sanetomi is given the surname of Fujiwara in this document, because he was descended from the Fujiwara. Sanjō means the Fujiwara of "Third Avenue," where the family residence was once located.

bayashi³⁴ to pay my respects to the grave of my late master Yoshida and that of Mr. Kuribara.³⁵ I returned home at 5.

2 November 1869 [Meiji 2/9/29] Cloudy, then light rain. Moridera came. Narazaki Raizō, Katsura Tarō, Okabe Tomitarō, and Sōya Tatsuzō came one after another. Aoki Kenzō and Minami Teisuke also came.

3 November 1869 [Meiji 2/9/30] Rain. Saitō Tōyō and Nagaoka Kaizan came. I did calligraphy for the epilogue which Hankyō had requested; and I wrote letters to my home province of Chōshū and to Kyoto. The other day I started to draft my letter declining my Merit Award Stipend, entrusting the matter to Sugiyama; and today I prepared the final draft. Amano Seisuke came; and I visited Hirosawa at night.

³⁴ Wakabayashi is in the present Setagaya Ward of Tokyo. It is a short walk from the Shōin-Jinja-Mae train station to the shrine where the remains of Yoshida Shōin were buried.

³⁵ The tomb of Kuribara Ryōzō, Kido's brother-in-law, is next to Yoshida's grave; and later the widow Kuribara Haruko, Kido's younger sister, was buried nearby.

Tenth Month

4 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/1] Rain. At 9 I went up to the Palace for an Imperial audience during which I expressed my gratitude to His Majesty. I then entrusted my letter declining the Merit Award Stipend to Hijikata to be reported to the Throne. I withdrew from the Court at 12.

The text of my letter follows:

I am deeply moved to have been raised a rank at Court and to have been granted a stipend by Your Majesty's special favor. Humbly I express my gratitude. I could not be more fortunate—that a subject of little learning such as I should have received such high honors, deeper than the oceans and higher than the mountains, from Your Majesty's hand, for performing such minor services.

Once, your humble subject recalls, Your Majesty proclaimed that Chōshū was innocent of the false charges of treason brought against our domain; and it was as if we had observed the sun emerging after the long night. As I, with due respect, look to the past, I note that so many men worked devotedly for the Imperial cause after 1853, the Year of the Ox, and lost their lives during the time of national turmoil, while I have unexpectedly had the good fortune to survive up to the present, a time when nine out of ten of my comrades lie dead.

I must be thankful, therefore, that I have been able to hold Imperial office, and to participate in the central administration by the favor of Your Majesty, whose line is coeval with Heaven and Earth. All success derives from Your Majesty's powerful spirit, not from my own meager efforts to show loyalty. Your Majesty's magnanimity is beyond the power of a subject to repay; I tremble with fear when I realize how great is my debt to you. I pray, however, that we shall be successful in establishing the fundamental structure of

state in our Divine Land on this occasion which affords opportunity to remake our administration and to replace outworn customs from the past with new practices.

Titles and stipends are important instruments for nurturing men of talent. It is most important to dismiss incompetent officials of high birth and to select able men from obscure stations—and to make certain that no man of talent in the land is not in his proper office. Throughout history men brought up in a life blessed with an abundance of material things have not known the meaning of compassion; they are poorly informed and obstinate.¹ All too frequently men who possess skills and learning fail in spite of their abilities; such men fail because they have not, after all, experienced hardships. This is the fundamental assumption on which I present my views to you.

If I were to accept this stipend, I would be supported in comfort during my lifetime, of course, as would my descendants after me; and there is more than half a chance that they will not become men suited for public service. Indeed, under the new system even the most eminent feudal lords have lost status. As a humble subject I am particularly awed by your orders to me; I request, therefore, that you give instructions for another official consultation in regard to my stipend. Further, I pray that talented men in the Empire will receive their proper rank in the future, and that we may today develop a clear view of the purpose of the Restoration government, that the Imperial prestige may shine across the world for generations to come. As your subject I am loyal as ever.

Respectfully and Sincerely,
Kido Takayoshi

This evening I went to Hirosawa's place where a great many guests had gathered. We drank and talked; and everybody left after 10. Kawamura Kenzō left the capital this morning. The students from Yokohama all came by.²

5 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/2] Rain. Hinoki came by. I went

¹ These ideas are those of the Chinese philosopher Mencius (372–291 B.C.), whose book Kido had read at the Meirinkan, the Chōshū domain school, in his youth.

² These were the dissident Chōshū youths who were attending the French naval school in Yokohama.

to Lord Tōdō's place³ after 2, but he was not home. I then visited Ōkuma, who was ill in bed; and we discussed the current situation for some time, and deplored much of what is going on. I visited Ōkubo's place, but he was not there; then I went to Lord Iwakura's and we talked over the current situation for a little while. Lately so much has happened about which I can hardly bear to talk; I can do no more than grieve about it. I returned home after 8.

6 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/3] Cloudy. I took my whole family to Somei; Inoue and Fukui came along with us, as did Saitō's wife. It was a very pleasant occasion. We returned to our place at 7.

7 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/4] Rain. I went to the Chōshū mansion at Kandabashi to visit Shishido, Aoki, and Masaki. Finally I found Masaki; and we had a few drinks and talked. I returned to my home at 7.

8 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/5] Rain. I stayed home all day. Ōta Genji came; and we talked about the problem of Moridera. Ōshima Jisui came to visit; our discussion centered on the current situation.

9 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/6] Rain in the morning, then clear. Saitō Sōnoshin's son Rokurō came by; Sōnoshin was an old friend who died six years ago, according to his son. Tanaka Rentarō came; Nagamatsu Bunsuke and Ono Sekisai did as well, then Okabe Tomitarō and Murai Jirō. I visited Ōki at 2, but he was not home. I went on to Sakuma's; and he happened to have guests at his house. I talked with them for a while, then returned home as night came on.

10 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/7] Fair. Hirosawa came to visit. I had an appointment with Masaki and Shishido today; so I dispatched a note asking if the others had come yet. In his reply

³ Tōdō is probably Tōdō Takakiyo (1837–1889), who was Lord of Tsu domain, then in 1869 Governor. There is irony in the fact that in 1864 he led the successful defense of Hamaguri Gate against the Chōshū attack on the Imperial Palace in Kyoto, an incident which sent Kido into hiding.

Masaki mentioned that Mihori had arrived last night; hence, I went to the Chōshū mansion about 10 to meet my compatriots. Mihori had gone to Hong Kong, but, becoming ill, had had to return to Japan. He says that he intends to go back there soon. After the meeting I returned home. A little after 3 Masaki, Mihori, Shishido, and Hinoki came by; and Inoue Yakichi, who left our home province of Chōshū last month, came to talk. All of us had some drinks; and Wakuni . . . came to play the samisen. Hiro-sawa also came over; everyone left at 10.

11 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/8] Fair. Ōshima came to visit, as did Mihori. We talked about current affairs at home and the situation abroad. After 2 I paid visits to Funakoshi and Hirosawa, but neither was in. Inoue Inseki came, as did Hayashi Hanshichi. We talked over the past, and worried together about the future. Before we realized it the time was past midnight, so Hayashi stayed overnight.

12 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/9] Fair. I talked with Hayashi until 12. Narazaki, Katsura, and Sōya came to visit me, reporting that they will go to the French School in Yokohama tomorrow. I had an appointment with Ōki this evening, but visited him this afternoon at 3. We discussed current affairs, worried about the situation generally, and had some drinks, before we left his place at 7. Ōki came to Tokyo together with me last summer at the time of the decision to make it the capital. Moreover, we both attended on the Emperor during his journey to Tokyo; and he has become my good friend in the past year.

13 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/10] Fair. In the morning Funakoshi came to talk about the worsening of the crisis which threatens us at present. He applies himself diligently at the War Ministry, indeed. Inevitably I talked with him about the measures which I had planned with Ōmura last year; and both of us spent some time deploring the tragic turn events have taken. He left at noon. Nagayasu Wasō, who is here from Naniwa, paid a visit; and we received a substantial amount of money from him.⁴ About 2

⁴ Nagayasu was an official of the Finance Ministry, so the payment was probably some official disbursement of funds to Chōshū domain, or to Kido.

I went to the Tsūshima mansion to visit Ōshima, and I met the Governor of Tsūshima as well. I drank with him, talked with Ōshima, and returned home about 10. Last night a letter arrived from Yamada Ichinojō, who says that the reform of the political structure in our province is proceeding satisfactorily.

14 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/11] Cloudy. I had an engagement with Tanaka Rentarō today, and took a boat with Dōrin and Seiho to a villa at Hashiba. It belongs to Rentarō's younger brother. . . . Ōshima Jisui was also there; and Seiko came. We enjoyed ourselves with painting and calligraphy, as well as sakè, through the day; two geisha from Yanagibashi came in to help serve the drinks. The party broke up after 10; and we took a boat back, and tied up at Ushigome. I returned here at midnight.

15 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/12] Fair. In the morning Nakajima Naotō came to visit. After 2 I went to the Chōshū mansion at Kandabashi to visit Masaki, Shishido, and Aoki, but none of them was there. Inoue Yakichi happened to be in Masaki's residence, so I talked with him for a while. Saitō Eizō came to Masaki's; we talked, broke out the sakè, and I returned home after 5.

16 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/13] Cloudy. Itō Hōbai came to talk, as did Masaki and Mihori. I had an appointment with Hijikata, and went to visit him after 4. We had a few drinks and spent a long time gloomily pondering over the present situation. There are so many disquieting matters; and we can only deplore the direction things are taking.

17 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/14] Rainstorm. In the morning Ōshima Jisui came. The Cabinet does not understand the depth of the relationship between Tsūshima and Korea. I cannot begin to describe the troubles I have had over this matter since last year; so day before yesterday I had Hayashi Hanshichi present my views on it to Lord Iwakura. Today Hayashi returned with a reply.

A letter came from Old Ise, containing a report of the investigation in Takamatsu⁵ into the assassination of Matsuzaki Jūemon,

⁵ Castletown of a daimyō in Sanuki province on Shikoku, 120,000 *koku*, status *kamon*.

a longtime loyalist of that domain. Matsuzaki came to see me at the beginning of summer, deploring the trend of the times, concerned as he was about the conservatism in his domain and the presence of so many plotters there. This incident and the one involving Ōmura are too outrageous to imagine. I can only gnash my teeth with rage.

18 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/15] Mihori came last night to stay over. I paid a visit to Ōkubo, then I went to Itō's place. This evening I had an engagement with Ohara Tesshin; and we went to Tsukiji by boat. I invited Itō to join us to cruise around the bay to view the moon. It was a beautiful night, indeed. Then we all went to the hotel to dine. The people who sat at my table were two Aizu men, Kishi and Wada, a certain Mr. Satō, Seiho, Sugiyama, and Fukui. The sumō wrestler Kimenyama was also at the table; and after dinner everyone did some ink painting and calligraphy. The attendant of Ohara, the sumō wrestler, asked for some of my calligraphy; therefore, with a flourish of the brush, I did a thirty-one-syllable *tanka* poem in humorous vein for him:

The people of this world play their own game of sumō.

The real victors in this struggle are not necessarily those who win the match.

We left the hotel about 10; and Ohara and I went to Itō's to stay overnight.

19 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/16] Fair. From Itō's house, I went to Ōkuma's. We discussed the current situation, and both of us deplored what is happening. At twilight I returned to Itō's house again, and stayed overnight. Mihori also came to stay; and, as good friends, we gathered to talk and laugh.

20 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/17] Fair. A very strong wind. I paid a visit to Ōkubo at 10, and spent several hours discussing matters with him, leaving about 2. I wrote letters to the Kyoto area. To Ōkubo I talked some about the matter of Mihori's going to the Occident. Inoue Shin'ichirō came to ask me to meet Murase Kiyoshi, a samurai of the domain of Satake.⁶ I consented to do so.

⁶ The Satake family served as daimyō of Kubota *han* in Dewa province, 205,800 *koku*, *tozama*.

21 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/18] Fair. In the morning Murase Kiyoshi came to talk to me about the situation in his home province; and he begged me to meet with the Governor of Kubota. I felt obliged to agree; and I promised to go to their mansion tonight. Ōshima Jisui came, as did Shimomura Keitarō and Nakamura Kanjirō of Tosa domain. We discussed the current situation for a long time. I went to the Kanda mansion where I met Mihori; and we talked briefly without bothering to sit down. From there I went directly to the Tsūshima mansion to meet Ōshima; and I talked with him for a while. Today the Governor of Tsūshima was going to the Imado area to enjoy himself; and he urged me to come along. First, though, I went to the Satake family mansion to meet with the Governor of Kubota. We talked about current happenings; he told me about his domain and I responded with my views; but we never did touch on the matter of the government of his domain. Ōshima and I hired a boat before 5 to go to Imado. The Governor of Tsūshima was already there. We drank sakē, told stories, and joked along; I had a very enjoyable time. I returned home after 4.

22 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/19] Fair. In the morning Mihori came; and we went together to the Kanda mansion where we talked with Shishido, Masaki, and Aoki. I returned home at 6.

23 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/20] Cloudy. I paid a visit to the English Minister, but he was out. I did call on Mitford and talk with him for a while, then left. I worshipped at the Jimmyō shrine, and went to the Tosa mansion to see Shimomura Keitarō and Mōri Kyōsuke, but neither was there. I then went to the Kanda mansion of Chōshū where I met and talked with Masaki. I returned home after 7. The following official reply was given to my refusal to accept the Merit Award Stipend the other day; therefore, I submitted a second letter declining the pension on 20 November. [Here about eighty-two lines are blank in the original diary, reserved for the document, which was never transcribed.]

24 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/21] Last night, rain; this morning, fair. Nagayasu Wasō came. Ōshima came to visit, as did

Hijikata. After 2 I went to Hakozaki⁷ to visit Lord Yōdō. Sasaki Sanshirō and Hijikata were also present. I saw the Lord's newly constructed library, and thought that it was well planned. We drank for hours; and I returned home after 10.

25 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/22] Fair. The Lord of Tsūshima and I went to Mitford's place where we engaged in small talk for several hours. Mitford served us Western food. Adams⁸ dined with us; and Ōshima and Morikawa were at the table as well. We then visited the English Minister after 3 to talk for a while. He took us for a stroll in the garden of his mansion; and he showed us his stable of horses, as well as the cavalry unit. It was already 7 when I returned home.

(Note) Hayashi Hanshichi and Yamada Ichinojō came.

26 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/23] Fair. I invited over a group of artists who had contributed to Seiho's exhibition. Taizan, Gako, Yukie, Seiko, Ryūtō, Tōyō, Dōun, and Inseki came.

The Governor of Tsūshima came over looking for me; and Ōshima came as well. We had some drinks, did paintings and calligraphy, and enjoyed ourselves. Everyone left around 10.

(Note) Masaki came in the morning. Nomura Kōtō and Miyoshi came; but they left because my house was crowded with visitors.

27 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/24] Cloudy, with light rain. I sent a letter to Inoue Manta by the hand of Inoue Yakichi. The Empress has arrived in Tokyo today. Nomura Wasaku, Kōtō Jirōsuke, and Miyoshi Guntarō came to tell me about the situation in our home province of Chōshū. It seems that more of the people there have an understanding of things now than last year. By contrast the situation in the central government is enough to make me explode. There are many instances of this in history.⁹ I can only shake my head.

28 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/25] Fair. In the morning

⁷ Hakozaki-chō in Tokyo lies near the mouth of the Sumida River on the west bank of Tokyo Bay.

⁸ Francis Ottiwell Adams, an official in the English legation.

⁹ Kido implies that people in the localities are more prescient than the leaders of the central government, or that the lower classes know more than those above them.

Ōshima came to visit, and he told me that the Governor of Tsūshima had an appointment to call at the Tosa mansion in Hakozaki today. Hearing of this, I went to Hakozaki at 4 after visiting Aoki in the Kanda mansion of Chōshū at 2 for a short talk. Everybody left the Tosa mansion about 12.

29 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/26] Fair. In the morning Sasaki Sanshirō came to visit us. Lord Yōdō was supposed to visit him today; and he extended an invitation to me also; so I went to Sasaki's house at 4, returning home at 11. Nagamatsu came to visit today. We had an autumn shower about 2. Kawase came to stay overnight.

30 November 1869 [Meiji 2/10/27] Fair. Sugi Enson, who left Chōshū on 23 November, arrived in Tokyo yesterday, and came to see me this morning. We went to Asakusa together to take a walk around the area; and we had some food and drink at the Hiyoshiya at Okuyama. We went on to Azumabashi, and hired a boat to take us to Nihonbashi, where we had dinner at the Sakura'an, then separated. I went to Itō's house in Tsukiji to stay overnight.

1 December 1869 [Meiji 2/10/28] Fair. Yamaguchi Hanzō came to talk; so we went to Ōkuma's place together, and spent the day in conversation. I returned home after 5. Letters came in from Yamanaka Sei'itsu and Izuchi Innosuke from Ishimaki prefecture.¹⁰ Letters came from Hayashi Makita and Yokoyama Ikuta. I was presented with a formal court dress and hat by the Emperor.

2 December 1869 [Meiji 2/10/29] Fair. I went to the Kanda mansion at 2 to see Shishido. Masaki was at his post there, so I went with Masaki to his own house. On the urging of Mihori, Nomura, Kōtō, and Miyoshi, I took a boat from Gokokubashi to the Fukagawa mansion to visit Maebara. Hirokawa was already there. We drank and talked far into the night—when unable to bear sitting longer, I slipped out alone, and returned home at 10.

¹⁰ Ishimaki prefecture was later incorporated into present-day Fukushima prefecture.

Eleventh Month

3 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/1] First Day, the Month of Frost.

Fair. Because of my illness I did not go out to the Palace today. Food and sakè from the Empress were served in the Fukiage Palace there. As I could not attend, the Minister of the Imperial Household sent some of the cuisine to my house; and tonight the members of my family all gathered in gratitude to partake of it. Katō Minoru also came.

4 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/2] Fair. I had an appointment with Ohara today; and we met together at the tea pavilion in the Shiba temple.¹ The style of its garden is superb. We looked at a number of scrolls of old brush paintings and calligraphy. Sugi Donpō accompanied me today. Other guests were Senju . . . of Hizen, Sugiura, Sonoda Tamotsu of Hyōgō, and several other members of the National Assembly, the *Shūgi'in*,² all joining in the drinking. We had a lively party. The Abbot of this temple was born in Chōshū. At 11, intoxicated, I hurried my palanquin home; and Sugi came with me to stay overnight. Among the landscapes we saw today was one by Yoneshige; I seemed to be the only one who appreciated the exquisite quality of his painting.

5 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/3] Fair. The cold penetrated to

¹ The temple is the Zōjōji, a Pure Land Sect temple founded in 1393, notable for its red lacquered main gate which stands two stories high in the Shiba section of modern Minato Ward, Tokyo.

² *Shūgi'in* was the name applied after 16 August 1869 to the assembly of appointed representatives of the domains and prefectures. The legislative body was the successor to, and more limited in its powers than, the *Kōgishō*, or National Deliberative Assembly, which was established on 3 January 1868. In the *Shūgi'in* proposals had to be made by the Council of State, not introduced by members as had been true earlier; the assembly was more an advisory organ than a legislature. It was the product of a radical government restructuring after the daimyō surrender of their domains. Sessions of the body were held from October 1869 to January 1870. (Ishii Ryōsuke, *Japanese Legislation in the Meiji Era*, tr. by William B. Chambliss [Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1958], 151-152; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, 21.)

the bone. Sugi left after 12; but I stayed home all day. At night I talked with Fukui and Nishijima. This morning Ogasawara, the Chief Councilor³ of Fukui domain, came by.

6 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/4] Weather the same as yesterday. Ōshima Tomonojō came to visit. About 3 I went to Nagamatsu Bunsuke's,⁴ but he was not home. I visited Iwaya Yukiya; then Nagamatsu, having returned to his house, came to Iwaya's looking for me, so we returned to Nagamatsu's together. Hayashi Hanshichi also came to visit. We drank and discussed the current situation for several hours. As Hayashi leaves for Kyoto presently, he came to make a farewell call on me. I entrusted my request to be allowed to go to Yokohama with Nagamatsu, then left. Kōtō⁵ came to my house to stay overnight.

(Note) Mihori Kōsuke, Minami Teisuke, and Nomura Seinosuke came to talk.

7 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/5] Fair. In the morning Saitō came to talk. Kōtō and I ate together and talked. At 11 I went out to visit Hashi'ichi; later, . . . called, and, on learning of my visit to Hashi'ichi, he came to visit; and we looked at several scrolls of painting and calligraphy, he brewed tea for us, served saké, then provided a lavish spread of food for us. He had awaited my visit for some time; for he has just built a new ceremonial toilette known as *setchin* next to his tea ceremony pavilion. He entertained in splendid style.

I then visited Tanaka, an Owari man, but he was not at home. I called on Itō Hōbai; but he was not home either. He did come back at twilight; and we drank and talked. I happened to see Sufu Kanazuchi and Tanaka. We took a stroll at 9 to visit Inoue Shin'ichirō with whom we drank and talked. After 11 we returned to Itō's house; and I stayed overnight.

³ *Daisanji* 大参事.

⁴ Nagamatsu Bunsuke (1834–1893) was a Chōshū loyalist who had a literary reputation. He took part in the fighting against the foreign powers at Shimonoseki in 1864. It was he who kept the official journal of the Battle of Fushimi, 25 January 1868, when the Imperial armies won their first notable victory over pro-Tokugawa forces. Earlier in 1869 he had attended the Emperor in his travels; and at this time Nagamatsu was an official in the *Giseikan*, the administrative office. Later he served as Chief of the History Section, Historiographic Bureau.

⁵ Kōtō was an artist who was befriended by Kido. This is not Ōkubo Toshimichi, whose pen name was also Kōtō, but written with different *kanji*.

8 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/6] Fair. Today I had an appointment for a farewell party for Mihori; so Hōbai and I took a boat from Tsukiji to the Hirakiyōrō in Fukagawa. Guests were very numerous; and more than ten geisha attended on us. We sang, recited poetry, danced, and did calligraphy. After 10 Hōbai and I quietly invited Omatsu and Ohama to slip away from the party with us. We took a boat to Tsukiji, and stayed there overnight.

I did a farewell poem for Mihori with the four large characters for: "A strong wind may be felt 10,000 miles away."⁶ On the same scroll I wrote the following in a humorous vein, just as the words came out of my mouth: "What then is this Europe? you may ask. It is just that we have slept late into the morning. Satiated now with sleep, we are almost ready to arise; yet immature girls and boys are entangled about our sleeves and undergarments. Alas!"⁷ I wrote this nonsense for amusement while intoxicated.

(Note) Today I visited Nagamatsu to ask him to try to get the permission for my visit to Yokohama issued promptly. From time to time of late I have been adminished to attend to official business at the council chambers. Since the beginning of the year I have been upset by the changeableness of many of the men in power. I do not wish to sit with such officials of the Imperial Government with a triumphant air when our purpose has not yet been achieved. I have been in a quandary over this situation; and I expect to take every possible step in defense of my policy.

9 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/7] Fair. In the morning Ōkuma and Yamaguchi came to visit. At 11 I returned home; and Ōkubo had returned my sketchbook and scroll. Nagayasu sent me a scroll by Chinzan. I did receive permission to go to Yokohama today; and at dusk I went by the Chōshū mansion, but everyone was gone, so I returned directly home. At night I wrote letters to Sugi, Hijikata,⁸ and Etō. I wrote to Hijikata in a spirit of the utmost sincerity to ask him to arrange for my retirement to private life.

(Note) Today I saw Etō unexpectedly.

⁶ *Chōfū Banri* 長風萬里.

⁷ Although the Meiji leaders were belatedly ready to modernize, they were held back by immature dissidents of the era.

⁸ Hijikata Hisamoto (1833–1918) was Chief Imperial Secretary, *Daibenji*, at this point. A Tosa loyalist, he accompanied the seven radical court nobles who fled Kyoto for Mitajiri in Chōshū in 1863, and there he probably first met Kido. Sanjō Sanetomi, one of the seven, came to trust Hijikata, and appointed him to several responsible positions in the early Meiji government, including this one.

10 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/8] Fair. I went to Itō's in Tsukiji at 9, hired a carriage there, left Tsukiji at 11, and was in Yokohama before 3. I took a room at Nakazawaya Gobei's. I went to Nakano Kōtarō's, but he was not home. I met Endō at the trading firm, and returned to my inn at twilight. Old Takasugi⁹ and Shinagawa Yajirō¹⁰ paid me a surprise visit; and I was informed that our Old Lord has postponed his trip to Tokyo. They also brought me up to date on the situation in our province. Further, I heard from Yajirō about recent sentiment in Hizen, and of the state of affairs in Satsuma. Tonight I had promised to go to Endō's inn; and Hayashi Hanshichi came to visit, as did Nakano Kannosuke soon afterwards. We had a few drinks and talked. The two of them are leaving for Kyoto tomorrow. By the time I returned to my inn, it was already 12 midnight.

11 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/9] Fair. I visited Old Takasugi, and talked with Shinagawa for a bit. They are leaving for Tokyo this morning. I visited Nakano Kōtarō after 9, and talked with him for a while. Then I went to the Yamashiroya to meet Yatani Tōta for a talk. As I had an appointment with Schmidt¹¹ at 12, I went to the English consulate. We talked for a long time; and he served me an elaborate Western dinner. I left after 2 to visit Yamaguchi Hanzō with whom I talked for a while. He told me about the rumor that the Mint in Naniwa has burned. When 3

⁹ Presumably he was the father of the late Takasugi Shinsaku.

¹⁰ Shinagawa Yajirō (1843–1900) was one of the younger protégés of Kido among Chōshū samurai. Out of the *ashigaru* class, Shinagawa had studied with Yoshida Shōin in 1857; and the disciple's portrait hangs in the Shōka Sonjuku as one of ten outstanding students of the teacher of Emperor loyalism. In 1862 the radical young Shinagawa took part in the attack on the English legation. In 1868 he participated in the Ōu military campaign in northern Honshu. Shortly after he met Kido on the date of this diary entry Shinagawa became an Assistant Inspector for the Board of Censors, *Danjō Shōchū*. The *Danjōdai*, or Board of Censors, bore an eighth-century name; and its emissaries to the domains and prefectures had the power to impeach local officials who acted in a high-handed manner. The inspectors could also remove officials of the central government.

In 1870 Shinagawa went to observe the Franco-Prussian War, and he stayed on in Berlin as a student and legation official until 1876, years during which he often sent Kido advice from the West. He was responsible for employment of the German agricultural economist Paul Mayet, who played a major role in modernizing the agricultural sector under the Home Ministry. When Shinagawa became Home Minister in the first Matsukata Cabinet (1891–1892), however, he gained notoriety for his open intervention in the election of 1892 on behalf of government candidates.

¹¹ K. E. Schmidt, Interpreter and Assistant at the English consulate. See note on page 273.

p.m. came, it was time for Hanzō to go aboard ship; so we said our farewells. I went to Kyūichi's Photography Studio to have my picture taken with Shōjirō and my attendants. I returned to my inn at dusk, then a letter came from Sugi Magoshichirō. I wrote him a reply, and sent it by express messenger. Daikokuya Teijirō came; and we drank and talked.

12 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/10] Fair. In the morning Sufu, Narazaki, and Katsura came to visit. We saw some paintings and calligraphy after 10 on the invitation of Teijirō. En route there I happened to meet Minami Teisuke and a student of the Military Academy.¹² Teisuke and I paid a visit to the English Minister after 2, but he was not in. We met . . . and left. I then called on Endō. The proprietor of Endō's inn, Suzukiya, had built a tearoom; and he had prepared it for the first ceremony today, inviting me to be the first to enter the room. Minami accompanied me there. We had a few drinks, talked, then left. I moved over to the Hizenya inn at Motochō¹³ today. This morning Endō and Suida came to visit me; and as Suida was going to Tokyo today, I entrusted him with my letters to Itō, Hijikata, Nagamatsu, and Ōshima.

13 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/11] Fair. In the morning I went to the photographers. Kashima Shōemon came here today; and after 2 I went to visit Shand¹⁴ at the foreign money exchange at No. 78; I had met him at Miyanoshita. At the entrance of the exchange I happened to meet Lowder. After 4 I returned to my inn. Mihori came in from Tokyo, and brought me a letter from Inoue Segai. Tonight I had an appointment with Lowder, so I went to the consulate at 6. . . . was present; . . . also came.

¹² The *Hei Gakkō* about which Kido wrote was probably the Military Academy which Ōmura Masujirō had established in Kyoto in 1868, employing *Bakufu* officers trained by the French as teachers. The school was moved to Osaka in 1869, and on to Tokyo in 1871. (Ernst L. Pressiessen, *Before Aggression: Europeans Prepare the Japanese Army* [Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1965], 26, 33.)

¹³ Motochō is today's Motomachi, the bustling shopping center of Yokohama. As the second *kanji* in the combination Kido used an ideograph which does not ordinarily have the *kun* reading of *machi*, hence I have rendered it Motochō.

¹⁴ Although Kido has left a blank space for the name in the diary, I have supplied it because, during his vacation at Ashinoyu and Miyanoshita in the fall, Kido had met Alexander Allan Shand, Acting Manager, Chartered Mercantile Bank, No. 78, Yokohama. (*Japan Herald Directory 1870*.)

We dined together; and on the way back . . . and I visited Minami Teisuke. I returned to my inn at 11.

The rumor that the Osaka Mint had burned has been in circulation for several days; and today for the first time we heard a confirmation. Kashima has been informed of Ōmura's condition in Osaka; and he told me that it is not known whether Ōmura will live or die. Involuntarily I let out a long sigh. Ōmura and I have been working together on a matter since the beginning of the year; indeed, last year we played a major role in the decision for a master policy for the future.¹⁵ Ōmura is courageous, and kind as well; and his kindness is never the sort which leads to deviousness. I now realize that he is an invaluable friend, and that our friendship has become exceedingly close. We have both been deeply concerned about the future; and we have developed many plans for dealing with it. Hearing of his condition today, I was in despair, and the tears flowed in spite of myself. In my dreams tonight I talked with Ōmura several times; and, when I awakened, my grief returned. The intensity of my emotions is beyond description.

Kōsuke went to Osaka tonight; I entrusted my letters for Ōmura and Inoue to him.

14 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/12] Cloudy. Today was the death anniversary of my elder sister.¹⁶ Mihori moved over to the Iseden inn today. I went to . . . after 11, and purchased a number of things, then returned to my inn at 2. Mihori, Minami, and Endō came to visit me; and we went to a Western store where I bought some clothes. At night Mihori, Minami, and I went to some Western shops, walked around downtown, and returned to our inns about 8. I met Naraya Heiji of Miyanoshita unexpectedly.

At 11 at night I heard a knock at my door; and Miyake Yōsuke was there. He brought me a letter from Yamada Ichinojō, Funakoshi Yōnosuke,¹⁷ and Kawada Sakuma, telling me that Ōmura

¹⁵ Presumably this had to do with plans for the modernization of the army, including the adoption of the conscription system.

¹⁶ Kido's eldest half-sister, Wada Suteko, had died on the 12th day of the 11th month in the 12th year of Tempō, 24 December 1841. It was she who first married Wada Bunjō, the student of Wada Masakage, adopted as heir on his marriage to Suteko.

¹⁷ Funakoshi Mamoru (1840–1913), an Aki domain samurai, used Yōnosuke as an

had finally died at 7 p.m. on the 7th. My grief was so intense and my outrage so overwhelming that the tears refused to fall. I was in a daze, stunned by the news.

15 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/13] Rain. I went to visit Lowder by appointment after 12; and we dined together and talked. The owner of the newspaper¹⁸ also joined us; and we all talked from dinner until dark. The proprietor of the Naraya also came to visit.

(Note) Mihori came to visit me at night. I have had the feeling that, since last spring, I have been the only person who has worried himself much about the situation in the country. My friends who are jealous of me have been a great hindrance; they have not made any contribution at all. I fear that my illness since spring is really the product of the perfidious behavior of these people.

16 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/14] Fair. I visited Old Itō Chō¹⁹ at 11. We talked for a while, drank Western liquor, and tried our hands at calligraphy. His son Kansai was also there. Kansai told me that he once accompanied Aoki Kenzō to Hagi castletown. Endō and Mihori came to visit me; so I left there to take a stroll with Mihori. I returned to my inn after 5.

17 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/15] Light rain, later clear, then a rainstorm at night. In the morning Oda Kin'ichirō, a Matsue domain²⁰ man, came to visit. I had known him in Kyoto last year. He said that on this trip he had met Ōtsu Matsuya in Kyoto; he also discussed the recent state of affairs in Kyoto, and the disgraceful developments in Takamatsu²¹ and Chikuzen²² domains.

early name. He was an Emperor loyalist who studied military science with Ōmura Masujiro, participated in the Ōu campaign of 1869, and served as Senior Deputy War Minister, *Hyōbu Gondaijō*, at the time of the assassination of Vice War Minister Ōmura. Later Funakoshi became a Privy Councilor and held the rank of Baron.

¹⁸ This might have been John R. Black, who published the *Nisshi Shinjishi* in Japanese, and various English-language papers in the treaty port.

¹⁹ He was a physician, as was his son.

²⁰ Matsue domain was headed by one of the Matsudaira, 186,000 *koku*, *kamon*. Its castle still stands, one of a handful of originals left, in the Shimane prefecture city, on the coast of the Sea of Japan, in which Lafcadio Hearn lived.

²¹ 186,000 *koku*, *kamon*, in Sanuki province on Shikoku.

²² 523,000 *koku*, *tozama*, Kuroda Narihiro headed the domain, whose castle was at Fukuoka.

After 12 I did the calligraphy which Daikokuya and Yamashiroya had requested. Smith came to talk after 4; and Mihori also came to visit. At 7 I called on Endō; and we went together to the Sanoshigerō. Ōshima Jisui came into port tonight; a letter arrived this morning from Itō Hōbai. Ōshima Jisui arrived in Yokohama.

18 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/16] Fair. I visited Nakano at 9, and talked for a while. . . . was there. After I left, I went to Izeki Sai'emon's, but he was not home. I also visited Ōshima Jisui, and talked with him for a while. After 4 I called on Mihori, then Endō. At night I visited Jisui; and we staged a little party to bid farewell. I returned to my inn about 1. During the evening I saw a great many people.

19 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/17] Snow fell from time to time until noon. Jisui and I paid a visit to Lowder after 10. We had a meal together and talked. When I came East last time I stayed at Lowder's house; and I was much disappointed to hear that his wife had gone to Tokyo this time. We left his house about 4 to take a look at the English gaol with Lowder. I returned to my inn about 4 [sic]; and I visited Ōshima again tonight. Itō Hōbai came in from Tokyo, so we left at 10 p.m. to go to his inn to stay overnight.

20 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/18] Fair. I returned to my inn early in the morning. Mihori Shunkō came over; and, before 10, we left the inn. Shōjirō had gone home ahead of me. Shunkō and Teijirō came down to the pier to see me off. Naraya Heisuke came along with me; and we arrived at Tsukiji after 1. Nagaoka Kenkichi was in the same boat as we were. We went to Itō's house for the noon meal, then after 3 I returned home. Hirosawa, Inoue Inseki, Fukui Jundō, and Nawa Yurumi came; and we drank and talked. For the most part the people here are those who went to Hakone with me. Kawamura Kenzō came in from Kyoto; and he reports a multitude of deplorable incidents in that city. There is a good reason that they have occurred there.

(Note) Kashima Shō'emon came to stay over.

21 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/19] Fair. The Lord Governor of Satsuma came to visit. I then went to the Satsuma mansion, and on to the Kanda mansion of our domain; but I found no one at either place. I returned home before 4, therefore; and at night I visited Hira'oka Heikichi, finding that Hirosawa had come to his place. I returned home at 10.

(Note) Tonight Iku and Moku arrived from Kyoto.

22 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/20] Fair. Katsura Tarō came to visit; and Naraya Heisuke left. Inoue Inseki came by, as did Sugi, Masaki, Mori, and Hayakawa later. We had a few drinks and talked; and at 7 everyone left. At night Inoue Monta and Inoue Shin'ichirō stopped in to stay overnight. Mori came in from Yamaguchi.

23 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/21] Nagaoka Kenkichi and . . . came. . . . was a private messenger from Prince Chionin. Nagayasu Wasō came, as did the Abbot of the Sōunji temple. Ohara Tesshin, and Tanaka . . . came. Sugi Magoshichirō and Sasaki Nanya came over; Nanya had arrived recently with Mori Seizō. He said that the trip aboard ship took three days and nights. I went to Kōjimachi with Osugi to see the paintings and calligraphy on exhibition. Seiko came along. Sugi and Sasaki stayed overnight. Yamada Ichinojō also came to visit, and stayed overnight.

24 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/22] Fair. The Hizen man . . . came to visit. I invited old Takasugi Kochūta over, as well as Shishido and Masaki. Hirosawa also came; and my house filled up with guests. I sent out for Kazu and Kuni, mother and daughter, to come that we might enjoy their *samisen* music. Everyone left after 10. I did the calligraphy which Ohara Tesshin requested yesterday.

25 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/23] Fair. Inoue Shin'ichirō came to report the birth of his child. After 3 I paid a visit to Hijikata, Middle Imperial Secretary;²³ and we had a few drinks and talked. I told him something of my feelings. At 6 I returned home.

²³ Chaben 中辨.

26 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/24] Fair. I paid a visit to Mitford who is leaving today for England; I wanted to bid him farewell. I also saw Alexander von Siebold²⁴ and Lay.²⁵

I went to the Sengakuji temple to pay my respects before the graves of the forty-seven samurai;²⁶ then I worshipped at the Jimmyō shrine. I went to a photography studio, paid a visit to Hashi'ichi, and I went to Hori Shingorō's, but he was not at home. I returned to my place after 5. Nawa Yurumi came to visit; we discussed current affairs, and exchanged opinions. Today I wrote letters to my home province.

27 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/25] Fair. [Nothing further is written in the original.]

28 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/26] Fair. I stayed home all day; and after 10 at night Nomura Wasaku and Miyoshi Guntarō came to visit. Throughout the night we discussed the past and talked about the future. We went to bed at the cock's crow.

²⁴ Alexander Georg Gustav von Siebold (1846–1910) was an interpreter for the English Legation. He was the son of the illustrious Phillippe von Siebold, whose distinguished service at the Dutch factory on Deshima was terminated by his expulsion from the country in 1830. In his old age, after the opening of the country in 1859, he returned, bringing his sons with him. (B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* [London, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1902], 425.) In his diary Kido referred to him simply as "Alexander."

²⁵ Horatio Nelson Lay made a series of agreements between 14 December and 29 December 1869, giving him authority to raise money in London to build Japan's first railway. While dealing with Ōkuma and Itō, he wrote his own instructions in English, giving him authority to raise ¥1 million at 9% with the Japanese customs as security. The controversial Lay hired Edmund Morel, civil engineer, to begin construction of the Tokyo–Yokohama segment of the system; but on 29 June 1870, when the Japanese perceived Lay's double role, his commission was withdrawn. Lay was Japan's commissioner, obligated to make the best possible deal for Japan, at the same time that he was contractor for the loan for his constituents in London, expected to turn a profit. A similar stormy confrontation with the Chinese government in 1863 led to his resignation as Commissioner of the Maritime Customs when it became evident that he expected to control the Lay–Osborn flotilla of warships which he had purchased for the Chinese government in Europe. (Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 243, 543–544.)

²⁶ Kido regularly paid homage at the graves of the celebrated loyal samurai of his history: Kusunoki Masashige at Kobe, the Sgōa brothers near Hakone, or—in the present instance—the forty-seven loyal ronin who were buried at the Sengakuji. In 1703 the loyal forty-seven had committed *seppuku* after having carried out a successful vendetta against their lord's enemy Kira Yoshinaka. To avenge the death of the Lord of Akō, Asano Naganori, the dedicated band had taken Kira's head on a snowy night in 1703, and brought it to Asano's tomb at the Sengakuji.

29 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/27] Fair. We had a violent windstorm after 11; but it finally quieted down about 4. Sai Torajirō, a messenger from Prince Sanjō, came.

30 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/28] Fair. Saitō Tōyō came over in the morning. I went out about 11 to the Kanda mansion, and there visited with Old Takasugi. We discussed the current situation for a while. I visited Sugi, met Masaki, and went to an antique shop with Sugi. I also paid a visit to Hori Shingorō's, but he was not home.

I had an appointment to go to Prince Sanjō's this evening, so I went to his official residence after 5 for an audience. The Prince inquired about certain matters which I have long wanted to discuss with him; and, as he pressed me to talk, I felt obliged to tell him about the public attitude toward the Government. It is common talk, I told him, that many of the government proclamations have stirred up dissidence. Those officials who have truly devoted themselves to the future of the Imperial Government have suffered grievous injury, while the chief Ministers of State seem oblivious to the fact. Those matters which bring tears to my eyes are legion. In telling him that the source of my discontent lies in the inconsistent behavior of the Imperial Government, I spoke from the bottom of my heart. At 11 I withdrew and went home. Nawa came over to stay tonight. Today Inoue Shin'ichirō invited some of us over for his special occasion.²⁷

31 December 1869 [Meiji 2/11/29] Fair. Hirosawa came to visit; and Nawa was also present at our discussion. Hirosawa strongly urged me to take up my official duties. The chief purpose of Prince Sanjō's summons last night was also to encourage me to attend on my duties in the council chambers. Because I am not happy about serving, I was unable to give him a ready answer; so I begged him to let me withdraw to think about resuming office. In connection with the order assigning all of the irregular units, *shotai*, to the regular forces under the Imperial Government, I have been asked to go home to Chōshū to do what I can to explain to the people of my domain the necessity for their abolition.

²⁷ Inoue's son had been born a few days earlier. Commonly known as Inoue Masaru in later years, he became the first Director of Railways for the Japanese government.

Further, the domain administration wants me to go; so, as I have always been resolved to serve my home province, I have consented to return home promptly.

At noon today a fire broke out in the War Ministry. I was summoned to the Palace for an audience with the Emperor, withdrawing afterwards. I then went to the Chōshū mansion in Kanda, where I was told that the mansion was in imminent danger from the fire at one time because the wind was blowing toward it. Sugi, Shinagawa, and I, taking along Seiho, went to an antique shop, then on to a saké house to eat in the evening, after which I returned home about 9. I bought one or two articles at the stone bridge where I parted from Sugi. Saitō Shintarō and Fukui Jundō were at my house when I arrived; the girl Itō²⁸ who used to be under Obata's patronage, and Obata's child, were also there. Inoue Shin'ichirō came bringing his wife; and we all gathered around for a few drinks.

1 January 1870 [Meiji 2/11/30] Fair. Saitō Shintarō and Narazaki Raizō came for a visit. My guest of last night left with Obata's son. I made Hikotarō²⁹ a present of two swords. Inoue Inseki came; and I had an appointment with Hirosawa this evening. When Sugi Enson came by, we all went over to Hirosawa's together. Old Takasugi, Masaki, and Shishido were there; and Hiraoka Heikichi later joined us. We had a lively party: wine cups and plates lay scattered in wild disarray. We then sent for Yanagawa Itchō³⁰ to watch his performance; and that too was most enjoyable. We all left about 11; and I returned home, bringing Nawa with me.

²⁸ The young woman was evidently the mistress of the elderly Obata, and this their child.

²⁹ Kuribara Hikotarō was Kido's nephew, the eldest son of the statesman's younger widowed sister Haruko. This is the first mention of the young man who went to Amherst, Massachusetts, to study in 1871, and who became Kido's heir, posthumously, in 1886 under the name of Kido Takamasa. Obviously Kido was proud of young Hikotarō, who was the logical successor when Shōjirō died of tuberculosis on his way back from Germany.

³⁰ Yanagawa Itchōsai (?-1910) was a renowned juggler who had mastered all of the traditional tricks as a disciple of Shumputei Ryūshin.

Twelfth Month

2 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/1] Fair. Guests were here continuously today. Nagayasu Wasō came. I laid out a garden in front of one of my rooms. Itō's wife came over; and I sent for a geisha to serve a few drinks. Tanaka Kuninosuke sent me a present of orchids and *konohata*.¹ A messenger arrived from Odawara.

3 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/2] Fair. Light rain last night. Kōtō Jirōnosuke came over. I had an appointment with Hiraoka tonight; and I went to his place after 5. Ōki was there. We had some drinks and conversation; and I returned home after 10. Today at 1 I received notification to appear at the Palace.

4 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/3] Fair. I went up to the Palace after 12; and in the Imperial Presence I received the following orders:

Kido, Third Court Rank, Junior Grade:

You are hereby dispatched to Yamaguchi domain under official orders.

January 1870 (Meiji 2/12th month)

Office of the Grand Council of State

Kido, Third Court Rank, Junior Grade:

You are hereby ordered to proceed as Our envoy to China and Korea next year;² and it is Our August intention that you should study carefully the rules governing international relations, selecting what is appropriate from the procedures of ancient and modern times, as this is a matter of transcending importance.

¹ The meaning is uncertain. There is a bluish-white fish with dots on the side known as *konoshiro*; and Akiko Hirota suggests that the entry refers to it. The scientific name is *chatoessus punctatus*.

² Under the lunar calendar "next year" would be the third year of Meiji, or 1870. In point of fact Kido did not serve as envoy to China and Korea.

4 January 1870

Sanetomi
Tomomi
Sanenori³

Lord Tomomi, Chief Imperial Councilor,⁴ announced the orders in His Majesty's presence; and I accepted them.

Today at the Palace, Ōkubo promised to visit me tonight. He came over to express his dismay at the impasse which we have reached; and he insists on accompanying me to Yamaguchi to ascertain my domain's decision, preparatory to returning to his own Satsuma to make a determined effort to bring about a coalition of the two domains for cooperation on a national scale. He argued that such a plan will reverse the unfavorable trend which prevails today. His concern is exactly the thing which has long worried me; and I agreed to his proposal. We then had some drinks and talked. For several days I have been presenting my opinions to Prince Sanjō and Lord Iwakura; and, finally, my views have reached the Throne; and I have been ordered to return to my domain of Chōshū. I hope to leave tomorrow or as soon as possible. Etō and Itō came to talk; and we sat around a table to discuss matters. Everyone left after 11 except for Itō who stayed overnight.

5 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/4] Light rain. In the night, strong winds. I went to the Kanda mansion after 12, and there invited Sugi to go with me to the Tosa mansion at Hakozaiki. We visited Lord Yōdō, and I returned home after 11. The Lord entrusted me with a scroll by . . . as a present to my Old Lord of Chōshū.

6 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/5] Fair. Bone-chilling cold. Very strong north wind. I went to the Kanda mansion after 12; and there I accepted Hori Shingorō's invitation to go with Sugi Enson to a certain Mikawaya's place near the foot of Kajibashi⁵ to look at paintings and calligraphy as well as antiques. Nakajima and Takahashi were present; and I took one or two scrolls with me when I left after 6 to go to Itō's place in Tsukiji. Ōkuma, Etō, and Itō met there; we talked; and I stayed overnight.

³ The three signatories are, of course, Sanjō Sanetomi, Iwakura Tomomi, and Tokudaiji Sanenori.

⁴ *Dainagon* 大納言.

⁵ Kajibashi is east of the Imperial Palace, two blocks from the Nijūbashi gate.

7 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/6] Fair. I had an appointment today with Ōkuma and Itō to go to the Tosa mansion in Hakozaiki. A letter postponing the engagement came to the house yesterday, and Yōzō brought it over to me today. I took a walk with my friends in the Ryōgoku area, therefore, and drank with them at the Aokirō. Hayashi Hanshichi came along. I returned home after 7.

(Note) Ōkubo sent me a green celadon screen for my calligraphy set and a piece of linen cloth.

8 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/7] Fair. I went to the Kanda mansion after 12. This evening I had an engagement with Lord Iwakura, so I went to his mansion after 4; and we spent several hours in conference. The Lord set out a sumptuous meal for me, and treated me with extraordinary cordiality as a farewell. Hayashi and Nawa also attended this party. In the ecstasy of saké I did some calligraphy, and returned home about 2. Not in recent times have I been so drunk as I was today.

9 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/8] Fair. In the morning Maeda Raisuke of Kaga domain came to visit. Shinagawa Yajirō came to talk, and Minami Teisuke also dropped in. Hori Shingorō, Nakajima Shirō, and Takahashi . . . came here to talk.

10 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/9] Fair. About 10 I paid a visit to Ōkuma, then went to Itō's, and called on Inoue Segai. He had received news of the recent death of Inoue Gorōsaburō. After 3 I left there to visit Terashima Tōzō.⁶ On leaving his place Sugi and I went to . . . to see some scrolls of paintings and calligraphy. I went home after 7.

11 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/10] A gentle, warm south wind, as if spring. I did some calligraphy on silk paper as requested by a friend. Hayashi Hanshichi, Nakayama Tōkō, and Mori Samon came to visit, as did the Lord of Uwajima; and we drank and talked. Sugi Enson also came over. We did painting and calligraphy; and I got to bed at 2. Enson stayed overnight. Light rain in the night.

⁶ Tōzō is the childhood name of Terashima Munenori.

12 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/11] Cloudy, with occasional rain. Sugi and I went to Hirosawa's at 10 to discuss the affairs of Yamaguchi and current national issues. After 2 I went to Tsukiji to visit Ōkuma and Itō. We all took a boat together to go over to the Tosa mansion at Hakozaki to visit Lord Yōdō. I returned home at 11. I was astonished to hear of the Saitō affair this morning; and I want to inquire into the cause of it all.

13 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/12] Fair. In the morning I paid a visit to Ōkubo. Today was the day of my farewell party with my friends; more than twenty guests arrived. Everyone left after 4.

14 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/13] Fair. I was ordered to the Palace today at 4. First I went to the Kanda mansion to bid farewell to all my Chōshū friends. After 3 I went to the Palace; I was presented with a cup of saké in the Imperial presence; and I was granted Imperial presents of a silver *hibachi* and a roll of *habutae* silk. Prince Sanjō and Lord Tokudaiji were present at the audience. I withdrew after 6 for an appointment with Lord Yōdō. Directly from there I went to Gotō's villa in Imado. Ōkuma and Itō had promised to come, but they did not. I returned home after 12.

15 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/14] Fair. My house was packed with guests: Sasaki, Yamada, Itō, Inoue, Tanaka of Tosa, and others. All had come to bid me farewell; and everyone left by 5. With Itō and Inoue I then went to the Kawanagarō at Ryōgoku, after which we took a boat to Tsukiji to stay overnight. Yamada and Kijima also came.

16 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/15] Fair. I paid visits to Lord Iwakura, Prince Sanjō, Ōkubo, and Ōki, and I returned home after 12. I visited Etō at 5, but he was out. Guests arrived at my home continuously. I had planned to leave for Chōshū today, but postponed my departure at the last minute.

17 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/16] Fair. I had visitors in the morning. About 11 I went to Prince Akizuki's with Hirosawa; but the Prince was not at home. We went together to the Ariakerō. Some officials of the Imperial Secretariat⁷ happened to be at the

⁷ Benkan 辨官.

teahouse next door, so we combined the two parties. The saké flowed freely; and I finally became so drunk that I passed out. Not in seven or eight years, perhaps never, have I gotten so drunk. I returned home after 12.

18 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/17] Fair. Visitors were unusually numerous. Sugi came home with me from the Ariakerō last night; and we took a carriage from Kudanshita, Shinagawa riding with us also. We took the noon meal at the Kawasakirō in Samezu, and Inoue Shin'ichirō, Kawamura Kenzō, Fukui Jundō, and Saitō Shintarō came to see me off there. Leaving Samezu at 2, I arrived in Yokohama at 5 and checked in at the Isebun. Masaki and others arrived, all to stay at the Iseden. Itō and Inoue came in at night; and many other visitors were here. Shōjirō came to stay overnight. Fires broke out at two homes of foreigners tonight.

19 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/18] Fair. Masaki came over; and we went together to the photography studio. After that I visited Schmidt; and we had lunch together. Then I called on Lowder, and returned to my inn after 3, to write several letters. Today I went to a farewell party at the . . . teahouse, with Masaki, Sakai, and Misumi, and returned to my inn after 11. Shōjirō came to stay overnight with me.

20 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/19] Fair. Guests in a steady stream since morning. Mr. Ōkubo came to visit. After 3 I boarded a ship named the *Oregon*; and we hoisted anchor after 4. Prior to going aboard, I visited Itō Hōbai. In the night the wind came up; and our ship rolled about for a while.

21 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/20] Fair. The sea was extraordinarily calm. Between 7 and 8 we could see Mount Fuji in the distance. I talked with friends all day, as many of them are aboard for this voyage.

22 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/21] We reached Kobe at dawn. I landed and relaxed at the detached building of the Tetsuya inn. This morning the cold was severe; and rain and snow fell intermittently. It cleared up a little after 10; but the west wind continued very strong. I hired a small boat to go over to Naniwa with

Sugi and Shinagawa; and we reached there at 3. I visited Ogawa Teikan, and after 5 went to Hiroeya Kōsuke's to take a room there. At Ogawa's today I met Old Takasugi; and we made a promise to take the return trip together. I visited Ōshima Jisui tonight, and talked with him for a while.

(Note) This morning Utsumi Sei'ichirō came to my inn, as did Takeya, from whom I received a letter from my younger sister.

23 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/22] Fair. I had made an appointment to have a leisurely talk with Ōkubo in Naniwa; but when I visited his inn, he had not yet arrived. I then called on Komatsu Kanran,⁸ who was ill in bed, his condition having become worse lately. We talked about the current situation for a while; and I left after 3. I paid another visit to Ōkubo's; but he was not there. en route I happened to meet Kuroda Ryōsuke. At 4 I returned to my inn.

Last night Torio Koyata came to talk. We visited Mutsu Yōnosuke together, talked for a while, and after 10 Mutsu, Torio . . . and I went to the Tomitarō, where we spent an enjoyable hour. Today Aritomi Gembei sent me a water jar for calligraphy, one which had once belonged to Ming Yong-ch'ing.

24 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/23] Fair. I called on Ōkubo after 10, and we talked about old times, as well as what the future holds for us. We conversed and drank until after 4. On leaving there I visited Ogawa, who was out, so I returned to my inn. I wrote letters to Hirosawa and Masaki. Torio and Mutsu came and left; then, about 10, Torio came again with a certain Murase of Kii. Today Ōkubo delivered a farewell present to me from Lord Iwakura; and Otomi, formerly known as Kawase Yasushirō, sent me a boxed present which I have not yet opened. A certain . . . retainer of Tokuyama had brought it back from London.

25 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/24] This morning I visited Yamaguchi Hanzō. I was supposed to take the river steamer⁹ to Kobe at 12 with Inoue and others; but the steamer left before 12, and

⁸ Kanran appears to be a pen name for Komatsu Tatewake, the Satsuma statesman who died in Osaka on 16 August 1870. It means "Viewer of the Stormy Seas."

⁹ A sidewheeler with a single prominent smokestack plied the Yodo River between Osaka and Fushimi in these years.

we missed it. Consequently, we shall stay here one day longer. Old Takasugi, Sugi, Inoue, Shinagawa, and I went to Gower's¹⁰ house, but he was not home. We met with Aston. I then parted from the others to go by boat with Inoue to his house; at 11 I returned to my inn. I dispatched a letter to Utsumi Sei'ichirō in Kobe from the Customs Office here.

(Note) For the sake of the Imperial House I can only lament the unexpected judgment in Kyoto in the Ōmura assassination case.¹¹

26 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/25] Fair. Yōzō came over after 6; and I went down to the river after 9, and boarded ship after 11 just before it hoisted anchor. We passed through the Akashi Channel¹² sometime after 3; and the ship grounded on a shoal off Takamatsu¹³ after 4, so that we were unable to make headway. We waited for the tide to come in; and finally about 5 we got underway.

27 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/26] Fair. The ship sailed along on smooth waters today. At daybreak we were a little more than ten miles [five *ri*] from Kaminoseki, off Iōjima.

28 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/27] This morning after 10 we anchored at Tatsugaguchi. I boarded a boat from the *Tei'umaru* to go on to the river's mouth at Mitajiri; and I took a short rest at the Umeya. Nomura Seinosuke and Miyoshi Guntarō came over to tell me about the situation in our province of Chōshū. As it is quite different from what I had heard in Naniwa, I am both surprised and grieved. With such disorder in our own province how can we face the rest of the people of the country? I went to stay at the Doiya; and at night I paid a visit to Sadanaga Yūnosuke. I returned to my inn at 12; and Yōnosuke came along to see me there.

29 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/28] Fair. Takeshiro Han'un and

¹⁰ This was probably Abel J. Gower, who was the British Consul at Hyogo as of 1873, possibly also at this time. (Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 153.)

¹¹ The *Danjōdai*, or Board of Censors, had rejected capital punishment for the assassins of Ōmura.

¹² Akashi Channel separates Honshu from the island of Awaji.

¹³ Takamatsu was a castletown on Shikoku.

a great many other guests came by. I left the inn at 11 to visit Kajitori; and I find that most of the people in our home province do nothing more than deplore the strife here, failing to act. Terauchi came to the Uda Pass to wait for me. When we met, we talked over the deplorable situation here, and went back to the castletown of Yamaguchi, parting in front of the Iwakuni mansion. I went to the Domain Offices at once, then stayed overnight at Abe Hei's house. Kubo and Nomura also stayed there; and we generally condemned the current state of things.

30 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/29] Fair. I went up to the Domain Offices with my companions for an audience with the Lord of Chōshū. Then I went to the Rear Chambers of the castle for an audience with both of my lords; my Old Lord has been ill lately. I returned home at 6.

(Note) Yoshitomi came by at night; and we talked over the current deplorable situation.

31 January 1870 [Meiji 2/12/30] Fair. Obata Heizan came to visit. Guests have come here continuously since last night. I stayed at home all day.

Meiji 3 1870

First Month

1 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/1] Fair. I went up to the Castle for an audience with my two Lords; and I received New Year's sakè from the Young Lord's hands. I then entered the Rear Chambers of the Old Lord for an audience with the women who reside there; and I did the same for the New Rear Chambers of the Young Lord. Ceremonial sakè was served in both places. I delivered the Konjaku scroll¹ which Lord Yōdō sent as a gift; and I returned home² at night.

2 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/2] Fair. Letters arrived from Inoue and Sugi. They expressed deep concern about the future here; their assessment differs not at all from mine.

3 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/3] Fair. I went up to the Castle with Yamagata. Sugi's letter arrived; I answered him, telling of the situation here now. I withdrew after 3. After worshipping at the Daijingū shrine,³ I paid a visit to the family of Ōtsu who is away. I also called on Old Takasugi, and returned home after 5. The weather today was as warm as if it were late spring.

4 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/4] Rain in the morning. Taki came to visit at 9; then he and I left my house at 10 to call on Mōri and Nomura. I worshipped at the Gyōtoku Daimyōjin, and went directly from there to the Castle. I prepared an official report to send to Tokyo, and withdrew after 3. En route home I stopped to

¹ *Konjaku monogatari shū* was a collection of popular didactic tales, some illustrating the Buddhist doctrine of retribution, compiled in the twelfth century. The scroll is probably based on the collection.

² Kido's house, which he had acquired about 1865, was located in Itoyone on the east side of Yamaguchi, nestled in a mountain valley.

³ Daijingū is a shrine in Yamaguchi to honor the Sun Goddess. It was built by the Ōuchi family of Chōshū daimyō, and maintained by their Mōri successors.

visit Obata, and stayed at his place overnight. Old Hayashi came over to talk.

5 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/5] Cloudy, occasional rain. I paid visits to Kunisada and Nakamura; and after 2 I again went to Obata's. On being ordered to the Castle, I expressed my innermost feelings about the situation here in the presence of the two Lords. I withdrew after 6, and went to Obata's to stay overnight.

6 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/6] Fair. I went up to the Castle after 12. It is evident that the situation here is turbulent; I regret that the fundamental principle that a subject's highest loyalty is to the Emperor is not established in our province. Popular feeling is so volatile, always unsettled, that I cannot discuss official business with people here freely. Today, indeed, we are faced with the most troubled times in our history. I withdrew at 5. Since morning I have had a stomachache and dysentery, so I have had to put up with my illness at the same time that I face these other problems.

7 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/7] Rain, then clearing. I stayed home all day to recuperate from my illness. Aritomi Gembei came by yesterday. Guests arrived continuously. Terauchi also stopped in.

8 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/8] Rain, then clearing. Takeda Yūhaku⁴ came to give me medical treatment. Guests arrived in a steady stream, most of them in connection with the political situation in this province. Nomura, Shishido, Yamagata, and Taki came by; and we discussed affairs in our province at length. I am deeply worried about what will happen.

In the night I had severe stomach pains. My younger sister Haruko came in from Hagi with Hikotarō⁵ and Naojirō.⁶

⁴ Takeda Yūhaku (ca. 1825–1881) was a physician, and the adopted son of a doctor. The younger Takeda studied Dutch medicine with Ogata Kōan in Osaka. Returning to Yamaguchi, he set up his medical practice in Yuda, where he became the personal physician to the seven court nobles who fled Kyoto with the Chōshū loyalists following an 1863 coup. After the Restoration of 1868 Takeda headed the Kōseidō Hospital in Yamaguchi.

⁵ Kuribara Hikotarō was Haruko's elder son and Kido's posthumous heir.

⁶ Wada Naojirō was the son of Kido's elder half-sister, and at one time had been

9 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/9] Rain, then clearing. Guests all day. Aritomi and his secretary, Kazusuke, came over; they are leaving for Hokkaidō soon. I sent a letter to Shima Dan'emon. Okudaira Jisui came to visit, as did Fukubara Sanzō, Ōoka Daihi, and Kubo Matsutarō, all in connection with the affairs of this province. Daihi came in from Shimonseki the other day. Kubo had gone to Hagi castletown several days ago, and he returned to the Castle, here in Yamaguchi, today. We decided that Daihi would go to Hagi castletown tomorrow. Kubo and Okudaira stayed at my place overnight; we talked about the situation.

10 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/10] Snowstorm since last night. A mantle as of silver lies spread in all directions. Letters came from Nomura and Sugi. Fukubara Uchikuranojō⁷ came to talk about affairs in the province. Yesterday morning Tokida Mamoru and Kumano came to discuss the troubled state of things here; so I made several points to support my argument that the subject has a moral obligation to give his highest loyalty to the Emperor. I was delighted to read the letters this morning detailing the favorable decision made by the closely related branch families of the Mōri in this regard, when Nomura showed them to me. Most of the letters echoed our conversation of yesterday morning on the matter.

11 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/11] Fair. I have not yet completely recovered from my illness. Guests came endlessly, all of them in connection with the problem before us.

12 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/12] Fair. House full of guests. Today I sent an express courier to Shimonoseki with a letter to Segai. Sasaki Jirōshirō, Taki Kōjirō, and Terashima Shūjirō came in from Hagi, reporting that the commanders of the rebellious units had reached Chōfu⁸ last night to submit their petition. Kōjirō had

designated Kido's heir, though the adoption was rescinded later.

⁷ Fukubara Uchikuranojō (1844–1900), a Great Group or *Ōgumi* samurai from Chōshū, studied with the Confucian scholar Okamoto Sei'un as did Kido. Fukubara then became a page to the Prince Heir of Chōshū. After service as an officer with the Chōshū army, he went to Tokyo to take a position with the War Ministry. In 1876 he was a member of the Japanese delegation to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.

⁸ Chōfu was a branch *han* of Chōshū, and governed by a member of a cadet line of the Mōri family. 47,000 *koku*, *tozama*.

turned back to Yamaguchi Castle halfway along the road to Hagi on hearing of the incident.

I was busy today receiving guests and answering letters. Terauchi came to visit, saying that Ōkubo and Kuroda have arrived in the castletown, and that both are eager to see me. In spite of my illness, therefore, I went with Terauchi to a teahouse in Yuda⁹ to talk with the two of them. Okudaira came in late at night; and we went to the Kawaraya to stay overnight.

13 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/13] Fair. Lately I have been terribly affected by the cold. I visited Ōkubo and Kuroda, then returned to my place after 12. Sugi stayed overnight here last night. Kubo and Taki came to visit; and at night Kubo and Taki joined me to call on Ōkubo and Kuroda. We talked for a time; and I stayed over at the Kawaraya with them. I saw Moridera Kuninosuke¹⁰ at the Kawaraya this morning. Moridera is Prince Sanjō's official messenger, who went to Satsuma and passed through Higo and Chikuzen before coming to Yamaguchi castletown. On hearing reports from other provinces, I am terribly shamed by the present situation in our domain. Above all I am envious of the state of affairs in Satsuma, where upper and lower classes are united and reforms are being effected.

14 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/14] Cloudy. In the morning I talked with Ōkubo and Kuroda. After 12 I visited the Hirosawa household whose master is absent, and returned home directly from there. Today I invited Ōkubo and Kuroda over for drinks and some talk; Nomura, Sugi, and Terauchi also came. After 10 Ōkubo and Kuroda left; and I talked with Sugi and Nomura for a while. Then Nomura left, and Sugi stayed overnight.

(Note) Masaki Shidō of the Navy came to discuss the situation here.

15 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/15] Fair. I went up to the Castle to have an audience with the Lord. Ōkubo and Kuroda were invited to the Reception Hall for interviews with the Lord. I went to the Reception Hall after 12, and was present for the Lord's

⁹ Yuda is a hot springs resort, now a part of Yamaguchi City.

¹⁰ The Moridera were hereditary stewards of the Sanjō family.

informal conversation with them, and for the banquet and drinks which he served them. The Young Lord told them that he would give his answer on the matter of his visit to Satsuma and on the summons of the Old Lord to Tokyo when some kind of consensus is reached on these issues in our province. I returned home at 8, and talked with Sugi and Yukawa.

16 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/16] Fair. My younger sister Haruko returned to Hagi. I paid a visit to Ōkubo and Kuroda to reiterate my Lord's statements of yesterday, and to see the two men off on their return journey today. After 12 I went up to the Castle for an audience with the Old Lord; and I told him of the main purpose of Ōkubo's and Kuroda's visit to Yamaguchi.

I talked for a while with my colleagues about the dispatch of the Kanjōtai¹¹ troops from Hagi to Yamaguchi. We have postponed action on this proposal, and still have not reached a firm decision. At this critical moment in our domain's history, I have not seen a single loyal retainer from the Kanjōtai ride forth to meet the crisis, a most deplorable situation. If we do not pull our domain out of this crisis, I must say, with all due respect, that our Lord will have no excuse to offer to the Imperial Government above, nor will he be able to face the masses below. It would be obvious that he had not fulfilled the duties of his office. The spirit displayed by our samurai today is detestable. I dispatched a letter to Yamagata Yahachi,¹² therefore; and Yahachi returned to Hagi the other day in connection with the Kanjōtai matter. I went to Obata's to stay overnight. Kunishige and Oka Giemon also came, as did Okudaira who also stayed the night.

17 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/17] A heavy snowfall in the morning, stopping about 10. The trees on the mountains in all directions looked like flowers. I went up to the Castle after 10. News came of a great rising of peasants in Hamada of Iwami province.¹³

¹¹ Kanjōtai troops were middle samurai and above, presumably more loyal to the house of Mōri than were the rebellious *shotai* of lower samurai extraction.

¹² Yamagata Yahachi held the post of Senior Domain Councilor, *Daisanji*, an office created on the standardization of terminology for posts in the *han* after the Restoration. He was a specialist on finance.

¹³ Iwami bordered Chōshū on the north.

18 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/18] Fair. I went up to the Castle on official business; on my way back (after withdrawing) I visited Nomura, then went to Yahara's. We talked over how to retrieve the situation in our domain; and we further discussed having Segai go to Tokyo to invite our sympathizers and Chōshū troops there back home. I returned to my place at 10.

19 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/19] I went up to the Castle on official business, and withdrew at 4. Ise's letter came in yesterday saying that he would arrive in Yamaguchi today; but I went to his inn, and he had not yet reached here. From there I went to the inn of the Governor of Kiyosue¹⁴ for an audience, then directly to Yahara's where I conferred with Segai on our future strategy. We finally decided that he should go to Tokyo. We discussed the problem all night, arranging our pillows side by side. The intentions of a great many people in the domain government are uncertain at this time. It is difficult to know what some of the fickle-minded ones will do.

20 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/20] Cloudy. A very strong cold wind. I met Lord Kawahire and Moridera at the Kawaraya to bid them farewell. After 12 I went up to the Castle on business. Ogisu and others happened to be in the Domain Council Office, the *Gijikan*; and, on hearing of the superiority of the rebel *shotai* units, most of them were at their wit's end. Yet, if we do not decide on a basic strategy for dealing with the unrest, how long will the country last? These past few days we have done nothing but deplore the shortage of defending troops, or advocate that the Kanjōtai should leave for Yamaguchi castletown. The Kanjōtai troops, meantime, have been onlookers who have not committed themselves, not yet having put their arms on the side of the government. At length, thank goodness, on the Lord's order, a decision was made to have them leave for Yamaguchi. Then last night another conference was held, and the decision reached to hold up their departure from Hagi castletown. I am outraged by this tendency to have one policy in the morning, another in the evening. We had to make a decision on whether or not to have the

¹⁴ Another branch *han*. Samurai of the branch *han* helped suppress the rebellion by units in the main fief.

Domain Navy leave Hanaura;¹⁵ and we decided to petition the Domain Council for permission for their departure. This conference was held at Yahara's house.

21 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/21] Fair. Oka, Inoue, and Sugi came to talk; and Ise paid me a surprise visit. We all went up to the Castle together with the petition which we have been preparing since last night; and during the day we divided up to go our separate ways, some to the East, some West. Satō. . . went to Mitajiri to make arrangements for the Domain Navy to depart; and Segai slipped out of Ogori Harbor. Though but a single day, today seemed as if it were a year.

22 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/22] Fair. I went up to the Castle in the morning to present the petition which we prepared last night in advocacy of the departure of the domain warships. In the evening I went to Obata's; then an urgent message arrived from the Domain Council Office, so I went up to the Castle posthaste. About forty soldiers from the irregular units, the *shotai*, were behaving impudently and disrespectfully toward the Lord as they tried to push into the Castle grounds. Anyone aware of the extent of popular unrest must be alarmed by this, and cannot but worry about what is to come. I suggested to the Lord that he call in the Kanjōtai to serve as his guard.

23 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/23] Fair. I went up to the Castle in the morning. The officers involved in the incident yesterday apologized for their disrespect; and many members of the Domain Cabinet¹⁶ were much pleased. But I am convinced that the rioters harbor sinister purposes; and that we do not yet know their real intent. I have heard that the Kanjōtai has left for Yamaguchi Castle.

24 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/24] Fair. I was on duty at the Castle all day today. When the Kanjōtai was ordered to Yamaguchi yesterday, the dissident *shotai* units became suspicious owing to their own perverted view; and, disobeying the Lord's orders,

¹⁵ This might be Osaka Bay, but the reading is Hanaura. It could be a local place name.

¹⁶ Ryōdō 廟堂.

they marched off to Sasanami Pass.¹⁷ Although the Lord sent his Page to attempt to persuade them, they refused to listen, and behaved in a manner too outrageous to describe. I slept at the Castle tonight. Rain at night, suddenly clearing.

(Note) After the mutineers disobeyed the Lord's orders today, and their rebellious intent became evident, orders were given to investigate the names of the units and the soldiers involved.

25 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/25] Fair. In the morning I went up to the Castle. Since yesterday I have been discussing future steps with our sympathizers in the Domain Cabinet at some length; and we now want to set to work; so this morning I gave the Lord an outline of our plans. I paid a visit to Ise this afternoon in the company of Obata and Okudaira, returned to the Castle in the evening, and went over to Obata's at night. All related to the current troubles. I went back to the Castle to find out what the Kanjōtai is doing; and it is evident that its members do not know their role as loyal retainers. I am indignant that they should commit such impudent acts in this time of domain crisis. We must develop a policy to cope with this situation. I returned home at the cock's crow.

26 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/26] In the morning Sasaki, Yoshitomi, Chō, and Taki came by. In recent days sympathizers with my view have called throughout the day; a good many people are indeed deeply worried about the fate of the province. A little after 10 I received a report of an emergency at the Castle. I finished my midday meal, tied up my hair, and left the house after 1. En route someone told me that the rebel *shotai* units had surrounded the Castle, and cut off passage in and out. This made me want to go to the Castle all the more; so I went up by the new road in an effort to reach it. Barricades had been thrown up across the bridge; and rebel troops had been dispatched to Kameyama and Kasugayama. There an old man came running to me; and, hiding himself in a rice field, he told me in a subdued voice not to go to the Castle. He said that he had been sent from the Castle as a messenger; he is an old man who works in the kitchen there. I turned back on the road, therefore, to go to the Mōri residence to

¹⁷ Sasanami lies about a third of the way along the mountainous road from Yamaguchi to Hagi.

inquire into the situation at the Castle. I found out that the rebels had surrounded the Castle and environs completely, and that they did not allow a single person entry into it. I was indignant, and decided to go to my place. Chō was already there, having been a hundred yards or so¹⁸ ahead of me. Chō had heard the rumor that the insurgents harbored a special grudge against me because of my strong support for the central government, and were searching for me.

Because of the danger, Chō and I did not venture out today. It was purely by chance that I escaped this day through a message delivered by a kitchen worker whom I happened to meet because of a delay in my departure for the Castle. I must have been saved through Heaven's help.

Late at night I met with Katsura Kurō of Iwakuni for a discussion of the current situation. Iwakuni domain¹⁹ is firmly behind us, as is Tokuyama domain.²⁰ I relied on Ichikawa Toshizō to use his influence to this end; and he had enough clout to bring it off. I met with Kurō at Terauchi's house while Terauchi was in the Castle, unable to join us. I worked out a general plan for dealing with the situation; and I wanted to go to Shimonoseki to carry it out. As the road there was a difficult one, I had Miyoshi Guntarō act as my guide. En route I stopped off to visit Yoshitomi Tōbei on a side road. By chance Zaimitsu and Usui were there, having come to Yoshitomi's looking for me. Kashiwamura had sent the two men out secretly to inform me that the insurgents were looking everywhere for me. With him I have an agreement to effect a union of the central and local government; in support I have pledged to do my utmost to deliver my domain from its tribulations. Before I knew it the cocks had crowed to announce the dawn.

27 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/27] Rain. I stayed at Yoshitomi's throughout the day. Yamane Hidesuke came to visit me; and I charged him with taking care of several pending matters. In addition to him, a number of others called in secrecy. After 7 we

¹⁸ One *chō*, or 119 yards, or 109 meters.

¹⁹ Iwakuni domain, a branch *han* to Chōshū, was ruled by the Kikkawa family, 60,000 *koku*, *tozama*. It lay in the eastern part of Suo province, one of two provinces making up Chōshū.

²⁰ Tokuyama was also a branch *han* in Suo province, under a cadet line of the Mōri family, 40,000 *koku*, *tozama*.

left Yoshitomi's covertly as a party of four—Sasaki, Chō, Yoshitomi, and I, accompanied by Matatarō. Three farmers served as guides for our crossing over Mount As it was an area with which our guides were unfamiliar, we lost our way from time to time. They took us over a particularly bad route; our hands and feet were stained with blood from the scratches of briars and brambles. At 1 we finally reached Sakurai's at Serijima in Ogori.

Along the way a funny thing happened. Our guides thought they saw some soldiers in ambush; and in their fright they dropped to the ground, prone, in front of us. It appeared that we had suddenly met dozens of enemy troops; and members of our party in panic hid ourselves in the bamboo grove along the embankment. After a while we discovered the truth, that these were ordinary peasants; and we looked at one another and burst out laughing. At the same time we were somewhat disappointed at not meeting the enemy. I talked with Sakurai at night, then retired.

28 February 1870 [Meiji 3/1/28] Fair. Akimoto Shinzō and Satō. . . came; and we talked together about the current situation, deploring the state of affairs in which we now find ourselves. Sakurai and Satō also wanted to go with me; so we left Sakurai's at 8, and all boarded a ship from Hyakkentei embankment. The wind and the tide were unfavorable, so we anchored at . . . , and set sail in the night.

1 March 1870 [Meiji 3/1/29] We arrived at Shimonoseki at 12. Captain Satō Yoemon came to see me; and we went together to Irie Kazusaku's house. Nomura Seinosuke and Miyoshi Guntarō came in from Chōfu; and Kumano Ichirō, Kashima Shōemon, and others arrived later. We discussed the current state of affairs; and after 5 we went off to Chōfu. There we met with Shinagawa Seigo and Kumano Mamoru. Miyoshi and Momura had accompanied me. Seigo and I went to the Yamanoi mansion to have an audience with the Lord of Chōfu²¹ with whom we discussed the present situation and decided what to do. By then the

morning light was showing in the east. I talked with Miyoshi Shinzō and Indō Benzō.

(Note) I also talked with the Lord of Chōfu about having letters sent directly from the hand of the Lord of Chōshū to the Lords of Tokuyama, Iwakuni, and Kiyosue, ordering support for our position.

²¹ Yamanoi mansion was a *gojinya*, fortified living quarters for a minor lord who did not have a castle. Mōri Mototoshi (1848–1908) succeeded to the position of Lord of Chōfu in 1868, the fourteenth in his line (and the last). His official title was Governor after the Return of the Registers in 1869.

Second Month

2 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/1] Fair. In the morning, light rain. Shinagawa, Yoshifuji, and I hired a boat at . . . to go over to Chōfu. Miyoshi and Nomura came; we discussed strategy with them, and held a meeting with some other gentlemen. Satō arrived with news of the return of the *Itchūmaru* to Shimonoseki. After 3 I returned to Shimonoseki with Satō.

3 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/2] Fair. I am holding conferences with my colleagues daily. I called Satō Yabei over from Kokura to have a talk on the duty of the Shōbutai to obey the Lord. We conferred at the Naniwarō. Busy, every day.

4 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/3] In the morning Yukawa came. His ship was disabled off Hiraoka yesterday. Satō Yabei made his departure today. Day after day we devote all of our time to military preparations. I am now preoccupied with drafting a manifesto to be circulated among the counties.¹

5 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/4] Fair. Our messenger to Naniwa and Fushimi returned to Shimonoseki about 12 today. I sent the two men who brought our Lord's letter yesterday back to Yamaguchi. In recent days I have been too busy for words. Chō Shimbei of Iwakuni came in today; and he reports that Iwakuni is stirred to action on behalf of our cause.

6 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/5] Fair. We all had plans to board the ship at 12 noon to set sail. I had been making preparations since early in the morning to go aboard the ship by noon, when Kumano came to tell me that the wind and tide had suddenly turned unfavorable, nor were all the ships present. Therefore we would not

¹ Gun 銃.

be able to leave, he said. This upset me, for I had gone to great lengths to arrange things for today—to no avail. It is most regrettable that he had to put things off again tonight.

(Note) We sent the *Teiumaru* off to Ube² to give notification of the incident. The Ube troops are loyal.

7 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/6] Rain since dawn. A very strong east wind, finally quieting down at 12. I boarded the *Itchūmaru* with my associates to go to Tanoura; but the west wind was so strong that the Chōfu soldiers could not board their ships. It is regrettable that we missed one chance yesterday, and lost another today. Sakurai and Chō wanted to board the *Teiumaru* to inquire into the situation in Chōfu; but they were unable to reach it. Owing to the wind and tide, they drifted into the shore to Tanoura in their small boat. As the sun went down then we were unable to do anything; but we notified the Ube troops about the situation in the evening, Yoshitomi and Sasaki going to them by the *Hōshōmaru*. About 9 the troop commander, Kōno Kametarō, sent us word from Chōfu that his men would be unable to board the transports at all today because the west wind was so strong.

8 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/7] Fair. We sent the warships back to Shimonoseki, having decided that Chōfu troops will board in Shimonoseki, and that we shall all set sail tomorrow. Today Tokida . . . came in from the Yamanoi, the fortified residence³ of the Chōfu Lord, with the news that the mutineers have notified the Chōfu outposts of their direct orders from the Chōshū Lord. This incident has greatly depressed morale in the armies of the three branch domains; therefore, we have sent Nakaya Ichizaemon back to the Castle in Yamaguchi with a letter advocating the subjugation of the rebels, that they not be allowed to escape punishment for their disobedience to the Lord's orders on 24 February, or their outright mutiny of 26 February. I also included a secret message to the Lord that the loyalists would take up arms tomorrow; and we shall deliver an interim report to this effect to the Imperial Government.

9 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/8] Fair. We boarded ship at 10, and

² Ube is located northeast of Hagi on the Sea of Japan.

³ *Gohonjin* 御本陣.

arrived at Iwaya in Ogori at 7 p.m. We landed the soldiers in orderly fashion, dividing them into contingents to be dispatched to Kabuto Pass, Sue Pass, etc.; while the group bound for Minokoshi, or Mino Pass, landed at Fujio. We went to the Daidōji temple in Serijima to establish our headquarters. Today Sugi came from Tōnomi; and I met him off Motoyama, and boarded the *Itchūmaru* with him. It was there that I parted from Chō Shimbei.

10 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/9] At dawn we seized Yanaida and Minokoshi, and took over the Sue and Kabuto passes. Prior to their capture, reconnoitering parties of the two sides encountered one another and the battle was joined. The mutineers directed heavy small arms fire at us between 11 and 12; and for a time the fighting was fierce. At length we drove away the enemy which had been on three sides of us; and the gunfire finally quieted down. At first our forces numbered a little over a hundred, while enemy strength was three to four times that; and the attack on their defensive positions was a difficult undertaking. Consequently, we added a hundred more men later, still leaving us without a single soldier for relief of the battle forces. Our troops were completely exhausted. Contrary to their promise, the soldiers of Ube had not yet arrived at the front at 4 o'clock in spite of the fact that we sent messengers to them several times this morning. We were compelled then to ask the troops in the Sue and Kabuto passes and the Iwakuni forces to lend us some of their men for reinforcements. None came; later, their letter of refusal arrived. We had only a few dozen farmer-soldiers.

After 4 half the rebel battallion from Funagi launched a surprise attack on us. With the enemy on all four sides we were certain to lose some of our men if we attempted to fight. I suggested, therefore, that we withdraw from this position and go to Mitajiri by way of the Daidōji temple to unite with the Mitajiri forces. There we might gain complete control of one of the roads to advance to Ogori; and the proposal was agreed to. No words can describe the hardships we underwent today.

11 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/10] At dawn I went to Miura . . . from the Mīyaichi headquarters. I was deeply moved to hear that our Lord has issued orders for the subjugation of the rebels. I was told that Saigō had arrived at Nakanoseki by warship, so I

went at once to Nakanoseki,⁴ but was told that he had gone on to Shimonoseki last night. He did not bring a military force with him; I was told that his party consisted of only six or seven people besides Saigō himself. I was fearful that he might use his influence on behalf of the rebels; so I wanted to go to Takiguchi by warship to explain our purposes. But I was much disappointed to find that no warship was available. I chanced to encounter Toda Kamenosuke, and told him my opinion. He understood what worried me; and he promised that he would go after Saigō and do his best to stop him should he try to intercede on behalf of the rebels. Toda then left, accompanied by Togura. If Saigō's interference at this point causes the rebels to lose any sense that they are in the wrong, I worry lest we fail to maintain the integrity of the domain.

After 12 I went to our headquarters at Miyaichi to see Nomura. He and I went out to the Migita front to reconnoiter the battle situation, then returned to headquarters. Our side pulled back its field hospital yesterday. A platoon from the Fourth Battalion was prevented by the enemy from returning, much to my dismay. Today I was relieved to hear that all its members had returned to headquarters safely. Our forces advanced on the Era front today, and took over a hill. We also advanced to Katsusaka, Tegiri, and beyond Kammon; while everyone in the army is competing to be the first into Ogōri tomorrow. A note came to me from Miyaichi saying that Saigō had arrived at the Tsunokuniya; but I went to the Tsunokuniya, and he had not yet reached it. I went on to Nakanoseki where I met Sugi who told me that Saigō is still on board ship. Sugi and I stayed at the . . . ya tonight.

12 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/11] Fair. Nomura came over this morning; and the three of us paid a call on Saigō. I had promised to go ahead to the Era front; so I rode Sadanaga's horse from Nakanoseki, and went on to Yamaguchi by way of the Era front. All the rebels had dispersed; many begged for pardons. I felt obliged to put the regulars in the field because I could not put up with the outrageous behavior of the rebels. The present military engagement was the result. My action created an extraordinary disturbance. Feeling responsible to my Lord, I am uneasy. Thus I wanted to take the regular troops to Ogōri, go into disciplinary

⁴ Kido suspects Saigō Takamori of Satsuma of meddling.

confinement, and await orders from the Lord. But, as rebel remnants still infest the castle area, the Lord has already summoned the vanguard of the regulars with orders to stand guard around the Castle. I felt obliged to encamp at the Jōeiji⁵ temple in the castletown. I entered the temple precincts and reported my return to Yamaguchi; but I was reluctant to enter the Castle. An order came from the Lord, however, that I must go up for an audience. Before my Lord I gave an account of the events of the past several days; then I related the facts again for the domain officials. At night I withdrew from the Castle, going to the Jōeiji to visit the regular troops, then on to Obata's. To stay overnight I went to Ise's place at the Katayama inn.

13 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/12] Cloudy, with light rain. I went up to the Castle at 11. We dispatched troops to a number of places in pursuit of the rebel remnants, so we were very busy for a time. At 4 I paid a visit to the regulars, when a report came of rebel fire. I led the troops to the spot. By the time we reached it the rebels had already gone. I went to the Katayama, Ise's inn, for a few drinks with members of Old Ise's party. I then visited Saigō's inn; and found that Murata Shimpachi, Nakamura Hanjirō, and Ōyama Yanosuke had accompanied him. I stayed at the Katayama.

14 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/13] Rain. Up to the Castle; many items of business. The Lord granted an audience to Saigō today. Further, at night I paid a visit to Saigō's inn. The rebel remnants who have scattered are coming in to surrender day by day.

15 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/14] Cloudy. Saigō departed this morning. Inoue Segai returned from Tokyo to Yamaguchi. He reports that the Fifth Battalion has withdrawn from Tokyo, that all of the officers are coming back with it. It is most regrettable that unpleasant rumors are in circulation about us in Tokyo. I went up to the Castle.

(Note) Obata, Kusakari, Kodama, and Yukawa met at the Katayama inn.

⁵ Jōeiji is a temple located on the northeast side of Yamaguchi City. The Zen priest-painter Sesshū (1420–1506) worked there in his last years; and the attractive landscape garden of the temple is named in his honor.

16 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/15] Fair. I went up to the Castle and, in the afternoon, to Obata's. I wrote some letters to Tokyo. Sugi Donpō returned from Miyaichi; and we held a conference in the Council Chamber on the matter of rewards and honors. I appealed to the domain officials to do something to make the Restoration a reality here. At Obata's I talked with Yamagata, and returned to the Katayama at 7.

17 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/16] Fair. I went up to the Castle. There I entrusted a letter to Sakuma Seimu, who leaves for Tokyo tomorrow. As several important matters are discussed in the letter, I selected Sakuma to carry it. Arichi Kumazō and Kodama Shichijūrō have returned to the domain recently. Today, a conference was held in the Lord's presence; and some decisions were made on procedures for carrying into effect his future policies. I returned home after 4. (This is the first time that I have gone to my house since coming to Yamaguchi.) Yamagata, Chō, and Kodama came over; we had a few drinks and talked. Old Ise came to visit about 12. The old gentleman is leaving for Kurashiki⁶ in his prefecture tomorrow.

18 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/17] Rain. In the morning Fukubara Sanzō, Zaimitsu Yurikuma, and Ninagawa Kotarō came by, as did Sakurai Shimpei. The first three men informed me of the situation in the Kumage area.⁷ I went up to the castle after 11, and withdrew after 4. On my way back, I went to Abe Hira's and had some drinks with Inoue, Kodama, and Ujiie. Masaki and Nashibane who have returned from Tokyo came by. Masaki went up to Tokyo a few days ago; and he exerted himself to the utmost to resolve the crisis in our domain.

(Note) Letters came in from Hirosawa, Masaki, and Yamada. Katayama Shōsaku returned from Edo, and delivered a message from Yamada.

20 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/19]⁸ Fair, afterwards snow fell. I sent off some letters, then went up to the Castle where I had a

⁶ Kurashiki is located in present-day Okayama prefecture.

⁷ Kumage is a district in the eastern part of the main *han*, but positioned between the territories of Iwakuni and Tokuyama, branch *han*.

⁸ In the original there was no entry for 19 March 1870 (Meiji 3/2/18).

good deal of business. I went to the Governors of Chōfu and Iwakuni to express my gratitude for their support during the recent insurrection. Both of them granted me audiences. They had reports of riots among those who have surrendered. I went up to the Castle again, and returned here at night.

21 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/20] Fair. Guests arrived continuously. I went up to the Castle where Kodama Shōsuke came to report that the men who had surrendered were arrogant and violent. He appeared apprehensive. The longer the disposition of the case is delayed, the greater will be the public unrest. We decided to begin decisively by breaking up these units.

22 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/21] Fair. I went up to the Castle. Today, on the Lord's order, we divided those who had surrendered into senior officers, samurai, and common foot soldiers,⁹ and confiscated their swords. We transferred everyone except men who were originally farmers or merchants to various parts of the domain school, the Meirinkan. We completed this after 4, then I went with Sugi Enson to his house. We had a few drinks as night came on. I returned home after 10.

23 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/22] Fair. I went up to the Castle. This evening I went to Sugi's, where I met Shioya and others from Iwakuni.

24 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/23] Cloudy. Rain started at 10. Guests in a steady stream from morning on. The unrest in the First Battalion, with whom I have had some dealings during the insurrection, has finally quieted down. Nomura and Sugi came in; we discussed pending problems. After 3 I went to Yuda with Okudaira who arrived in Yamaguchi several days ago.

25 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/24] Rain in the morning, clearing up about 12. After hearing yesterday that rebel remnants have gathered in Iwami province, we began work on several approaches to disposing of them today. I was invited to the mansion of the Lord of Chōfu this evening; and I returned home about 12. Inoue Saiji came to stay overnight.

⁹ *Sotsu* 卒.

26 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/25] Fair. I went up to the Castle, and stopped in at Obata's on my way back and saw Okudaira. I went to Kamiyama's to visit Shinagawa and Matsumoto, but both were out. I then went to the Katayama to meet Sugi; and we went on to visit Fukagawa Kyōsuke, a messenger from Hizen. Kyōsuke who arrived in Yamaguchi the day before yesterday had asked to see me; therefore, I went to his inn this morning for the meeting. He had brought a private message from his Governor to the effect that His Lordship intended to dispatch Hizen troops here, if the mutiny did not die down on its own. The fact that the Governor's communication was sent to me is very significant; hence, I thanked him profusely for his kindness. I returned home after 7. Okudaira Jisui came to stay overnight.

27 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/26] Rain. Day after day guests arrive continuously. At length, after 12, I went up to the Castle. Lord Tokudaiji is coming down to our domain as the Imperial Messenger, accompanied by officials of the Imperial Secretariat¹⁰ and the Board of Censors.¹¹ Hayashi Hanshichi reported this news on returning from Tokyo. We discussed how to deal with the matter. At 5 I went to the Katayama where Yamagata, Fujii, Okudaira, and Hayashi came to talk, as well as Chō Sansu. We reminisced about times past, and agreed that reason had come to politics after 1863, the Year of the Ox. We left after 1. Miyagi Michizō came to talk with me about a confidential matter.

28 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/27] Rain, then fair. Fukubara Kyōsuke came to talk. At 12 I went to Mitajiri with Hayashi Hanshichi to meet Lord Tokudaiji. The Lord of Chōfu came this morning, so we went off to Komeya Kashichi's after 4 to see him. Hayashi went directly from there to the Toiyaguchi, the wholesaler's landing; but the ship had not yet arrived. I sent off a letter to Yamaguchi in regard to several pending projects on which I think a beginning should be made. I paid a visit to Sadanaga Yūnosuke this evening; and we had a few drinks and talked. I returned to my place at midnight. Hiraoka Tarō came in after 3 a. m. Tarō formerly belonged to the Kiheitai; but he is now studying

¹⁰ Benkan 辨官.

¹¹ Danjōdai 强正臺.

in Tokyo. On hearing of the upheaval here, he returned home. He carried Sakuma Shōnosuke's letter to me from Hyogo.

29 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/28] Cloudy. Sadanaga came by, as did Hayashi, Kajitori, and Asano. News reached me of the arrival of Lord Tokudaiji's ship. Kōtō Jirōsuke also returned from Tokyo; and Yutaka, the mounter of scrolls, came over; so I talked with them and Sadanaga at the detached building of the Yamashiroya. They gave me the news from Tokyo. Then word came of His Excellency's arrival, so I went to his official inn at once to greet him, and to report to him on the situation in our domain. Hijikata, Middle Secretary, and Yoshii, Assistant Director of the Censorate, also came in attendance on him. On the way back to their inn I answered questions put to me by the two men. Iwaya Yukiya also came in attendance on the Lord; and I visited him. After I returned to my inn, Fujimatsu Tanosuke, Kōtō, and others who had been with me earlier in the evening also came in to join the conversation.

30 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/29] Cloudy, clearing after 10. As Lord Tokudaiji was supposed to leave Mitajiri at 9 today for the domain capital, Hayashi Hanshichi and I went to Hiragi ahead of the Lord to arrange for his noon meal. The Chōshū Lords had also come to this place. I went to their inn in advance and waited for them, and then I reported to the two Lords on the situation. On leaving I visited Hijikata, Yoshii, and Iwaya. Sugi and Inoue came to Hijikata's inn to see me; and we talked for a while. I decided to make my temporary living quarters at the Katayama.

31 March 1870 [Meiji 3/2/30] Wind and rain. In the morning I had an audience with Lord Tokudaiji. The Chōshū Lord then came to Lord Tokudaiji's inn to give a report on the true facts in regard to the recent mutiny. On my way back I paid a visit to Hijikata and Iwaya in the rear pavilion of the Yamashiroya, and had a few drinks there with them and Inoue. I returned to my inn at 12. This morning Hayashi, Nakaya, and Fukubara came over in connection with the problem in the First Battalion. The drill instructors also came to talk with me this morning.

Third Month

1 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/1] In the morning light rain, clearing up about 10. Fukubara Sanzō, as well as Fukubara Uchikuranojō, Zaimitsu Yurikuma, and Inoue Shōzō, came to talk, as did Shinagawa Yajirō. Chō also came over; Kobayashi Takebei came in the evening. I invited Hijikata and Iwaya in at night. Chō came again; and we had a few drinks and a discussion. Everybody left around 12.

Sugi Magoshichirō came over to talk tonight; and I told him, on the basis of my careful observations, that the troops who mutinied must be quelled and punished for their willful disobedience to the edicts of the Lord. But a consideration of the sources of the rising makes one realize that the domain government has not been very effective, so I do not wish to have a large number of people put to death. Further, I have heard, to my great displeasure, that the names of many of the rebel ringleaders are unknown. I shall handle the matter according to the Lord's wishes; but I only hope that the number to be executed is small.¹

2 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/2] Fair. I spent the day at home pondering our problems. Kobayashi and Fukubara came by. Tawarashima Tarō, a messenger from Tsūshima, came to Yamaguchi, bringing a letter to me from Ōshima. Sugiyama went to his inn to receive it. Sugi, Nomura, Shishido, Chō, and Hayashi came by to talk. I did not go out today because I did not feel well. This morning a decision was made for disposition of the rebel ringleaders.

3 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/3] Rain. In the morning Hayashi Han-shichi came by on his way back to Tokyo. We discussed several

¹ Thirty men in fact were executed. The monument to those young samurai who died is located southeast of Yamaguchi City on the execution grounds. Shinagawa Yajirō prepared the epitaph and Chō Sansu did the calligraphy; both were protégés of Kido.

matters. This morning the party of Lord Tokudaiji departed. On their way to Ogori they went to pay respects at Ōmura's grave.² From there the party went on to Hanaura. Because of my illness, I was unable to see them off. I wrote letters to Hirosawa and Yamada, and entrusted the letters to Hayashi for delivery.

4 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/4] Rain. I did not go out all day; but guests continue to come to see me daily. Mōri, Nomura, and Shinagawa were here to talk. I wrote letters to Utsumi Sei'ichi and Makimura Hanshichirō. I also sent letters off to Hayashi, Masaki, and to my home in Tokyo.

5 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/5] Fair. Miyagi, Yoshitomi, and Tera-shima came to see me; and Kashima Shōemon sent me a letter. I went up to the Castle after 10 for an audience with my two Lords in the Small Drawing Room.³ In recognition of my services for the restoration of peace here, they expressed their appreciation, and presented me with ceremonial clothes and a sword pommel⁴ which I was told the Lord had used in his youth. I did not contribute enough, limited in ability as I am, to deserve this. The favorable outcome was solely the result of the prestige of my Lord and the efforts of my colleagues. On hearing the Lord's order I was awed and ashamed, but bowed in humility to thank him. Sugi and Nomura made the official report to the domain council last night; and today, after revisions, it was adopted. Today the Merit Award Stipends of the central government were granted;⁵ and many wild rumors are in circulation about them. . . . I paid a visit to Ōtsu in the evening.

6 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/6] Fair. I went up to the Castle for an audience with the two Lords. I had promised Inoue Segai that I would discuss pending matters with him today, so I went to meet him at Abe's, accompanied by Kashiwamura, Sugi, and Nomura. Our meeting broke up at 11.

² Ōmura Masujirō, victim of assassins in 1869, was buried in his native village, which lay a short distance west of the main road from Yamaguchi to Ogori. His father had been a rural physician.

³ *Onkozashiki* 御小坐敷.

⁴ *Fuchigashira* 縁頭. These decorative ornaments were made in pairs, the *fuchi* on the hilt, the *kashira* at the base.

⁵ *Shōtenroku* 賞典録. Kido received one of the largest stipends at 1800 *koku* per year. As a retainer of Lord Mōri in Chōshū his stipend was never more than 90 *koku*.

7 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/7] Fair. I went up to the Castle for an audience with my two Lords. We discussed matters which will come up while I am away in Hagi, and I presented my opinions on them. At 5 on my way back from the Castle, I visited Old Hayashi. Sugi, Yamagata, Kubo, Shishido, and Nomura were all there. We left about 9. Nomura came with me to stay overnight, as did Minami Teisuke.

8 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/8] Fair. I visited Chō and Terauchi. Shishido, Yamagata, Kubo, and Nakamura were on hand. We had a few drinks and discussed business. I returned to my house⁶ about 9, the first time I have gone back there since March 27th.

9 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/9] Fair. I made preparations for going to Hagi. About 10 I visited Old Takasugi to have a talk; and I went up to the Castle directly from his place. I had an audience with my two Lords, and reported to them in detail on matters which will come up while I am away. At 5 I withdrew from the Castle. I then wrote letters to Sugi and Inoue; and tonight I went over to Nakayama's for a few drinks and some talk.

10 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/10] Fair. I left Yamaguchi at 6, stopping by Kamiyama's to entrust a letter to Old Hayashi. We reached Akegi before 12, and took our noon meal at The proprietor of the . . . had run into trouble during his trip to Osaka year before last; and he bore a scar from a swordcut on the top of his head. The barley crop is excellent in this area. I met . . . at Ōya; and I heard from him the rumor that the mutineers in Iwami have fled from that place.

At 3 I arrived in Hagi. I called on Obata Heizan, but he was not at home. On being told that he was at Yamagata's, I went over there, and found a group of people in the small pavilion: the master of the house, Arichi, Hazama, and Obata—the four of them. At twilight I went to Wada's,⁷ then on to Kashima's. Having made arrangements with Obata, I went to his house to stay overnight. Okudaira Nisui and Arichi . . . came with us. Today I sent a letter to Sugi Donpō.

⁶ This was the house in Itoyone on the northeast side of Yamaguchi castletown.

⁷ This was the birthplace and boyhood home of Kido. From his upstairs study he

11 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/11] Clear, then rain. With Obata and Hiraoka, I paid a visit to Kusakari for a few drinks and some talk. Kodama was there. After 2 we returned to Obata's; en route we were caught in the rain. I went to Oka's after 4. Takasu Gorōsaku came over; we drank and talked. Everybody left about 10. Gorōsaku rents a house from the Wadas, my real family. Takasu persuaded me to go by his house to sip tea on my way home. After 10 I returned to Kashima's to stay overnight.

12 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/12] Fair. In the morning my room was filled with visitors, Hase Tōbei among them. I had him identify my swords (without checking their inscriptions). He named some correctly, some not. When I showed him the sword which Takada Tomoyuki⁸ had made, he guessed wrong several times; and, in the end, he could not identify it at all. Today Buddhist memorial services were held at the house of my original family, the Wadas, in remembrance of the death anniversaries of both my parents.⁹ Today is the death anniversary of my mother. I paid my respects at the Ryūshōin temple¹⁰ before the graves of my parents and others. I then went to the Wada house to worship before the family memorial tablets, eating a meal there. I returned to Kashima's after 12; my guests were still there. Obata also came. I left there at 3, had a few drinks with Takeda Ibei, and urged him to go to Yamaguchi castletown. High domain officials have been shuffled recently, and Takeda has received informal notice of his designation as Deputy Domain Councilor.¹¹ He promised that he would go to Yamaguchi. I went to Ogawa's with Obata. . . . We had a few drinks and talked. About 10 we returned to Obata's; I stayed overnight there.

(Note) Onda, the Page,¹² has returned to Hagi, bringing to me

could observe the castle less than a mile to the west. Wada Yoshisuke, Kido's nephew, was head of the family. Wada was the son of Kido's elder half sister Suteko; at this time he was about thirty-two.

⁸ Tomoyuki of Yamato province flourished in 1368; Tomoyuki of Bizen in 1661. Their swords are rated at 30 and 5 respectively in John Yumoto's *The Japanese Sword* (163).

⁹ His father Wada Masakage had died in 1851 (Kaei 4, 1st month, 12th day) and his mother Kiyoko in 1848 (Kaei 1, 3rd month, 5th day). The 12th day of the 3rd month was not the actual anniversary of either. (*Kido den*, I, 9–10.)

¹⁰ The Ryūshōin is now called the Kōyōji. Much of its expansive temple grounds have been converted to residential housing sites.

¹¹ *Gondaisanji* 権大参事.

¹² *Onkōsho* 御小姓.

the Lord's personal letter. A letter was delivered from Sugi as well.

13 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/13] Fair. I worshipped at the Tokurinji,¹³ where the graves of most of the Katsuras¹⁴ are located. I had an appointment with Okudaira, and I went to his house with Obata, Oka, and Kusakari. Sugi Donpō's letter arrived, giving news of the shakeup of officials at Yamaguchi castletown. He also said that most of the mutineers who fled have been arrested in Iwami province. Kensuke,¹⁵ the younger brother of Okudaira, was also in the house; and I talked with him. We left at 4, for our engagement at the thatched cottage of Baikei in the Tamae temple grounds. Several of us went; and we had a most enjoyable time. I returned to my place, and Okudaira came with me to stay over.

14 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/14] Fair. Today I had an invitation to Kusakari's cottage, the Suitei. I left my place at 9, stopping by Obata's to go to the Suitei with him. Present were Okudaira, Obata, Oka, and Nakamura. I brought five or six hanging scrolls with me, and showed them to the other guests. After 3 an east wind came up, and we barely managed to cross the river in the face of it. I returned to Obata's with him before 10, and stayed there overnight. The rain stopped in the night. Chō Sansu came to Hagi.

15 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/15] Fair. I went to the Wada house in the morning, and returned to my place directly from there. Satō Yozaemon came; we talked for a while. About 11 I went to Kawamura's in search of Nakamura, Yamada, and Takasugi, and was entertained most hospitably. After 4 I returned. Tonight I had an engagement with Obata to go to Kitamura's Tsuruzō's to see his antiques, calligraphic scrolls and paintings. Kitamura is Sacki Ryūzō's father. He served food and drink in very elegant style. The other guests were Soshiki, Obata, Okudaira, and

¹³ The Tokurinji is linked to the Rinzaï sect of Zen Buddhism. On the day the translator visited the temple graveyard the priest, dressed in a business suit, purified the memorial stones with water and bowed before the Katsura tombs.

¹⁴ Katsura is the name of Kido's adoptive family, which outranked the Wadas in the *bushi* hierarchy of Hagi castletown.

¹⁵ Okudaira Kensuke was second-in-command of the rebel forces during the Hagi Rising of 1876, and was pilloried for his role in this samurai revolt.

Kusakari. I returned with Obata to his place, and stayed there overnight. Rain fell in the night, as heavy at dawn as if poured out of a bowl from heaven.

(Note) I sent letters to Shishido and Inoue. Sugi's letter came, as did Kashiwamura's.

16 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/16] Rain, clearing after 10. Obata Heizan returned to Yamaguchi this morning. To keep an appointment with Oka I went to Yajima's in the company of Okudaira. Kodama Unume was en route to see me when I ran into him in front of Obata's gate, so I invited him to come along to Yajima's where we had a few drinks, talked, and relaxed. I returned to my place after 5. Masaki Taizō, Katsura Naoto, Ogawa Tarōzaemon, Ozaki Ryōtaku, and Okudaira Nisui came. This evening letters arrived from Sugi and Terauchi.

17 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/17] Fair. My place was so full of guests I found it difficult to receive them all. After 1 I went down to the domain government docks¹⁶ with Nisui, Sansu, Kusakari, and Ono. We saw a Korean castaway there, a man who knows a little of our language. I wanted to sound him out on the situation in his country; but I found his heavily accented speech difficult to understand.

Next, we paid our respects at the Tsurue shrine to the war dead, and took a rest at the house of a certain Yamane who originally belonged to Ono Tamehachi's family. We visited Sayo Hikoshichi on our way back, then stopped to see Takeda Ibei with whom we drank and talked. I returned about 9, then went to Wada's. Tonight, Ikuno . . . , a young warrior who was wounded in the battle at Era Pass on 11 March, died. I regret this exceedingly. There is also a rumor of a reduction in Merit Award Stipends to those who fought. I cannot but lament the plight of the domain government. How can we win the hearts of the people in this situation? We have already lost much of their trust. My worries center on this problem.

18 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/18] Cloudy. I paid a visit to Kōsaka in the morning; thereafter, I went to the Lower Temple of the

¹⁶ *Onfunagura* 御船蔵.

Tenjuin in Tamae, and paid my respects before the grave of the Honorable Kasamine. On the way back I called at Tsuboi's, but he was not home. I visited Kodama Unume, then went to Hisayoshi's, and on to Obata's where I wrote official letters to Shishido and Inoue. I returned to my inn about 2. Today I had an appointment with Satō Yozaemon; and I went to his house with Kusakari and Chō. Yugawa Heima also came. Recently Heima told me of his wish to go to Ezo, and I have used my influence on his behalf. We had a few drinks, talked a while, and everybody left for home about 10. Rain started in at 3, and became a downpour in the night.

19 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/19] In the morning rain, clearing about 10. Today I had more visitors than usual. Miura Gorō¹⁷ came over; and the two of us expressed our outrage at the current impasse. Several people asked for my calligraphy, so I applied my brush to more than ten pieces of paper. As Mihara Seiemon and Sacki Ryūsuke are returning to Kurashiki tomorrow, I entrusted my letter to Ise with them. This evening I had an appointment with Nagai Tōbei; and, as Yamagata Yahachi, Okudaira Nisui, and Chō Sansu came by, I took them along to Nagai's. Guests included Amano, Kusakari, and Naitō, as well as the wives of Obata and Ogawa. Before I realized it I was very drunk, something which has not happened previously during my stay in Hagi. I went to Obata's to stay overnight. Yamagata Yahachi returned from Yamaguchi on the 16th.

20 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/20] Fair. I went to Fukagawa with Oka Giemon, Okudaira Nisui, and Chō Sansu. We took the noon meal with Yamamoto of Sōtō.¹⁸ Matsuya of Ōtsu also came by. He was on his way to his old house in Misumi. Sometime after 7 we reached Fukagawa, and put up at Hatano's. It has been four or five years since I have bathed at this hot spring. The

¹⁷ Miura Goro (1846–1926) was an important Kido protégé. Miura, a Chōshū samurai, began his career as a loyalist with the Kiheitai in 1864. He fought with the Imperial forces at Toba-Fushimi in 1868. Later in this year, on 19 December 1870, he became Junior Deputy War Minister, *Hyōbu Gonshōjō*, perhaps through Kido's influence. Ambassador to Korea in 1895, he bore the onus for the murder of Queen Min. In 1924 he was an organizer of the political coalition to oust Prime Minister Kiyoura Keigo.

¹⁸ *Sōtō* 宗頭 was a place in Chōshū. I have been unable to determine the exact position of this man.

experience called to mind how enjoyable it is indeed: I received Kashiwamura's letter from Sansu. Another letter came from Yoneda of Higo, said to have been brought back here by Ōba Himen.

21 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/21] Cloudy, following by light rain, then clearing. Miyaguchi Seikichi came to talk. This morning I moved over to Ōtani's inn. I went to Sannose sometime after 3 to purchase some ceramics, and everybody in our party came along, including Miyaguchi. A Toyoura man, Sasaki . . . , followed me here from Yamaguchi and Hagi. He asked for my calligraphy, as did the proprietor of the Ōtani, so in the ecstasy of wine I applied my brush to several sheets of paper.

22 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/22] Fair. Nakamura Yoshisaburō, Wachi Kōnosuke, and several others who formerly belonged to the Regular Army came to Hatano's yesterday, and stayed overnight. Services to honor the war dead will be held in Shimonoseki on the 25th; and these people are all en route to the services. Sansu also left to go to Shimonoseki; we had a drink together in the morning, and said farewell. I set out at 3 to visit Ōtsu. I had a few drinks, then went on to Toyoura, stopping at . . . in Isobe for the noon meal and some sakè—after which I set out at 1. Ōba Himen made a trip to Higo last month; and he was waiting for me at the home of Yamamoto of Sōtō. Hearing that I would not stop at Yamamoto's, he came to meet me on the road; therefore, I went to the Yamamoto residence to talk over recent events in Higo. We had sakè and food; and I parted from him about 5. I went to Tamae about 7 to wait for Oka and Okudaira at Macda's place. We had some drinks. I went to Obata's around 9, and stayed there overnight.

Awaya Tasuke returned from Korea today. He wanted to see me; so I went to Fukagawa to meet him at Sawae Nawate, and returned with him. I met Tasuke in Naniwa during July of last year, when we made some plans for what to do about Korea. Ōshima Jisui came to Hagi castletown yesterday looking for me.

23 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/23] Fair. Okudaira came to see me at Obata's; and we left Obata's together to visit Old Hayashi.

Amano, Naitō, and Nakamura came, as did Ōshima Jisui after 2. I heard about some important matters of business from him, and drank with him. Everybody left at twilight.

(Note) Ōshima visited mainly in connection with our Korea relations.

24 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/24] Fair. I visited Yamagata Yahachi in the morning. We drank and talked until 12. En route home I paid a visit to Okudaira. I also stopped to see Ogawa and Kinashi, but Kinashi was not home. I returned to my place at 2. Ōshima Jisui came. We discussed the problem of Korea and other matters endlessly . . . came, as did Kinashi, Kanetsune, and Kawano.

25 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/25] Rain. Kinashi, Nakamura, Egi, Kanetsune, Miura, Kawano, Kusakari, Oka, and Yamashita Shichinosuke came. I had an appointment to go with them to Kawara today. We left my place together about 12. Picking up Okudaira on the way, we crossed over Nakatsu Bay, took a rest in front of the gate of Ryūzōji temple, and arrived at the Chinze Munakata villa¹⁹ about 4. Nomura, Yamagata, Tsuboi, Kodama, Amano, and Izeki went to . . . yesterday, and came on down here today. We had also planned to go there, but could not because of the rain. In the crowded banquet hall we left sakè glasses and dinner plates in wild disarray. Nomura . . . left in spite of the rain.

(Note) I wrote a letter to Shishido. I also wrote a reply to Kubo's letter of a few days ago.

26 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/26] Cloudy. From morning on we enjoyed ourselves with composing poetry and drinking sakè. We also played *go* or did calligraphy. I left the villa at 12 to go boating upstream. The wild irises²⁰ which line both banks were superb,

¹⁹ Tsubaki Takayuki (d. 1893) played a major role in the suppression of the mutiny of 1870. The Chin of Chinze can be read Tsubaki. At the time he was serving with the *han* Cabinet, or *Seijido*, Tsubaki was a loyalist who was ordered to reside in a mansion in Kawara in Upper Kyoto during the early 1860s to work as an undercover agent for the loyalist cause; and he remained there after Chōshū men were ousted from the city following the Sakai-machi Gate Incident in 1863. Probably Kido dealt with him during that period, as Kido was also an underground operative in Kyoto at the time.

²⁰ *Tōjakuka* 杜鵑花.

providing a scene from nature beyond the power of my brush to describe. I visited Kodama. . . . We reached Ōe Bay, left our boat, and climbed up on the dike. From there I visited Yajima, then went on to Munakata's where I became so drunk that I finally went to sleep. Kodama, Yajima, and Soshiki also came to the villa. All left except for Kodama, Eki, Okudaira, Kinashi, and I, who stayed overnight.

(Note) Letters arrived from Hirosawa, Yamada, Masaki, and my home in Tokyo. Letters also came from Shishido and others.

27 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/27] Rain. I had an appointment with Nakamura this evening, so I visited him after 4. Kodama, Oka, and Kawachiyama were present. We drank, played *go*, and talked about old times. I returned to my room after 10. This morning Soshiki, Hisayoshi, Mujō, and Nakamura came to visit with Munakata.

28 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/28] Cloudy, with occasional drizzle. This morning I went to Tokurinji to hold a Buddhist memorial service in honor of Katsuzaburō's seventh death anniversary.²¹ Yamada, Nakamura, Okabe, Kosaka, and my three Kuribara nephews also came. Kusakari came to visit there. I left the temple after 12. The Abbot did an excellent job of performing the service today. Letters came from Shishido, Sugi, Terauchi, Kane-shige, and Yoshitomi. In one of them was a report that Hayashi Tatsue of Tosa had recently come to Hagi to pay me a visit. I sent letters to Shishido and Obata this morning.

This evening I had an engagement at Amano Shiga's, so I went to his house. Guests present were Hayashi, Nakamura, and Kusakari. We examined scrolls and sketchbooks by Chikuden from Shiga's collection. I borrowed a very superior piece of work done on thin paper by Chikuden, and returned to my room after 11 to light my lamp and look at the sketchbook again. In his intoxication Shiga gave me a letter saying that he would lend this book to me for life. As I knew that he was drunk, I did not believe him.

²¹ The actual anniversary fell on the 19th day of the 7th month by the lunar calendar. Katsuzaburō had died on 20 August 1864 (Ganji 1/7/19), so Kido was remembering the death anniversary of his adoptive son early.

29 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/29] Fair. As I expected, Shiga came early in the morning to apologize. He retracted his pledge to lend me his favorite sketchbook for life, a promise made while he was intoxicated last night. My judgment was correct. A certain Egi, Okudaira, Fukubara, Kinoshi, Miura, Kōsaka, Ogawa, and other visitors arrived in a steady stream. I went to Aoki Kenzō's house to see his small daughter; but she was not home, so I returned. I had an appointment with Okabe this evening, and went to visit him after 12. We were entertained cordially. I took all of my nephews along. I had an appointment with Yajima. After 4 I met Oka and Okudaira at Obata's, and went with them to Yajima's, returning to my place after 10. Hayashi Tatsue of Tosa came to Hagi yesterday. He first took a room at the Nakanoya, then changed over to the Ōta inn. I had Sugiyama go visit him.

30 April 1870 [Meiji 3/3/30] Fair. In the morning my place was crowded with visitors including Okudaira and his son. Yamagata Tokuzō, Yoshida Uichirō, Oka Giemon, Shishido Saburō, and Kanetsune Shigemi also came. I spent the whole day drinking and talking, so I could not step out. In the evening I visited Hayashi Tatsue to hear of Gotō's message; and he informed me about recent events around Kyoto. I returned to my room about 9, then I went to Obata's with Okudaira Nisui to stay overnight.

Fourth Month

1 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/1] I wrote a letter to Gotō. At 9 I worshipped at the Tōkōji¹ temple. I visited Kokushi, Masaki, and Kinashi, and returned to my room after 12. Fujii Benzō, Miura Gorō, and Okudaira Nisui came by, as did Kusakari. I invited Hayashi Tatsue over at night; we had a few drinks and talked. He asked for some of my calligraphy, and I did two or three pieces for him while in a state of intoxication. He left after 10.

2 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/2] Light rain. Okudaira and Oka came. I had an appointment with Naitō Sakubei today, so I went to his house with Oka after 12. Naitō Gorōbei and Fukubara Tarōbei came by. (Gorōbei is the real father of Naitō Kazunosuke. In his ninety years all of his descendants have died, the old man alone surviving. He must be considered the unluckiest man in the human race.) A very large number of ladies called. We all drank and talked about times past; and I left there after 4 to go to Obata's. Nisui had already arrived. We stayed overnight.

3 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/3] A letter came from Sugi Magoshi-chirō, informing me of Hirosawa's return to Chōshū from Tokyo. I wrote Sugi a reply, tied it up with a letter to Kaneshige Jōzō, and sent the bundle off to Yamaguchi. A letter came from Shishido Chōhei² in regard to an engagement for me at his villa, the

¹ The tombs of several loyalists close to Kido were located at the Tōkōji. Presumably he went to pay his respects at the graves of Yoshida Shōin, his ideological mentor; Takasugi Shinsaku, with whom he revived the power of Chōshū after 1865; and Kusaka Genzui, young firebrand loyalist who lost his life in a suicidal attack on the Palace in Kyoto in 1864. The temple had been founded by the Mōri family in 1691; and five daimyō of the Mōri line lay buried there. The temple was on the eastern outskirts of Hagi, across the Matsumoto River, several miles from the Castle.

² Chōhei was a pen name for Shishido Ki (1829–1901), who occupied the position of Deputy Domain Councillor, *Gondaisanji*, in 1870. His strong point was Confucian scholarship, and his adoptive father was a Confucian teacher. As a loyalist in the 1860s, under the name of Shishido Bingonosuke, he conducted skillful diplomacy with the Bakufu envoy at Hiroshima during the Chōshū Wars (1864–1866).

Sōro.³ At 10 I returned to my room, then went out with Nisui and Yamagata Tokuzō. I worshipped at the Kasuga shrine on my way to pay a visit to Shishido at 12. Kusakari was there; and, as Chōhei had already left for his villa, I took a boat with three others to Tamae to pay my visit to Chōhei's Sōro villa. The master of the villa was present. We drank and talked all day, doing calligraphy and paintings, playing *go* or whatever. At twilight we took a boat back before a strong west wind which had been blowing all day. When the boat arrived at Takemoto, I parted from Chōhei, visited Oka, and had a cup of tea. I returned to my place at 7, accompanied by Nisui and Ōtan.

A letter arrived from the Domain Executive Office⁴ informing me that Kano Yoichi and Kodama Tatsu, messengers from Muramatsu domain,⁵ had arrived asking for an interview with me. A government order also came:

Kido, Third Court Rank, Junior Grade:

Some time ago you were dispatched to Yamaguchi domain.

We now order you to bring your official business to a conclusion, and to make a prompt return to the capital.

Office of the Chancellor,

The *Dajōkan*

April, 1870

A letter came from Amano Seisuke. Last night a letter reached me from my younger sister Haruko; and I saw her this morning. Her troubles with her family are beyond recounting. I only pray that Yoshisuke⁶ will repent. Problems in personal and public matters are endless, so much that I cannot bear to speak of my unhappiness.

4 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/4] Wind and rain. I worshipped at the Tenjūin temple after 10. From there I went to visit Masuda who has gone into retirement, also Takasugi, Nakamura, Yamada, and

³ Sōro means "Grass and Reeds," a suitably rustic-sounding name for a villa. It was located in the Tamae area across the Abu River southwest of Hagi castletown.

⁴ *Seijidō* 政事堂.

⁵ Muramatsu domain was *tozama*, 30,000 *koku*, in Echigo province. Hori Naohiro, former daimyō, bore the title of Governor in 1870. The Lord of Muramatsu lived in a fortified residence, *jinya*, not a castle, *shiro*.

⁶ Wada Yoshisuke, Kodo's nephew, had become head of the family into which Kido was born. Haruko and her sons lived at the Wada house.

Wada before returning to my place. The weather cleared up in the afternoon.

5 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/5] Fair. I went to worship at the Dai-shōin temple at 8. Afterwords I climbed Mount Take⁷ and had a good view of Hagi Castle from there. This was the first time that I had climbed the mountain in twenty years, and unconsciously my thoughts turned to the past. This evening I invited over some elderly gentlemen and their ladies, my old acquaintances, such people as the retired head of the Masuda family and his daughter, the Takasugi household, the Obata household, Kawamura and his wife and children, Nakamura and his wife, Fukubara, Okabe and his mistress, Shishido and his mistress and her daughter, and Yamagata Kichinosuke—about fifty people high and low. Sugi Enson, Okudaira Nisui, Oka Takanosuke, Yamashita Shichinosuke, and Munakata . . . also came. At the end the sakè cups and dishes were scattered about the table in wild confusion. For a time people were literally packed in. Everybody left after 2.

6 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/6] Clear, then cloudy, after 12 a drizzle, becoming a heavy rain in the night. This morning Shishido Saburō came to visit, telling me that he had heard that the mutineers had created a disturbance in Kaminoseki. Several dozen visitors arrived without a break until 2. Nomura Motosuke came to discuss his return to Yamaguchi tomorrow. I had an appointment to go to Kusakari's Suitei, Pavilion on the Water, this evening. I went there in the company of Shinagawa Yajirō. Shishido, Okudaira, and Shiga were also present. Sugi Enson who returned to Yamaguchi in haste sent me a letter from there. On the way back Nisui and I stopped in at Obata's. I returned to my place after 7. I worshipped at the Ara shrine and at the Kiyomasa shrine. On an invitation from Munakata tonight, I went to his place about 10 with Kusakari. Nisui was present. As we were there until past midnight, I stayed overnight.

7 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/7] Fair. I returned to my place at 10.

⁷ Mount Take is located in the range of mountains south of Hagi.

Only a few visitors came today; and I had a relaxed talk and some drinks with four or five of my friends. I paid my respects at the grave of Seiun⁸ after 2, visited the Wada place, and Obata as well. I returned to my room after 7. Yugawa came to talk with me.

8 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/8] Fair. Visitors came continuously today. When I made my departure from the city of Hagi after 10, several dozen people saw me off, including Kusakari, Soshiki, and Okudaira. At Isshodani I met Mitsunaga, and was informed by him of a disturbance by the mutineers in Tokuji. I went to Sasanami, took the noon meal there, and reached Yamaguchi at 5. I encountered Hirosawa and other domain officials in front of the castle; and I made arrangements to meet with Hirosawa later. I then visited Terauchi to inquire about the messengers from Muramatsu domain. I told him that I would meet with them tomorrow. At dusk I went to see Hirosawa, received a report on the situation in Tokyo, had some drinks with several people there, and departed. It was past 10.

9 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/9] Fair. Visitors in the morning. Hirosawa came over after 10, and we discussed the sources of the crisis last winter and the present state of affairs. Around 2 we went up to the Castle together. I made promises to meet several friends at Katayama's tonight and withdrew. I visited Terauchi, and met Kojima Tatsu, a messenger from Muramatsu domain, at Abe's in the evening. We served him sakè, and talked things over with him. I went to Katayama's at 7, had a few drinks with friends, and left.

10 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/10] Rain. Kitagawa Seisuke came in the morning; and I heard about the situation in the Ogori area⁹ from him. I went up to the Castle at 11. A conference¹⁰ was held in the presence of the two Lords after 2. I want us to seize the opportunity afforded by the suppression of the insurrection last

⁸ Seiun was the pen name of Okamoto Seishō (1815–1869), the Confucian scholar at whose private academy Kido began his study of the classics. He had read the classics aloud with Seiun at the age of nine, before going on to the Meirinkan, the domain school. This visit to the tomb was Kido's first, the old teacher having died in 1869, the previous year. (*Kido den*, I, 7.)

⁹ Ogori was near the Inland Sea and south of Yamaguchi castletown.

¹⁰ *Gozen kaigi* 御前會議.

winter to make a start with political reform and to give direction to public sentiment; and I have so petitioned ten times; but none of my proposals has been acted on. Indications are that a riot could break out at any time. Most of the gentlemen at the conference seemed unaware that we are about to lose our present opportunity. I forgot myself and engaged in a violent argument with Shishido without really intending to do so. It is not that I have any personal animosity over the fact that my proposals have not been adopted, but that I regret losing an opportunity to put domain affairs in order. After the conference, sakè was served; and I withdrew at 7. My younger sister Haruko and her son, Hikotarō, were at my house.

11 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/11] Light rain, then clearing. Kubo Danzō¹¹ and Awaya Tasuke came to discuss the issue of Korea. Nomura Motosuke came; and we went to Hirosawa's together after 2. Shishido was present. I met Sugi Enson on my way there; and I went to Nakayama's on my way back.

12 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/12] Fair. I paid a visit to Fukuda and Yamada, then went to Katayama's, and next visited Kamiyama. In addition, I went to the Obata household whose master is absent; and I wrote letters to Tokyo. This evening I was summoned to the Isuzu mansion on the Castle grounds; and I presented myself there at 5. Sakè was served to me in the presence of the Lord and his Lady. Without intending it, I became very drunk, and withdrew about 12, as did Hirosawa. Yoshitomi came this morning; and Aritomi Gembei arrived in the evening to stay overnight.

13 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/13] Fair. Nomura Motosuke came to talk; and after 12 I went to Hirosawa's and then to Takasugi's. For my appointment with Sugi I went to Sugi's Pavilion for a discussion with him. I returned home after 8.

14 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/14] Fair. Visitors without pause. About 3 I paid a visit to Obata who returned from Aki province yesterday. Yamagata, Sugi, Shishido, Fujii, and Kubo were there. We

¹¹ Like Kido, Kubo Danzō (1830–1876) had been a disciple of Yoshida Shōin. Kubo was a relative of the ideologue, and he had studied at the Shōka Sonjuku with Yoshida. In the early Meiji years Kubo was a minor local official.

had some drinks and played *go*. With the coming of night, everyone left; and I returned to my house after 7.

15 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/15] Fair. I met Hirosawa by appointment today; and after 7 we started for Ogori on horseback, took a short rest at Akimoto, and continued on to Ōmura's grave where we paid our respects after 12. Shigemi Jirōbei had come to Akimoto to go to Ōmura's tomb with us. We took a short rest at Shigemi's, then went to Akiho at 4, and stayed the night at Aritomi's. Hirahara Heiemon came in, as did Shigemi and Kitagawa. The Lord made an unannounced trip from Ogori around to Mitajiri, staying for the night at the Daitō temple; therefore Shigemi and Kitagawa left abruptly for that destination. We were caught in a downpour along the way today.

16 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/16] Fair. After eating breakfast I took a walk with Hirosawa downtown, and we went to Hirahara's. Shigemi and Kitagawa came over. We drank, talked, and played *go*, staying there for the whole day.

17 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/17] I left Akiho at 8, parted from Kitagawa in Ogori, and returned home after 1. Komatsu Kenjiro's letter came in reference to the arrival of Suginothara, the Domain Inspector-General,¹² in Yamaguchi under orders of the Lord on 14 May; and, as I was out of town, he left a note telling of the purpose of his visit. I went to Suginothara's place at 4, in consequence, but he was absent. I visited Obata on the way back, and returned home at 7. Yoshitomi Rakusui came to talk about the issue raised in Komatsu's letter. Today I was informed that the Lord will visit Satsuma on the 21st; therefore, I wrote Senior Domain Councilor¹³ Sugi in regard to it. I am expecting a reply tomorrow.

18 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/18] Fair. In the morning Suginothara, the Inspector-General, came to speak with me under secret orders. I discussed with him the transition the nation has undergone up to now and the general outlook for the future. I also talked about

formulating a ten-year plan to maintain public trust, and about enforcing government ordinances more thoroughly to maintain the people's respect. Suginothara agreed with me wholeheartedly. I am privately distressed that since the military disturbance the domain government has failed to seize its opportunity to make reforms and that so many of the affairs of the domain have been neglected.

I did not wish to go up to the Castle, but I was compelled to do so by orders. After 12 I had an audience with the Old Lord. After 2 I went to the Isuzu mansion for an audience with the present Lord. I withdrew after 4, stopped at Obata's but he was gone, visited Nakamura Bun'emon where Obata, Yoshida, Satō, and Ishibe were all present. I returned home at 8. This morning . . . of Iwakuni came to talk. I conferred with Yamagata and Kubo on the matter of the Komatsuya in Shimonoseki, and devised a means of obtaining some money. This, after all, is related to the finances of the Imperial Government.

19 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/19] Fair. I went up to the Castle at 10, and withdrew at 1. I went to a party at Nomura's, attended also by Kashiwamura, Sugi, Yamagata, Kubo, Obata, Yoshida, Satō, Ishibe, and Miyagi. Nomura is going to Tokyo on the 22nd, so, with his associates, he held this farewell party for me. After 5 I left to go to Yamae's, to Yoshitomi's, and finally to Hirosawa's. As the Lord was scheduled to come to Hirosawa's house today, I made a promise to Hirosawa yesterday to be there. The Lord returned to the Castle as night came on; and I went home at 10. I summoned Bandaiya Jinshichi to order him to Shimonoseki tomorrow in regard to the Komatsu matter.

20 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/20] Fair. I went up to the Castle at 10, and withdrew at 1. We invited eight students from Satsuma . . . ¹⁴ to the Kawayaya in Yuda. Kashima Harukichi and Iwamoto Jihei came from Hagi especially to meet them. This evening Kubo, Yamagata, Kashiwamura, Sugi, Shishido, Yoshida, and Satō invited Hirosawa, Nomura, and me to the Chinryūtei¹⁵ for a farewell. I returned home about 9.

¹⁴ Two lines are blank.

¹⁵ Literally, "Pillow Flowing Pavilion." The name derives from the phrase "to sleep with my head on a stone, to rinse my mouth with the waters of a flowing brook." It implies freedom from worldly cares.

¹² Daikansatsu 大監察.

¹³ Daisanji 大参事.

21 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/21] Fair. The whole village,¹⁶ young and old, women and men, turned out to see me off for Satsuma. The visitors completely filled my house. Sugi Umetarō and Naitō Sakubei also came. I departed at 7. Accompanying me were my two nephews from the Kuribara and Kōsaka families, Sugi, Yamagata, Okamura, Ono, Miyake, Munakata, and my servant Raisuke. I had promised to meet Sugi at Ueki's in Hikami so I proceeded to Ueki's to travel with Sugi. We took a rest at the Matsuyamadō in Katsusaka, and had the noon meal there. I visited Sadanaga Yūnosuke after 4. Oka and Ueki came in. At 7 I went to the Lord's Tea Pavilion for an audience with him, then on to the inn Doiya. At 9 I proceeded to the Yoneya where Oka is staying. Oka had prepared sakè and food, and was waiting for us. Fukubara Uchikuranojō, Hara Eizō, Miura Gorō, and Kawano Kamejirō also came. We went together at 12 to board the warship *Itchūmaru*; and I asked Oka to entrust my letters to Tokyo to Hirosawa.

22 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/22] Fair. We set sail at 4, and arrived in Shimonoseki at 12. The Lord stayed at the Koshinikata, the Domain Trading Office; while I took a room in the Fukuya. This evening the Lord went incognito to watch sumō; and I attended on him. Several days ago Komatsu Kenjirō reported trouble in purchasing rice for relief purposes; therefore, I brought Yoshitomi Tōbei¹⁷ to Shimonoseki with me to take charge of the matter. Yanai Kenzō, Jinsuke of the Trading Office, and many others came to visit.

23 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/23] Light rain, with east wind. Our ship was unable to hoist its anchor, so we landed again. I took Hikotarō to worship at the Kameyama Hachiman shrine, then we visited the trading firms of Munakata and Irie. Afterwards I went to Yanai's to have sakè and food, then went to my inn, the Fukuya, at 2. Fukubara Sanzō came, and, in his drunken condition, behaved outrageously. Yesterday I wrote letters to Yamagata and Kubo; and I purchased an unusual gemstone.

¹⁶ Itoyone, where Kido lived, lay on the outskirts of Yamaguchi castletown. It was more peasant village than city suburb. Villagers regularly saw off their most illustrious resident with a good deal of fanfare.

¹⁷ Another name for Yoshitomi Kan'ichi.

24 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/24] Fair. I went aboard the warship after 7; we weighed anchor at 8. On reaching Yobuko¹⁸ we cast anchor.

25 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/25] Fair. We weighed anchor at 7, and arrived at Nagasaki at 4. I went ashore to stay in the Uenoya at Harachō. In the evening I went for a walk in attendance on the Lord downtown and in the Ōura area, returning to my inn after 8. Satō Yozaemon strolled with us.

26 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/26] Fair. I went to the iron mill about 8 in attendance on my Lord. We only used my name there, the Lord going incognito throughout. I returned to my inn at 12. After 2 I accompanied the Lord to worship at Suwa shrine.¹⁹ Then we visited the photographer Ueno Hikoma, and had him take a picture of our whole group together. On the way back we stopped to refresh ourselves at the Senshūtei,²⁰ and I returned to my inn at night. We were supposed to board ship tonight, but the weather was uncertain, so our voyage was postponed. Yesterday I sent a man to Aoki Hisashichi; and this morning Nomura Sōshichi came to visit, Sōshichi being the governor of this prefecture. Hanabusa Toratarō also came to visit.

27 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/27] Wind and rain. After 12 I went to . . . Ikeshō with Satō, Sugi, and Chō. Satō and I went to see an expert craftsman of vermilion lacquer. The weather cleared up after 3, but became cloudy again, so we could not board ship after all.

28 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/28] Cloudy. I have stayed in bed since last night because of a slight cold. A photographer came to my inn to take a picture of Hikotarō and me sitting side by side. In the evening I purchased a vermilion lacquered table, a rattan pillow, and a tray at an antique shop nearby. We boarded ship after 10.

¹⁸ A fishing village between Fukuoka and Nagasaki, famous for its fresh seafood.

¹⁹ The heights on which Suwa shrine was erected provided a panoramic view of the entire city.

²⁰ Pavilion of a Thousand Autumns.

29 May 1870 [Meiji 3/4/29] Cloudy. The wind was gentle and the sea calm. The ship's steam engine broke down after 6, but fortunately the wind was favorable. At dawn on the 30th we reached Kushikino at Hashima in Satsuma; but the engine could not be repaired easily. Finally we landed at Motoura, and went to an inn in Ichiki. Everyone, regardless of rank, stayed in the same inn. . . .

Fifth Month

30 May 1870 [Meiji 3/5/1] (No entry in the original.)

31 May 1870 [Meiji 3/5/2] Fair. We left the inn in Ichiki at 7, took a brief rest at an inn in Ijūin at 11, had the noon meal, and arrived in Kagoshima at 6. I stayed at the Town Hall.¹ At night I went to our Lord's inn.

1 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/3] Fair. I called on Saigō, but he was not home. I did meet his wife, then made my departure. On the way back I stopped in at our Lord's inn while the Governor² of this domain³ was paying him a visit. I returned to my inn at 12. Hashiguchi Hikoji, Ōseko Kiemon, and Hashiguchi Yoichirō came to visit, all of them Deputy Senior Domain Councilors⁴ here. About 6 I went to the Shrine for the War Dead with Sugi, lit some candles, then returned to my inn.

2 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/4] Cloudy, with occasional rain. Saigō Kichinosuke⁵ came to talk, as did Ōyama Kakunosuke.⁶ We

¹ *Chōka Gokaisho* 町下御會所.

² *Chiji* 知事.

³ The incumbent Governor of Satsuma was Shimazu Tadayoshi (1840–1897), who had served as daimyō from 1858 to 1869. The youthful feudal lord had furnished troops for the Imperial campaigns of 1868 in concert with the Lord of Chōshū; and the Satsuma daimyō had joined Lord Mōri Takachika in the 1869 memorial proposing the return of the registers of land and men. Tosa and Hizen were the other two signatories. Actual authority was exercised during Tadayoshi's rule by the Regent, Shimazu Hiromitsu, his father.

⁴ *Gondaisanji* 權大參事.

⁵ Kichinosuke was the popular name of Saigō Takamori (1828–1877), one of the three great statesmen of the Meiji Restoration. Kido and Ōkubo were the other two. Born into a lower-class samurai family of Satsuma, Saigō showed compassion for the misery of the peasants during his years as a district official. Since 1865 Kido had worked with Saigō on the Restoration. The two were authors of the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance. After commanding Imperial troops in 1868, Saigō had gone back to Kagoshima to return to the service of Satsuma. He played a crucial role in the "second Restoration," the abolition of domains, of which these 1870 negotiations were a part.

⁶ Popular name of Ōyama Tsunayoshi, Satsuma samurai who was a staff officer to

exchanged views on events of the past year, then discussed the current situation. This evening our Lord was invited go the teahouse Isono; and we accompanied him there. We also went to the iron mill and the weaving factory—both of which are flourishing.⁷ Nothing comparable is heard of in the other domains. At the Satsuma Lord's teahouse a banquet was served with saké. The landscaping of the garden was superb. We returned to our inns at 7, taking boats both ways. On the way back, our boat ran aground; and we were in grave danger for a while owing to the high wind and waves.

3 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/5] Wind and rain. I visited Saigō after 8, and talked with him until before 12. On my way back I called on Nakai Kōzō,⁸ and talked with him for a while. Kōzō then came to my inn last night, and we talked until the cock's crow. We did the same thing again tonight. Our Lord was invited to the Castle at 2 today; and we accompanied him. I returned to my inn about 7. At night . . . Seimon came, and played the biwa⁹ for us.

4 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/6] Fair. I boarded the ship after 8, and Ōseko came out to bid me farewell. As Ōseko is leaving for Tokyo on the 7th, I entrusted my letter to Ōkubo to him. I also left a letter for Saigō.

5 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/7] Fair. At dawn the north wind was so strong that for a time our ship could not make the least headway. After sunrise the wind abated a bit. We arrived at Nagasaki at 5, and went to stay at the Uenoya again. From there I went to Ikeshō, and purchased a small scroll by Chikuden.

6 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/8] Fair. At 9 I accompanied my Lord on his visit to Nomura Sōshichi; and Ishida Eikichi came over. They informed us about the recent situation in Nagasaki; and we discussed current affairs. Nomura is the Governor of this prefecture; and Ishida is the Senior Domain Councilor. I returned to

Saigō in the Resotration War of 1868, and in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, the revolt which Saigō led and in which he died.

⁷ Part of the Shūseikan complex.

⁸ This may be the same person as Nakai Hiroshi.

⁹ Blind balladeers strummed the four-stringed lute while declaiming heroic tales.

my inn after 12, then visited Hayashi Untatsu about 3 for a talk. Kamishiro Tokiharu, an interpreter, and Bauduin, the Dutch consul,¹⁰ came to talk with me about the students who are studying abroad. I boarded the ship after 10 tonight.

(Note) We were informed of recent developments in the Chinese government.¹¹ Einosuke, the secretary to Bauduin, is quite proficient in Dutch.

7 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/9] Fair. The day broke just as we reached a point off Matsushima. At 12 we passed through the Hirado Straits; and after 5 the northeast wind began to blow, with occasional light rain. The Genkai Sea was very calm; and we dropped anchor off Yasooka.

(Note) Yoshitoshi Sonosuke and Shibayama Yahachi of Kago-shima have come with us on board this ship, as has Katsura Sōemon, also of Satsuma, who had come to Nagasaki from Yamaguchi. We will take the three of them as far as Shimonoseki on our ship, and they will land to proceed on to Yamaguchi.

8 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/10] Fair. We cast anchor at Shimonoseki at 8; and the Lord landed at 9 to go on to Katsusaka this evening. I had some official business here in connection with the purchase of rice by the Finance Ministry, preventing me from accompanying the Lord. Because of this I sent a letter to Miyoshi Heitarō, informing him that I would not be able to have an audience with the Lord Governor of Chōfu.¹² Miyoshi came to visit me after a time, so I discussed the circumstances of my refusal with him. After 4 I went to see Kōki Kōzō, Oke Kyū, and Oda Tō.¹³ I also went to the Domain Trade Center,¹⁴ to which place our Lord repaired today on first landing. It was reported there that the Finance Ministry's Assistant Supervisor¹⁵ of the rice purchase program had come in from Osaka the other day, and is staying at Shinchi. I also had word that the Prussian minister

¹⁰ Not the Dutch physician whom Kido often consulted, but possibly a relative.

¹¹ The Tientsin Massacre occurred later in the same month, on 21 June 1870. The report might relate to events leading up to the massacre.

¹² *Chiji Kō*. The Governor of Chōfu was the former daimyō from a cadet branch of the Mōri family.

¹³ I am uncertain of the readings for these names.

¹⁴ *Koshini Kaisho* 越前會所.

¹⁵ *Okurashō Kantoku Daiyū* 藏大省監督大佑.

came to Shimonoseki on 3 June to visit me.¹⁶ At night I went to Yanai's.

9 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/11] Wind and rain. The Lord went from Chōfu to Kiyosue today. I met Watanabe, Assistant Supervisor for the Finance Ministry's rice purchase program, at the Reception Hall. Since yesterday I have done numerous pieces of calligraphy. After 4 I went to Amakusaya, an antique shop, but purchased only a few items. I visited Yanai and Sugi. The Lord returned about 8, and stayed at the Domain Trade Center for the night. Visitors arrive without letup day and night. I finally got to bed after 1.

10 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/12] Fair. We weighed anchor at 7, and arrived at Mitajiri at 12. The Lord went ashore immediately to return to Yamaguchi. The rest of us landed after 2. I went to the Doiya, then at dusk proceeded on to Sadanaga's place for a talk with him. Enson¹⁷ stayed overnight at Sadanaga's, while I put up at the Doiya.

11 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/13] Fair. I set out from Mitajiri at 8, and arrived in Hikami in time for the noon meal. About 2 I went to the Domain Government Offices,¹⁸ then on up to the Isuzu mansion. On my way back I dropped in at Obata's and found Ōtsu and Okudaira there. The three of them then came to my house where we had a long talk. Rain started falling after 7; and everybody had to leave in the face of the rain. Uenoya of Nagasaki accompanied us here. First he came to my house, then stayed overnight at Furumi's.

12 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/14] Rain. Miura, Fukubara, and Hara came by. I went up to the Castle after 7, and withdrew after 3. I paid a visit to Oka's inn where I met Enson, Heizan, Keiu, Nisui, and Matsuya. We drank sakè and enjoyed ourselves at calligraphy, going our separate ways as evening came on. I went to Katayama's and Miwa's, and returned home after 8.

¹⁶ Max Von Brandt was the chief German diplomatic representative in Japan from 1867 to 1875.

¹⁷ Enson, "Monkey Village," was the pen name used by Sugi Magoshichirō at this time.

¹⁸ *Seijidō* 政事堂.

13 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/15] Nisui and Maeda came in the morning. I went up to the Castle after 8, and withdrew around 3. I then went to Obata's where Nisui and Matsuya had preceded me. Keiu and Satō joined us later. At 6 I went up to the Isuzu Mansion where the Lord served me sakè in honor of my imminent departure for Tokyo. Before I knew it, I was drunk and fell asleep at the mansion, not aware of anything until dawn had come. After daybreak I returned home.

14 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/16] Fair. Matsuya, Yoshida, Satō, Heizan, Keiu, Nisui, Yoshimatsu, and Yamagata Yahachi came over. I went up to the Castle at 10, then on to the guard quarters¹⁹ of Naitō and Masuno to see their paintings and calligraphy. I withdrew from the Castle at 3 to return home. I then visited Hirokawa, Takeda, Aoki, and Inoue, after which I paid my respects at the grave of old Asada.²⁰ I went to the Kawayaya, returning home at 7. At night I did some calligraphy.

5 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/17] Fair. I went up to the Castle. In the evening I invited Sugi, Kashiwamura, Shishido, Yamagata, Kubo, Ōtsu, Okudaira, Terauchi, Obata, Kinashi, and Nakayama to a farewell dinner at my Itoyone mountain cottage. Girls of the Silk Industry Bureau²¹ and ladies of the Kawayaya came over to help serve drinks. Everybody left about 12. It happened to be raining at the time.

16 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/18] In the morning, rain. Nomura Seinosuke and Nakamura Yoshisaburō came to discuss the future of the regular *han* army units. I went up to the Castle at 11; and in the presence of the two Lords I received a gift of 250 *yen* in gold. I spared no effort in my public service as a matter of course, to discharge my obligation to my parents and for the sakè of the domain. The great upheaval here last winter was not a matter affecting Chōshū alone. It was my bounden duty to offer up my life and to apply my full strength to the settlement of the crisis. I was overwhelmed with gratitude to be rewarded so generously; but I declined the reward several times. My two Lords would not

¹⁹ *Koya* 固屋.

²⁰ Old Asada was Kido's mentor, the man known to history as Sufu Masanosuke.

²¹ *Tōsankyoku* 養蠶局.

permit me to reject it, however, so in the end I accepted with thanks and withdrew.

Even though a majority of my proposals are put into effect in time of danger, when order returns hardly one in ten is adopted. How I regret my failure—for my country's sake. I pray that hereafter we not fail to nip such disasters in the bud. At 2 the two Lords paid a visit to my mountain cottage. Ōtsu and Terauchi came to help out; and Murata Minejirō, Nakayama . . . , and my nephew Hikotarō served us. The Lords were accompanied by Hayashi Makita and seven or eight other attendants. We served sakè and food, talked, and played *go*. The Lords spent half a day here, then returned to the Castle at dusk. My younger sister Haruko was summoned into the presence of the Lords today, and given a cup of sakè. After 9 I went to the Castle to express my thanks, and made a present of two ducks. Suzuki invited me over tonight; and I went directly to his house which was full of guests. I returned home after 12. The rain stopped at noon today.

17 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/19] Fair. Dozens of visitors came, preventing me from leaving. Finally, about 11 I did go out to visit friends and to bid them farewell. I went up to the Castle after 3, proceeding directly to the Isuzu mansion. I paid a visit to Heizan; and, as Shinagawa Yajirō called on me last night, I went to his place to discuss pending questions. I went to the Abe-hira where domain officials held a farewell party for me today. From Iwami province Uchigaki, as well as the two *go* masters Sukeichi and Eikichi, were present. Sukeichi holds the third rank, and Eikichi the second rank.²² Everybody left after 11.

18 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/20] Fair. In the night, rain. Domain officials and others, several dozen in all, came to my house to bid me farewell. I departed about 8. Some came along to Mihori to see me off; others went as far as Hikami. The farming people of Itoyone, young and old, came out to bid me farewell. I took a brief rest at Katsusaka, and arrived at the Doiya in Mitajiri after 3. Sadanaga, Oka, and Kajitori, and more than twenty others came out to see me off there. I reached Oka Koson's house at 9, had a few drinks and talked. After 12 I bade farewell to

²² The sixth rank was the championship level. Here third rank was higher than second rank.

board ship. More than twenty people, including Chō Sansu and Yoshitomi Rakusui, were aboard the ship.

(Note) Kinashi Shin'ichi, Okudaira Kensuke, and Inoue Shōgo.

19 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/21] Our ship reached . . . island off Iyo²³ at 6, and anchored there for the night. I went ashore to visit the Dōgenji, enter the baths, and have dinner. The Abbot, who was born in Ōshima county,²⁴ receives his guests most hospitably. I returned to the ship at 12.

20 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/22] Fair. We weighed anchor at 4, and reached Tomoe at 6. I went ashore there, strolled around the downtown area, and rested at a small teahouse near the shore. Yesterday the ship's steam engine broke down, but was repaired; today it broke down twice.

21 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/23] Wind and rain. Today the engine lost power twice. We barely made it to Ushimado²⁵ for anchorage.

22 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/24] Rain, then clear. We finally reached Kobe at 2 p.m.; but our arrival was set back two days by engine trouble. I landed, and took a room at the Nunobikiya. Utsumi Seinosuke came to visit; and I entrusted him with making arrangements for a courier boat. Last night I went over to Utsumi's. Letters came from Yamada and Torio; and Ogawa Hikozaemon and Hasegawa Taemon arrived at this port.

23 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/25] Rain. Today was the festival day in honor of Lord Kusunoki.²⁶ It was a happy circumstance that I should be here at this time; for I went with friends to worship at his tomb in the morning. I boarded ship at 10 to go to Naniwa in the company of Okudaira, Chō, and Yoshitomi. Before I went aboard my ship this morning, the news came of the Old Lord's arrival in Hyogo on our warship. When I reached Naniwa at 1,

²³ Iyo was one of six provinces of the island of Shikoku. It lay on the northwest coast in the present prefecture of Ehime.

²⁴ Ōshima-gun was the easternmost, insular portion of Chōshū.

²⁵ It lies southeast of Okayama on Honshu.

²⁶ Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336), the best-known Emperor loyalist in all Japanese history.

I went to the domain mansion at Tsuneyasubashi, then stayed at the Hiroeya. At 4 I visited Inoue Segai.

(Note) Seven years ago at the time of the great political upheaval in Kyoto, I hid in Tajima calling myself Hiroeya.²⁷ Kōsuke in the past asked if he might use the name Hiroe for his inn; and I approved of it.

24 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/26] Fair. Mutsu, Torio, and Yamada came; and other visitors arrived in a steady stream. After 3 I went to Bauduin's inn to meet with him, and to seek medical treatment for Hikotarō, Masuda, and Kiyowaka. In response Ogata, Associate Imperial Physician,²⁸ came over. I returned to my inn at 7. Takeda Yōhaku and others who attend the French school came along. Yamada also came in to talk; and we took a boat together to the Sakairō. Segai, Sansu, and Rakusui were there. I returned to my inn after 12.

25 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/27] Fair. Segai, Yamada Torio, and other visitors arrived without a break. At 12 noon I left the Hiroeya to visit Komatsu Tatewake. Tatewake's illness, from which he has suffered since last year, has recently taken a change for the worse; and he is now in critical condition.²⁹ I have to feel compassion for him as a man who has not fully accomplished his purpose in life. At 2 I boarded ship; and Sansu, Rakusui, Kashi-ma, and Hirahara came to send me off. At 7 I arrived in Kobe, and at 8 I reached Hyogo where I had an audience with our Old Lord. I met Takasugi and Kamiyama, and paid a visit to Yamagata, before returning to my inn at 11. I had a few drinks with friends who are staying at my inn.

26 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/28] Fair. I stayed at the inn all day. The heat has been intense here yesterday and today. Torio came over with me yesterday from Osaka to send me off, then returned. Kōtō Jirōnosuke, who came in from Shimonoseki, paid me a visit. The *New York* made port here, and anchored at dawn.

²⁷ Seven years by Japanese count. The Hamaguri Gate incident occurred on 20 August 1864 (Ganji/7/18). After the failure of the Chōshū raid on the Kyoto Palace, Kido fled to Tajima province. (*Kido den*, I, 409–445.) Kido disguised himself as a merchant for several months until his recall to Chōshū in early 1865.

²⁸ *Chūdeni* 中典醫.

²⁹ Komatsu, the upper-class Satsuma samurai loyalist, died on 16 August 1870.

27 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/29] Fair. After 9 I paid a visit to Bauduin, and had a long talk with him. Hasegawa . . . interpreted. Our Lord boarded his ship after 2; and we went on board before 3. Our ship weighed anchor after 4. The sun dropped below the horizon just as we reached a point off Wakayama.

28 June 1870 [Meiji 3/5/30] In the morning, rain. We saw the summit of Mount Fuji about 4, at a time when the wind was gentle and the ocean was very calm. At night I talked with the English merchant Van Oordt.³⁰

³⁰ W.C. Van Oordt was head of Van Oordt & Co. at No. 12, Yokohama.

Sixth Month

29 June 1870 [Meiji 3/6/1] Fair. We arrived in Yokohama after 4. The Lord's inn was the Takashimaya in Irifune-chō. I went to Endō's official residence where I stayed the night. I met Ōkuma, Itō, Yamao, Soejima, and Yamaguchi there. From Ōkuma and Itō I heard the news from Tokyo. After 3, or after 4, Itō and I invited Takasugi, Yamagata, Kamiyama, and Asano to go with us to see the ice plant.

30 June 1870 [Meiji 3/6/2] Fair. Our Lord left Yokohama after 10 by carriage. He rested at the Kamaya in Samezu, and arrived at the domain mansion at 3. His party filled seven carriages including those for his attendants. I returned to my home before 5. Hirosawa, Nagamatsu, Sakurai, Sakuma, Inoue, Ariyoshi, Kawamura, Saitō, Fukui, Katō, and many other guests came. I had a roomful of ladies as guests also. Further, Kinashi arrived after 7. At night, rain.

(Note) Kinashi brought along Uchigaki Suekichi, a native of Iwami province. He is a master of *go*, holding the fourth rank.

1 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/3] Fair. I stayed home all day. Nomura, Hayashi, Aoki, Takeda, and other visitors arrived in a steady stream.

2 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/4] Fair. At 10 I went up to the Palace where I reported on my mission to His Majesty. The day before yesterday Hirosawa brought informal notice of orders for my appointment as Imperial Councilor.¹ I bared my soul to him in telling why I could not accept. As it was a delicate matter, I asked for a brief delay in making a formal answer. Yesterday I excused

¹ *Sangi* 参議. *Sangi* were the most influential men in government during early Meiji. After much procrastination Kido finally assumed the office on 7 July 1870. See below.

myself from attendance at Court on account of illness; but today I finally went. On withdrawing I proceeded to the domain mansion where I had an audience with the Old Lord who has been ill since yesterday. I took care of my duties at the mansion, then went to see Lord Tokudaiji and Lord Iwakura. The time flew by without my realizing it; at it was already 9 by the time I reached Prince Sanjō's, so I paid my respects at his *genkan*.² I did the same at Ōkubo's, and returned home before 10. Prince Yamashina paid me a visit today. Lord³ Akizuki's letter arrived today, together with a splendid fresh fish.

3 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/5] Rain. Visitors arrived continuously; and Masaki and Yamagata came to stay overnight with me. We drank and talked into the night. . . . , a geisha from Kōjima-chi, came in.

4 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/6] Rain. Ōkubo, Tamano, Hiraoka, and other visitors arrived in a steady stream. After 3 Masaki and Yamagata went to Hirosawa's, and brought him back here. Lord Akizuki came to visit. We discussed school regulations, etc. Moridera came bearing Prince Sanjō's orders to appear at the council chambers. I was summoned there yesterday on official business. On June 30, the day of my return to the capital, I received through Hirosawa informal notice of an order to serve as Imperial Councilor. Last year I firmly rejected the position, and barely succeeded in avoiding the burden of serving in it. I am much distressed to be given this order now. Several times I refused it via Hirosawa; and on the 3rd of July I went to Lord Iwakura's place to state my strong reservations about holding the position. Still they press me. Moridera came on the same mission, and urged me to take up office. My dilemma is unbearable.

5 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/7] Rain. Hayashi Hanshichi came under orders from Lord Iwakura to urge me to take up office. I expressed my devout wish that I be spared this ordeal. I deplored the fact that permission to refuse is so difficult to obtain; so I pressed my request yet again. I did excuse myself from attending on duties

² Entrance-hall of a Japanese house.

³ The title which Kido uses does not imply that Akizuki was lord of his domain. In fact he was the heir, but never lord.

at the council chambers today because of my illness; and after 2 Itō Gempaku came to administer medical treatment to me. Kinashi likewise began receiving medical treatment today. Okudaira Kensuke and Yoshida Uichirō came.

6 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/8] Cloudy. In the morning Inoue Inseki came over bringing along his disciple Kobayashi Tetsujirō. The latter engaged Uchigaki Suekichi in a game of *go*; and the match lasted all day and all night without coming to a conclusion. Munakata Sōjurō also came over, and was present for the game. After 4 Prince Kachō⁴ came in to talk about his trip abroad, having consulted me in regard to it last year.

(Note) This morning Moridera Kuninosuke came under Prince Sanjō's orders to urge me to take up my office.

7 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/9] Rain. I stayed home throughout the day. This morning the match between Tetsujirō and Suekichi was decided, with Tetsujirō winning by more than ten crosses. Inoue Inseki also came over; and I paid a visit to Hirosawa at night. I have for the past several days continued to reject my appointment as Councilor; but Hirosawa indicates that there is no sign that my refusal will be accepted at Court. Moreover, I have already been ordered to China and Korea; and I was told that this mission will be postponed unless I take office as Councilor because an Imperial envoy must be either a Senior Councilor, *Nagon*, or else a Councilor, or *Sangi*. Pressure has come to me from all directions to accept this responsibility. Moreover, an official order frees me from the duty of regular attendance on account of my chronic illness; therefore, I decided that I was obliged to accept the office for the time being.

8 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/10] Early in the morning old Takasugi came bearing our Lord's private instructions. At 9 Hirosawa came, and we went up to the Palace together. I received the following order in the Imperial Presence:

(Imperial Seal)

⁴ Prince Kachō (1848–1876) was the twelfth son of Prince Fushimi Kuniie. Kachō served as a Buddhist priest for a time. Before its division into constituent branches, the Fushimi family was one of four families of the blood.

Ōe Takayoshi,⁵ Imperial Subject, Third Court Rank, Junior Grade:

We, hereby, appoint you Imperial Councilor, or *Sangi*.
Proclaimed by the Minister of the Right, Fujiwara Sanetomi,⁶ Imperial Subject, First Court Rank, Junior Grade
Done by the hand of the Chief Imperial Secretary, Fujiwara Toshimasa, Imperial Subject, Third Court Rank, Junior Grade

On the 8th of July, 1870, the third year of the Meiji era,
sixth month, seventh day, the Year of the Horse, Greater Fire Sign

(Imperial Seal)

I withdrew from the Palace after 2. En route home I stopped at the Kanda mansion of Chōshū to meet Masaki and Yamagata at Nomura's quarters for a game of *go*. After 4 I had an audience with the Old Lord at the mansion, and reported to him on the recent political situation. I returned home before 7, and Hashi'ichi came over.

9 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/11] Fair. In the morning I went to see Prince Sanjō and Lord Iwakura, and had a quiet talk until 12. They told me about the circulation of counterfeit currency in Aizu domain and elsewhere. When the foundations of Imperial Government are not yet firm, and the people are accustomed to the Emperor's benevolence, but not yet sufficiently in awe of his power, abuses of this sort abound. As I reflect on our future, I am beside myself with anxiety. Unless the government takes firm action to assert control, a disastrous situation from which we cannot retrieve ourselves will develop. Sasaki Genzō came by. This evening I had an engagement at Hirosawa's. Yamagata, Nomura, Masaki, Takasugi, Yoshida, and some others were there. We spent the time drinking and talking. Honami came in, and gave his expert opinion on the swords of the gentlemen present.

10 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/12] I went up to the council chambers at 8. Matsukata Sukezaemon,⁷ the Governor of Hida prefecture,

⁵ In formal court documents Kido used the name of his remote ancestor Ōe Hiromoto of the court nobility.

⁶ Fujiwara Sanetomi was, of course, Sanjō Sanetomi, whose family was a branch of the Fujiwara.

⁷ Sukezaemon is the original personal name of Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924),

came up to the capital to present proof of the counterfeiting of the currency in northern Chikuzen; therefore, we held a lengthy discussion on how to handle this problem today. I withdrew at 2 to go to Lord Iwakura's where we discussed the matter some more. On my way home I stopped in at the Kanda mansion of Chōshū for an audience with our Lord.

Today I heard a report that rioters had killed some foreigners in Tientsin, China, and burned their residences in the concession there. English and French warships, as well as their land forces, are said to have embarked for Tientsin from Yokohama. Foreigners of all countries are wearing mourning dress to express their sympathy for the people who died in the massacre; and they are highly indignant about it.

11 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/13] Fair. In the morning Akamatsu . . . came to visit. He said that he had returned to the home province for about ten days, and was now back in the capital. I visited Itō Hōbai, and I met the Englishman Morel,⁸ the man who is now the director of the railways project at his place. Ōkuma also came to talk later. A certain Mr. Ueno came by steam vessel to Itō's house; and Ōkuma, Itō, and I went with him to Ōkuma's villa across the river from Ryōgoku. I returned to Itō's after 12, and stayed there overnight. I had an appointment with Lord Higashikuze⁹ this evening, but I had to excuse myself from it.

Satsuma samurai who later became Finance Minister, Prime Minister, and *Genrō*. "This remarkable man," to use the words of Henry Rosovsky, modernized government finance, and set the stage for economic modernization after becoming Finance Minister in 1881. It was appropriate that he was first mentioned in Kido's diary in connection with a problem relating to the currency. He is remembered for land tax reform, development of agriculture and industry in its early stages, currency reform, creation of the Bank of Japan, and putting Japan on the gold standard.

⁸ The Englishman is probably Edmund Morel (1841-1871), chief construction engineer for the Tokyo-Yokohama railway. Although appointed by the discredited Horatio N. Lay, Morel soon won the confidence of the Meiji leaders. Morel died of tuberculosis before construction was completed, and his young wife committed suicide. A plaque in honor of the English engineer, showing his countenance in bas-relief, is affixed to a pillar in the Yokohama railway station at Sakuragichō.

⁹ Higashikuze Michitomi (1833-1912) was one of the seven radical loyalist court nobles who fled Kyoto for Mitajiri in Chōshū in 1863. In 1868, as Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, he handled several crises in Hyogo and Yokohama, including the Bizen Incident of February 4, 1868. Bizen troops fired on the foreign ministers who temporarily resided in Hyogo, and the man who gave the order was forced to commit *seppuku*. Ernest Satow described Higashikuze as "a small man, even for a Japanese, with sparkling eyes, irregular teeth, which are not yet free from black dye (*ohaguro*) worn by

12 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/14] Fair. I took a boat from the Sakuraya to visit Gotō Shōjirō at Imado; and I was told that he had gone to call on me at Banchō; and that a party with Lord Yōdō will be held at Ryōgoku this evening. I directed my boat toward the Ryōgoku Bridge, therefore; and I happened to run into Gotō near the bridge. We went on to the Masugarō together, had a few drinks, and talked. After 4 Lord Yōdō came to drink. We talked about the changes which have occurred since last year. I returned home after 12. From my boat on the way to Gotō's this evening, I saved an eight- or nine-year-old child who was about to drown near the Higashi Bridge. He was restored to life after a short time.

13 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/15] I went up to the Palace, as did our old Lord. We were invited into the Fukiage Gardens after 2; and a banquet was served to us in the Tatsumi Tea House. The Emperor presented cups of saké to Minister of the Right Sanjō, the two Imperial Princes Yamashina and Kachō, and my Old Lord in turn; then he presented cups to me, Hirosawa, and two or three of the Imperial Secretaries. At twilight I withdrew.

14 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/16] Rain, then clearing. Nagayasu Wasō came to discuss instructions for the new house. Yamao Yōzō came to talk about my desire to go abroad. I visited Prince Higashikuze after 12. I had an appointment with Prince Sanjō this evening, so I went there directly from Higashikuze's. Sanjō gave me a personal assessment of the state of the nation; and I offered my opinion on several matters including the promotion of Ōkuma. Presently the Old Lord of Chōshū arrived; and we all joined him for a banquet. The painters Kan'ichi,¹⁰ Eikai,¹¹ and Eiko¹² all entered the room, and did several pieces of work for us. I

court nobles, and with a stutter in his speech." (*A Diplomat in Japan* [London, Seeley, Service, & Co., 1921], 324).

¹⁰ Kan'ichi is Araki Kan'ichi (1827–1893) of Itsukaichi, Musashi province. He received instruction in painting flowers and birds, as well as portraits, from his father Araki Kankai. His teacher of landscape painting was Sakurama Seigai.

¹¹ Eikai is Satake Eikai (1803–1874), a painter from Aizu domain and a disciple of Tani Bunchō. His forte was the painting of landscapes, and of flowers and birds.

¹² Eiko is Satake Eiko (1834–1904), the adopted son of Eikai from whom he learned the Kanō style of painting. He was said to have united the landscape techniques of the Southern and Northern schools. At the time of the Restoration he was destitute, but came to Tokyo where he became one of the chief painters. Like his father, he served

returned home around 9. A fire happened to break out in the old Shimizu mansion; and the flames roared furiously for a while. I went to the Palace at once to inquire after the Emperor's safety, and withdrew about 3.

15 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/17] Rain. Yamao Yōzō came to talk with me again. I went up to the Palace at 11, withdrawing at 3. On the way back Hirosawa and I went to the Kanda mansion, and visited with Yamagata. I returned home at twilight.

16 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/18] Rain, then clear. Some days ago Fukuba Bunzaburō came to ask me to write a prefatory motto for a report on the destitute people of Tsuwano domain to be presented to the central government by the governor of that domain. At first I rejected the idea; but Fukuba persisted, so I wrote four large characters, "The rule of the Emperor brings a fresh breeze."¹³ I also did three or four disgracefully bad pieces of calligraphy which were requested by a man from Kii. This evening I had an engagement for Lord Yōdō,¹⁴ Lord Tanetatsu,¹⁵ and Lord Higashikuze to come to my house. Lord Toyo'oka also came over; and Ōkuma, Gotō, Hirosawa, and Itō attended the party as well. We talked and drank; and everybody left at 12—Ōkuma and Itō somewhat earlier.

17 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/19] Fair. I went up to the council chambers, and withdrew after 3. I paid a visit to Lord Ogimachisanjō.¹⁶ Kuroda Ryōsuke came over in the evening; and we discussed times past. His personality has changed altogether since last year; he has become quite a stable man. We drank until night fell.

the Lord of Hikone (one of whom was the Grand Elder Ii Naosuke in whose death in 1860 Kido rejoiced.)

¹³ *Seiji fūjaku* 聖時風若.

¹⁴ Yamanouchi Yōdō.

¹⁵ Akizuki Tanetatsu.

¹⁶ He is known to history as Saga Sanenaru (1820–1909), the name which he took when he retired from office in 1872. Before the Restoration, Ōgimachisanjō held high office in the Imperial Government in Kyoto, 1860–1868. Moving from a moderate to a radical position, he was the one who delivered the secret, and possibly irregular, Imperial Rescript calling for the overthrow of the Tokugawa to Ōkubo Toshimichi of Satsuma and Hirosawa Saneomi of Chōshū in late 1867, on the orders of Iwakura Tomomi. In 1870 he was Minister of Justice.

(Note) He drove a horse over from Itō's.

18 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/20] (No entry in the original).

19 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/21] Fair. Ukita, Yoshida, Kasaki, and Sasaki came over to talk. Kokushi Kenjurō also came to visit, telling me that he returned to our home province for a time several days ago because of unrest there. After 11 I paid a visit to Itō Hōbai; and I also visited Terashima, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, to discuss China and Korea. I returned home after 3; but Yoshida and Kasai had not yet left. Inoue Inseki came; and we played *go* together.

20 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/22] The height of summer has arrived. The heat was intense. Our Old Lord, Prince Sanjō, and Lord Ōgimachisanjō paid me a visit today. Seiko and Seiho were here; and they did some calligraphy. Prince Kikkawa Chōkichi came in for our banquet which was concluded about 9. Everything in the world has changed beyond measure; but still, how surprising that the old Lord of Chōshū and Prince Sanjō should meet here—and so soon!¹⁷ Even so, we must restrain our enthusiasm, for so many problems lie ahead. Shinagawa Yajirō came over. Letters came from Yamada, Inoue, and Kashiwamura. Yoshitomi, Chō, Kashima, and Hirahara arrived in town.

21 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/23] Cloudy. I went to the Kanda mansion after 12 for an audience with my Old Lord. After 5 I went to the Tosa mansion at Hakozaiki where the retired head Tōdō was present. It rained very hard after 6; and I returned home after 11.

22 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/24] Fair. Shinagawa Yajirō and other visitors arrived here in a steady stream to discuss the issue of the Chōshū regulars. This evening Terashima, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Yanagiwara,¹⁸ Senior Deputy Foreign

¹⁷ After the first Chōshū War with the Bakufu in 1864, Sanjō and the other radical court nobles were moved from Chōshū to Dazaifu in Kyushu; and Lord Mōri Takachika was in disgrace partly for having harbored the radicals. Kido exulted at the change in both their positions a mere six years later when they met in the seat of power.

¹⁸ Yanagiwara Sakimitsu (1851–1894), a court noble, negotiated the Sino-Japanese commercial agreement of 1870. During the war of 1868 he had served as vice-commander of the Imperial forces which captured Edo castle. His sister Aiko was a lady-

Minister,¹⁹ came to discuss China and Korea with me. After 5 I visited Etō to discuss current affairs and pending problems. En route home I went by Hirosawa's. The scorching heat continued into the night. At dawn, rain.

(Note) Kashima Shōemon came. I handed him 200 *yen*.

23 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/25] Fair. Aoki, Senior Imperial Physician,²⁰ came to visit. Letters arrived twice from Yanagiwara, Senior Deputy Foreign Minister. As I have received Imperial orders to serve as envoy to Korea, I wrote a letter on the ultimate purpose of the mission to be presented to the government. After 5 I went to see Nagamatsu; and I returned home at 7.

(Note) At dawn, rain.

24 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/26] Fair. In the morning I went up to Prince Sanjō's, where I met Watanabe Seisaemon for a talk about recent developments, then I had an audience with the Prince. I opened my heart to him, and offered up my letter on the Korea matter. At that point I heard some astonishing news from the Prince, that on the 20th four of the Councilors had privately told Prince Sanjō, Lord Tokudaiji, and Lord Iwakura that the present activities of the Home-Finance Ministry²¹ are in conflict with the views of the Councilors. Judging from what has happened, the four Councilors said they had no hope of influencing the future course of policy; therefore, they requested that they be allowed to hand over their positions to the officials of the Home-Finance Ministry.²² These antagonisms have been developing behind the scenes; but I truly regret hearing this news. Although the Vice Minister of Home Affairs is a man of intense personality,²³ he has rendered meritorious service in tiding us over a crisis and

in-waiting to Emperor Meiji, and the mother of the Taishō Emperor (reigned 1912–1926).

¹⁹ *Gaimu Daijō* 外務大丞.

²⁰ *Daiten'i* 大典醫.

²¹ *Mimbu-Ōkurakan* 民部大藏官.

²² The merger of these two ministries under the nominal leadership of Lord Date of Uwajima had, in fact, put much of the authority of the central government in the hands of a coterie of radical young modernizing bureaucrats headed by Ōkuma Shigenobu, Itō Hirobumi, and Inoue Kaoru. The new railway, model factories, and other projects were initiated by them without much consultation with the Councilors, creating jealousies.

²³ The Vice Minister was Ōkuma Shigenobu.

in negotiating with foreigners. A high-spirited man is likely to have a strong personality. Moreover, the government is the main body, and the ministries are its branches and leaves. What are the people of the nation to think if the body and the limbs are engaged in an argument over the merits and demerits of one another? Those Councilors are by their action demonstrating to outsiders the failures and impotence of the government.

The Restoration of Imperial Government was the work of Heaven, not of man; therefore, the government is not built on the strength of a single man. I do not know of any policy that will maintain the nation if the people in government go around reviewing its faults to the world. I felt wretched as I looked up at Prince Sanjō's face; so I gave him a few more of my opinions, then left.

I paid a visit to Kuroda Ryōsuke at the Zōjōji; but he was absent. En route home I stopped by Ōkubo's to discuss with him the matter of Korea and China, then our conversation turned to the big issue before us today. He held fast to his opinion;²⁴ however, I tried to put the matter in perspective, and laid my views before him. On the way home, I also went to Prince Sanjō's, visited Ōki, and then Sakuma, reaching home after 6.

The heat today was intense. The trouble which I mentioned above has deep roots. I have been trying my best to explain the actual state of affairs since last year, that there are agitators who are deceiving the people, and plotting to bring the nation to disaster; but the government officials would not listen to me, and now they have fallen into the trap. I have shed tears of pity in my outrage. Saitō Shintarō came to talk. After 12, rain.

25 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/27] Fair. The heat was intense. Hayashi Hanshichi came to talk. I took a boat from Ushigome to Ryōgoku after 12, and met with Gotō, Mōri, and Shimomura at the Masudaya. After 6 I went to the Oshi domain²⁵ mansion at Mukō-ryōgoku. Lord Yōdō was already there. I returned home after midnight.

²⁴ Kido was the patron of the radical modernizers. Ōkubo was at this time skeptical of their innovations, but later he was converted to their point of view. Placed in office as Finance Minister in 1871 to control them, he emerged in time as the Home Minister (1873–1878) dedicated to economic modernization of Japan in the shortest possible time.

²⁵ 100,000 *koku*, *kamon*, Musashi province near Tokyo.

26 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/28] Fair. This evening my Old Lord had an appointment to go to the Tosa mansion at Hakozaiki. About 12 I went to the Chōshū mansion in Kanda to meet Domain Councilor Nomura who went with me to the Hakozaiki mansion in advance of our Lord. The Old Lord arrived before 4; and we drank in an elegant and leisurely fashion. When the time came for the Lord to return to his mansion, it showered and thundered. Nomura and I went to the Kawanagarō in Ryōgoku about 9. The liaison men²⁶ to the central government from Chōfu, Iwakuni, Tokuyama, and Kiyosue domains were having their meeting at that place. Lord Yōdō had come to a house near the bridge; and his boats were tied up in a row there. Gotō also came to the Kawanagarō. All of us scattered about 12.

27 July 1870 [Meiji 3/6/29] Fair. Ōhashi Shinzō came to discuss national problems. As I had an appointment with Etō, and was about to go, I was unable to hear him out. I went to Eto's, and we lamented for a time over what is happening. After 5 I visited Imperial Councilor Saitō.²⁷ Our conversation started off with the current situation, then it turned to what the future holds, and of times past. Toward him I have some suspicions which I could not fully clear up. At 7 I took my leave, visited Ōhashi who was absent, then returned home at 8. Letters came from Prince Sanjō and Lord Yanagiwara.

²⁶ *Kōyōnin* 公用人.

²⁷ Saitō Toshiyuki, who held the office of *Sangi*.

Seventh Month

28 July 1870 [Meiji 3/7/1] Fair. Lord Yanagiwara called to discuss the matter of China and Korea; and we debated the pros and cons of the current controversy.¹ I visited Ōhashi this evening for a talk.

29 July 1870 [Meiji 3/7/2] Rain. Ōkubo came in regard to the problem which has been developing the past few days. I went up to Prince Sanjō's after 6 to hear from him about the current controversy, and to give my opinions. I returned home after 8. Very heavy rain.

30 July 1870 [Meiji 3/7/3] Rain. I visited Ōkuma to talk about the current crisis. Hayashi, the Senior Deputy Minister,² was present; and we all vented our great dissatisfaction over what is happening. The more I contemplate what has gone on since last year, the more I find the present state of things unbearable. I come to the point that I shed tears for my country in spite of myself. On the way back I stopped by Prince Sanjō's to report Ōkuma's view; and I took a look at the letter which Ōkubo had presented to Lord Iwakura. This evening I had an engagement with Hirosawa, so I went directly to visit him. Yamagata, Masaki, Nomura, Kunishige, Eki, Sasaki, and Kasahara were present. They were about to depart, so I had a quick drink with them, then left myself.

¹ The controversy pitted conservative Councilors against the young modernizing bureaucrats who had captured control of the joint Home-Finance Ministry, *Ōkura-Mimbushō*, led by the Vice Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu, and including Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru. Kido was sympathetic to the modernizers, who were his protégés. Ōkubo Toshimichi, Councilor, demanded that their authority be restricted, as did several other Councilors. (Sakata Yoshio 坂田吉雄, "Nihon ni okeru kindai kanryō no hassei," 日本における近代官僚の発生 [The Rise of Japan's Early Modern Bureaucrats], *Jimbun Gakuhō* 人文學報 III [March, 1953], 1-26.)

² *Daijō* 大丞. Hayashi was Senior Deputy Minister of the Home-Finance Ministry.

(Note) Funakoshi Yōnosuke and Sannomiya Kōan of the War Ministry came by; and we talked over the situation since last year, and how we could follow up on Ōmura's purposes. We deplored the fact that so many of his plans have gone awry.

31 July 1870 [Meiji 3/7/4] Cloudy, then light rain. I went to the Kanda mansion after 3 to have an audience with the Old Lord. While there I played a game of *go* with Yamagata. This morning I sent off letters to Prince Sanjō and Ōkubo in regard to the issue which has developed in the last few days.

1 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/5] Fair, then cloudy, finally light rain. At 12 I went to the Kanda mansion to meet Nomura. We rode horseback from there to the Daishichirō in Imado. The entertainment was arranged by the men of Inaba province.³ Ōki Tanzō came to see me the other day in regard to this; and he sent me a letter of invitation today. Hirosawa was also present. We watched the *kyōgen* comedy "Monkey"⁴ and a comic dance; and I slipped out after 7 to go to Gotō's to stay overnight. Hayashi Kamekichi of Tosa was also at the party; and he too slipped away to come to Gotō's, then left.

(Note) This morning I handed in my resignation. [This note is between the entry for 31 July and that for 1 August.]

2 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/6] Fair. Today I had an appointment for a meeting at Ōkuma's villa at Mukō-Ryōgoku; and, as Gotō was scheduled for the same meeting, we took a boat there together after 11. Ōki and Yamaguchi were already on hand; and Tanaka Kuninosuke, Nomura Motosuke, and Tanaka Rentarō arrived later. We left at lamplighting time, Nomura and I going to the Ikkoku Bridge, and then home by bamboo palanquin from the Okamuraya. The time by then was 9 o'clock.

This evening I observed a procession of several hundred people carrying paper lanterns; and, when I asked the reason, I was told that it was in response to a rumor that the geisha houses which had burned the other day would be rebuilt. These people have been worshipping at the Shrine to the War Dead for the last

two or three days to offer prayers that such an order not be issued. What an absurd thing to do!

3 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/7] Rain. I went up to the Palace at 6 for an audience with the Emperor, and withdrew at 10. As I had an appointment with Governor Ōki⁵ afterwards, I went over to his house, and spent several hours drinking, discussing the present situation, and generally deploring it. Etō also came. Rain began at twilight. I returned home about 8. Yamao Yōzō and his wife came to stay overnight.

4 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/8] Fair. In the morning Councilor Ōkubo came to talk. Hotta Hanya also came, a man of Izushi domain⁶ in Tajima province. I met him at the Seizenji temple seven years ago when I was hiding in Izushi for a time after the battle in Kyoto; but he did not know then that I was a Chōshū man. I had promised Yamao that I would go with him to my So-meï villa today; and we rode on horseback there after 10. Yoshitomi Rakusui, Chō Sansu, Kinashi, Taira, and Saeki also came. Showers fell at dusk. The sky cleared immediately. I returned home about 9.

5 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/9] Cloudy. I have been ill since last night; and I spent the day either lying or sitting up in bed. Yoshitomi Rakusui, Chō Sansu, Inoue Inseki, Kashima Shōemon, and Suekichi were here to play *go*. Makimura Hankurō came up from Kyoto. He was here for a while to talk about the present state of affairs in that city. He believes that people there are gradually becoming more enlightened, and that the government must persevere in its efforts. Tonight a messenger came from Prince Sanjō requesting that I visit him at his house; but I could not go on account of my illness.

(Note) A letter arrived from the Minister of Prussia inviting me to a dinner at the legation at noon on the 8th.

6 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/10] Fair. I called at Prince Sanjō's mansion early in the morning; but Lords Tokudaiji and Iwakura,

³ This refers to Tottori *han*, 320,000 koku, *tozama*.

⁴ The Japanese title is Mokkō 沐猴.

⁵ Ōki Takatō was Governor of Tokyo-fu.

⁶ 30,000 koku, *tozama*. Sengoku Hisatoshi was the last Lord of Izushi.

as well as Lord Mibu, were paying him visits, so I was unable to have an audience. I did meet Moridera, whose younger brother has recently returned from England; hence he gave me some news of the West. I returned home at 10. I had an appointment with Gotō Untō to visit Hasegawa, so I started with Sansu and Seiho by taking a boat to Gotō's at Imado. We then went through the grounds of the Sensōji temple to visit Hasegawa in Honjō. We spent our time drinking and doing calligraphy. I returned home before 12. Showers fell at dusk, but cleared up immediately.

7 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/11] Fair. I paid a visit to Terashima, the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, after 3, but he was out. I then visited Senior Deputy Foreign Minister Yanagiwara, and discussed present problems with him for a time. The Senior Deputy is going to China soon; so our conversation turned to China and Korea. I called at Ōkuma's, but he was absent. I then stayed overnight at Itō's.

8 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/12] Fair. Ōkuma came to Itō's to talk. After 10 I called at Kuroda Ryōsuke's, but he was absent. The Minister of Prussia had invited me, so I went to the guest house at the Shuntōin temple in Azabu, his official residence. The Minister of Denmark was also present for the luncheon. A little later Soejima Jirō⁷ and Kuroda Ryōsuke⁸ came by. Inoue Shōzō also came in. He is a resident student at this temple. Kemperman⁹ is in permanent residence there. We left about 3. On the way back I visited Sakuma Seimu, then Watanabe, returning to my home after 6. At night I went to the inn of Yoshitomi, Hirahara, and Kashima at Iida-chō. Kawase came to stay overnight; and Shinagawa Yajirō came this evening.

9 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/13] Ōhashi Shinzō came by this evening, as did Mutsu Yonosuke¹⁰ and Ōkuma Yatarō.¹¹ All of us expressed our great dissatisfaction with the present situation. It

⁷ Soejima Taneomi.

⁸ Kuroda Kiyotaka.

⁹ F. P. Kemperman, First Interpreter, North German Confederation Legation, stayed at the Shuntō-in, the official residence of the Prussian Minister. (*Japan Herald Directory*, 1870.)

¹⁰ Mutsu Munemitsu.

¹¹ Ōkuma Shigenobu.

is a case of people fixing their attention on affairs near at hand, but ignoring the distant future. They notice only what is happening now, but cannot foresee what is to come ten years from now. Even most of those in the Cabinet do not understand the situation; and that is the source of the blunder which has just occurred.

10 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/14] Rain. Ōki Tanzō came, as did Sakurai Shimpei and Nagamatsu Bunsuke. Okumiya Shūjirō of Tosa came to talk. He said that he had met me and talked with me thirteen or fourteen years ago; but I do not have a clear recollection of it.

(Note) Yamao came to stay overnight.

11 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/15] Rain. A letter came from Ōki Mimpei¹² concerning the present crisis. Rain, then clearing, then uncertain weather.

12 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/16] Same weather as yesterday. I stayed home all day.

13 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/17] Same weather as yesterday. Today I had an appointment with Tōdō Tatsu'un of Tsu domain.¹³ I went to . . . from the Kanda mansion, and took a boat with Hirosawa to the Hirakiyo. . . . was aboard the boat with us. At the teahouse I ran into Ōkuma. I returned home about 12. Yamao went back to Tsukiji.¹⁴

14 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/18] Same weather as yesterday. I went to Tsukiji after 12, and called on Sakuma on my way back, then on Etō. Today my resignation request was returned to me without action.

15 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/19] Typhoon. Ōkubo . . . , Senior Councilor¹⁵ of Odawara domain,¹⁶ and Daikokuya Teijirō came

¹² Ōki Takatō.

¹³ Tsu domain, 323,900 *koku*, in Ise province, was headed by a *tozama* daimyō. The daimyō was named Tōdō; and this man appears to be a relative.

¹⁴ Yamao had been staying with Kido.

¹⁵ *Daisanji* 大参事. Ōkubo Ichio (1817–1888) held the position of Chief Councilor of Shizuoka domain in 1870; and he later served as Governor of Tokyo-fu in 1872. He had served five Shoguns; and in 1868, with Katsu Kaishū, Ōkubo Ichio worked to

over. We discussed pending matters, and all sorts of things including the products of the domain. Yamao came by after 2. We discussed the current situation again as we did the other day. In the night the rainstorm became violent.

16 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/20] The typhoon finally blew itself out. Before 10 I went to see Gotō with Yamao. Today I had an appointment to visit Kawase, the Governor of Kosuge;¹⁷ but, owing to the continuing rain for the past few days, the Sumida River has risen to flood stage, and to go upstream was impossible. Nor was it easy to go by land; so I spent the day talking at Gotō's. On my return, Gotō accompanied me as far as Asakusa. I went to the plant nursery to purchase some bamboo and rocks, as well as a pine tree. The proprietor of the nursery told me that if one pours a mixture of egg dissolved in water around the roots of orchids five or six times between about the fifth and the end of the seventh months,¹⁸ the plants will flourish. He also said that if one applies night soil to a tree which has lost all of its leaves two times around the time of the coldest day of the year, the tree will be certain to grow. I left Gotō in Asakusa, took a palanquin with Yamao from Suwa-chō, and returned home about 7. Yoshimatsu Heishirō and Kobayashi Takebei came by; and a letter arrived from Kubo Danzō,¹⁹ who tells me of the reactionary movement among the small domains of Shikoku in advocacy of expelling the barbarians. I sent a letter to Kawase today; and in answer he told me that the area in his jurisdiction suffered from floods as a result of yesterday's typhoon, and that the dikes are in a dangerously weakened condition.

17 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/21] Fair. . . . of Kii province came to talk. Ōhashi Shinzō also came by. Inasmuch as Furusawa Yukirō is going to Europe, he gave a farewell party; and I was

persuade shogunate retainers to accept Shogun Yoshinobu's plea to be loyal to the Imperial Court.

¹⁶ Odawara domain originally had 113,500 *koku*; but, as a *fudai* dimyō's holding, it was cut to 75,000 in 1869.

¹⁷ Kawase Hideji was a reforming governor who developed agriculture using American agricultural implements, promoted sericulture, and experimented with the cultivation of tea. His jurisdiction was absorbed into Gumma prefecture, of which he also became governor.

¹⁸ From June until the end of August.

¹⁹ Kubo Danzō was a Chōshū samurai who served Kido in many capacities.

invited. After 3 I went to the . . . Inn at Ryōgoku. More than ten people assembled for a very successful party. The Dutchman Siebold had promised to come, but did not owing to illness, though his younger brother²⁰ did. Ōkuma also came to the party. I slipped out to go home towards evening. The current of the Sumida was even swifter today than yesterday.

18 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/22] Generally fair. I went to the Kanda mansion for an audience with my Old Lord. I called on Yamagata; and met Shinagawa Yajirō and Nakamura Yoshisaburō. They had received news of the Franco-Prussian War, a great upheaval in Europe. They report that Russia has allied with Prussia, while Austria is in alliance with France. Toward evening heavy rain fell. I went to Hirosawa's.

(Note) Ōmura Matsutarō is leaving for England, so he came to bid me farewell. Shōjirō returned to Yokohama. [The following three lines are blank.]

19 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/23] Fair. The late Emperor's posthumous name was proclaimed today. At 4 I called on Seiko in the company of Chō, Yoshitomi, Kunishige, Fukubara, and Sugiyama. We went to the Shōgenrō in Ueno, and had a lotus-viewing party at which everybody enjoyed himself with ink and brush. I returned home about 11.

(Note) Kinashi left for Yokohama and Yokosuka today.

20 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/24] Fair. After 12 I went to Lord Iwakura's and Prince Sanjō's to discuss the current situation; and I begged for permission to retire from office. I visited Ōkubo and unburdened myself to him again.

21 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/25] Fair. In the morning Kuroda Ryōsuke came to talk, to express his opinion that the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance is in danger. We talked over the current situation, and it is evident that there are some insoluble problems. Ōkuma, Itō, Inoue (the two Inoues from Osaka)²¹ Fukubara Kyōsuke,

²⁰ Henry Siebold, interpreter for the Austrian legation, was the younger brother of the more famous Alexander George Gustav von Siebold (1846-1901), who was interpreter for the English legation.

²¹ The two men were Inoue Kaoru and Inoue Masaru, Chōshū men who had gone to England in 1863, both of whom served in the Osaka Mint project in 1870.

and Torio Koyata came to talk. The topic was limited to the current crisis. Watanabe Seizaemon also came to join the discussion.

22 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/26] Fair. The weather has settled down for the first time since the storm began. Kaetsu Ichinoshin of Kumamoto domain came to talk, as did Yamamoto Kōtarō of Wakayama domain. Tōjō Reizō paid me a visit. I saw him for the first time in ten years. I invited over the Chief Archivists²² from the Grand Council of State, Iwaya, Kusakabe, Kitagawa, and Sakuma. Seiko also came over; and we enjoyed ourselves with brush and inkstone, as well as sakè. Everyone left about 11.

23 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/27] Fair. I had an appointment with Ōkubo today; and I went to his house after 3. We discussed the situation as it has developed up to this point, and touched on some of the broader implications. I raised several of my objections to developments; and we talked them over. I returned home after 12.

24 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/28] Fair. Torio, Mutsu, Itō, and Sakura came to talk. Kemperman, the Secretary of the Prussian Legation, had promised to come over today; and at 12 he arrived in the company of Inoue Shōzō. We dined together and talked; and I heard a report from him on how the Franco-Prussian War is going. He left about 4. Makimura Hankurō also came to talk.

25 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/29] Fair. Visitors began arriving in the morning. Sakurai also dropped in. He is leaving for Osaka tomorrow, so I sent a letter to Yamada by his hand. Yamagata, Masaki, and Nomura came over; and we talked the whole day. Chief Archivist Motoda came to discuss the current situation. Tōjō came, bringing newspapers from the West. A letter arrived from Okudaira Nisui who sent me some silk crepe woven in Kumage.²³ Nisui had adopted my proposal that sericulture be introduced in the area under his jurisdiction. He reports that it has now developed on an extensive scale, and that this material was woven from raw silk produced there.

26 August 1870 [Meiji 3/7/30] Fair. After 2 I went up to Lord

Iwakura's to discuss the current situation with him. I want the Empire to be guided by a fundamental purpose which is consistent, and to have its course charted out. In view of the developments in the world today, such a policy is more urgent than any of my words could possibly indicate. I cannot bear to remain a passive spectator; therefore, I presented him my plans on a wide variety of issues. By doing so, I have repaid my obligation to my Emperor in some small degree. On my way home, I called at Prince Sanjō's; but as he had a visitor, I continued home without accomplishing my purpose.

²² *Daishi* 大史.

²³ A county, or *gun*, in eastern Chōshū.

Eighth Month

27 August 1870 [Meiji 3/8/1] Fair. After 3 I went to the Kanda mansion where I had an audience with the Old Chōshū Lord. I saw Lady Mōri for the first time since her arrival in Tokyo; and I was served sakè before the Lord himself. En route from the audience I called on Nomura, who informed me about recent developments in Higo. He told me that Yoneda and Ōtaguro¹ have come up to Tokyo. I returned home about 10.

28 August 1870 [Meiji 3/8/2] Fair. After 4 I went up to Prince Sanjō's to offer my views on the current situation, and did the same at Lord Iwakura's a little later. A great many very troublesome matters face us in both domestic and international affairs. I returned home about 10.

29 August 1870 [Meiji 3/8/3] Fair. Itō and the two Inoues came to call. Mihori and Yamagata have returned from the West; and Yamagata stayed overnight here. They informed me about the recent situation abroad. At dusk I paid a visit to Torio and Funakoshi, who told me about recent developments in the War Ministry. It is distressing to hear that public opinion is in such an uproar over the recent reforms there. En route home I stopped by Hirosawa's to outline for him my proposals to Prince Sanjō and Lord Iwakura. I told him that the government must restore unity, establish its goals, and decide on the direction the people are to take. At night, rain.

(Note) Tsuji Igaku (Tsuji Shōsō),² who has come up to the capital recently, paid me a visit today.

¹ Ōtaguro Tomo'o (1835–1876) was a loyalist samurai in the Restoration movement from Higo domain (Kumamoto). Later, in 1876, disenchanted with the pro-Western policy of the Meiji government, he led a *shizoku* protest in Kumamoto against the Sword Ban Ordinance, killing the Garrison Commander and Governor before his own death the following day from the bullet of an Imperial soldier.

² Tsuji Igaku (1823–1894) had been an Elder (1200 *koku*) to the Lord of Aki domain

30 August 1870 [Meiji 3/8/4] Changeable weather, clear then rain. Mutsu Yōnosuke, Yamamoto Kōtarō, and Hasegawa San'emon came to talk, as did Kadowaki, Fifth Court Rank. Mihori came over to stay the night; and I heard from him more about the situation in Europe. Sakuma Seimu also came to talk.

31 August 1870 [Meiji 3/8/5] Changeable weather—as it usually is around the time of the Bon Festival.³ I stayed home all day.

1 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/6] Rain. In the afternoon, clear. I went to Yushima to visit Shibusawa,⁴ Chief of the Tax Bureau,⁵ and we discussed the current situation. This man once accompanied Tokugawa Mimbukyo⁶ to France during his period of study there. I returned home after 6.

(Note) Sugi Minji,⁷ who arrived in Tokyo the other day from Chōshū, came to visit me today, and we talked for a while.

2 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/7] Changeable weather. Gotō Shōjirō came to talk with me. He also is deeply concerned about the present crisis, and has done a great deal to try to resolve it. As a courier will leave for Chōshū tomorrow, I sent letters to Kubo and Sugi by him. Today I handed Hirahara Hei'emon a bill of exchange from Hiro'oka Kyūemon and others of Osaka. This

prior to the Restoration. Igaku was his pen name; Shōsō his popular name, or *tsūshō*. After moving to Tokyo he served the Meiji government in a variety of minor posts.

³ The Bon Festival to the Dead fell on the 15th day of the 8th month by the lunar calendar. By the solar calendar the biggest typhoon is typically on September 10.

⁴ Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931) was a reforming bureaucrat in the Finance Ministry, the kind of aggressive young advocate of change alarming to the conservatives in government. He started life as the son of a rural entrepreneur in the indigo dyeing business around Kiryu. Later he was elevated to samurai rank by the Hitotsubashi house to serve in Kyoto, and he followed his Lord Yoshinobu to Edo in 1866 when Yoshinobu became the fifteenth and last Tokugawa shogun. At the time of Keiki's abdication in 1867 Shibusawa was in Europe with Yoshinobu's younger brother Prince Mimbukyo. In accordance with the early Meiji policy of the Finance Ministry of enlisting the services of able men of whatever background, this Shogunate retainer, Shibusawa, became one of the powerful policy innovators in the Ministry. After leaving government service he became one of the business tycoons of modern Japan.

⁵ *Sozei-shō*.

⁶ Tokugawa Yoshinobu's younger brother.

⁷ Sugi Minji, a Chōshū samurai, had studied at the Meirinkan domain school just ahead of Kido. The name Minji (which had been his childhood name) was conferred on him by the Lord in 1867 as a mark of honor. After the Restoration he held offices relating to county government in Yamaguchi domain (later prefecture), until 1876.

evening I had an appointment with Mutsu Yōnosuke, and went to Hashiba for it; Torio was also present. We talked about the actual state of the Kii reforms about which I had heard earlier. I also took part in the discussion about the status of Tsuda, the Senior Domain Councilor there. We had a few drinks, relaxed by chanting some Chinese poems, and about 9 Torio and I took a boat to Itō's to stay overnight.

(Note) Yasoe returned from Kyoto tonight.

3 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/8] In the morning, clear; in the afternoon, rain. I met with Ōkuma and Mihori at Itō's; and Aoki, Imperial Physician, also came. Aoki and I called on Hiraoka, but he was absent. We then went to the Kanda mansion together for an audience with the Old Lord. I played *go* with Aoki there. Old Takasugi came by, so we discussed inside affairs in the domain. Afterwards, I played *go* with the old gentleman. I then went to Masaki's, and returned home at 4.

Hisa and three or four other women from the Sakairō in Osaka came in today. Hisa is a woman whom I have known for eight or nine years. I loaned 2000 *yen* to Hirahara Hei'emon, and I entrusted money to him for the Shimonoseki matter (of purchasing relief rice). Hei'emon will leave for there tomorrow. At night I went to Hirosawa's, where Yamagata Kyōsuke was also present. We had a very lively time. At night, a heavy rain.

4 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/9] Fair. There was an accident last night; and I was relieved to hear that no one was hurt. Yamagata came to talk, as did Inoue. I had an appointment to go to Kawase's today, so about 4 I took a boat from Ushigome, and reached Kosuge about 6, staying there overnight. Yamao brought Seiho over; and Fukui also came. We enjoyed a few drinks, and entertained ourselves with the calligraphy brush.

5 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/10] Fair. The Sumida River has been flooding since yesterday, two or three feet above flood level. Many houses along the river bank were under water; therefore we could not take a boat from Kosuge. About 3 we walked along the dikes of the Sumida River, crossed over to Imado to go on to Asakusa temple, and took a palanquin home, arriving at 8 p.m.

6 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/11] Fair. Sansu⁸ returned from Yokohama today; and he painted orchids and bamboo on the cabinet doors of my newly-built house. The Old Lord paid a visit to Hirosawa's this evening; and, as the master of the house had to go to the residence of the English Minister, I took charge of the entertainment at Hirosawa's. Lady Mōri accompanied the Lord, who returned to his mansion about 8. We left immediately after that.

7 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/12] In the morning Yoneda Toranosuke of Higo came to talk with me. He informed me fully about the state of affairs in his province. I made an appointment to meet with some Higo men at the Ariakerō this evening; but Prince Sanjō sent his messenger several times to summon me to his mansion, so I was unable to go to the Ariakerō. Prince Sanjō talked to me exclusively about the present crisis in national affairs.

(Note) In the evening, a sudden shower.

8 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/13] Fair. Itō Hōbai came to discuss the present situation. After 4 I went to the Kanda mansion, but everybody was gone. On the way back I stopped in at Shinagawa's house; but he was absent.

(Note) In the evening, a sudden shower.

9 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/14] Fair. Gotō Shōjirō came over to discuss national affairs; and Yamamoto Kōtarō came to discuss domain affairs. Kawase Tonoe came in, as did Yamagata Kyōsuke, Shinagawa Yajirō, Torio Koyata, and Okudaira Kensuke. A letter came from Prince Sanjō, and another from Kemperman, the Prussian. After 2 I went to Prince Sanjō's to give my opinions on the queries which he put to me the other day. I also discussed what I consider to be the principal harmful practices of the day. I went from there to Lord Iwakura's, and then to Tsukiji to stay overnight.

10 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/15] Fair. In the morning I met with Ōkuma. As Gotō Shōjirō was going to Ōkuma's today, I was also invited; and we met after 9 to discuss the situation among

ourselves. I left after 3 to visit Itagaki Taisuke. I also went to Lord Iwakura's, where I give him the opinions which I had presented to Prince Sanjō yesterday. I saw Nawa Kan, who had come in from the Etsu provinces.

A year ago tonight I had intended to view the moon on Lake Hakone; but a storm came up unexpectedly. Moon-viewing tonight was altogether different. As night came on, the clouds all scattered, and the moon shone brightly indeed.⁹

(Note) Today orders were issued to Itagaki Taisuke, Ōyama Yasuke, and Shingawa Yajirō to proceed to Europe. Rain fell from time to time after 3.

11 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/16] Fair. I went to Tsukiji after 3 to see Mihori off on his return to our home province of Chōshū. I then went to Lord Sawa's to discuss the Korea question and the matter of the telegraph system. I told him what I thought would be best for the future of Japan; and at 8 I returned home. Kinashi came back from Yokosuka today.

(Note) Nitta, Senior Councilor for Kōriyama domain,¹⁰ came over to talk. There is much to admire in the reforms being carried out in that domain.

12 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/17] Fair, then rain. This morning Nomura Motosuke came; and we went together to Hirosawa's to discuss the future of the domain government. I had an appointment with Yoneda of Higo this evening, so I went to the Higo mansion at Hamachō to meet him after 3. We drank and talked; and I returned home after 11. Day before yesterday, on the 10th, a decision was finally reached on our petition to the Imperial Government some months ago regarding the regular army of Yamaguchi domain,¹¹ and an official order was issued. Sugiyama Sōichi, Nakamura Yoshisaburō, and . . . Toshisuke, who had come to the capital on that business, are therefore returning to Chōshū tomorrow. They came by to take leave yesterday. Today Lord Sawa showed me a draft of the telegraph contract.

⁹ The 15th day of the 8th month was the traditional night for moon-viewing.

¹⁰ 151,200 koku, *fudai*, in Nara prefecture. Yanagisawa Yasumoshi was the last Lord of Kōriyama.

¹¹ Yamaguchi-han *Jōbihei* refers to the standing units of the domain army, as opposed to the irregulars, or *shotai*.

⁸ Chō Sansu, Kido's artist friend.

13 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/18] Fair. I had an appointment with Itagaki of Tosa at Gotō's villa in Imado; so I went to the Kanda mansion about 12 to go to the villa with Nomura, our Domain Councilor. We took a boat from Ikkokubashi, and did not arrive until about 4, the east wind was so strong. Gotō and Itagaki were already there. We discussed the current situation at length; then Itagaki told us about the reforms carried out in Kōchi domain up to this point. He is a man to be trusted. We had drinks until after 8. I accompanied the others back; and we stopped in at the Kawanagarō for a farewell party for Oki Tanzō of Inaba—who is returning to his native place tomorrow. I took a boat with Hirosawa from Ushigome about 12, and returned home. Today Shimomura and Mōri were also present at Gotō's.

14 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/19] Visitors started coming before dawn. Oki Tanzō dropped by to bid farewell. We discussed the current situation, then he left. Yoshida Uichirō came by. This evening Seiho, Yosoe, and I went to the Somei villa; and I returned home after 8. The new house was completed today.

15 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/20] Fair. I did not go out during the day. This evening I had an engagement at Yoshitomi's; and all the members of my family went to his house. Letters arrived from Prince Sanjō twice this morning urging me to continue serving in office, and to give up my desire to go abroad. Itagaki came by today.

16 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/21] Fair. About 11 I went up to Prince Sanjō's to talk with him about his intentions as expressed in his letters yesterday. The decision on my mission abroad has already been made, at least 80 to 90 percent; and for an adverse recommendation to be given today, at this late stage, is upsetting. I went to Itō's, where I congratulated Inoue on his marriage. At Itō's I happened to hear that Saigō Kichinosuke has gone to Chikuzen on that domain's request to Satsuma to bring the counterfeiting problem of *kinsatsu* currency notes under control. I am not yet certain that this is true. But, if by chance this kind of action has taken place, I fear for the authority of the central government. How can the integrity of the nation be maintained hereafter? This is a breach of official discipline; and I regret that

we can do nothing about it. I only hope that the news is not true.

About 5 I paid a visit to Itagaki. He was ordered to go abroad the other day; but he says that he cannot go because of the pressing situation in his domain—which I regret. I then went to the Kanda mansion where I visited Yamagata and Kamiyama, but found that Masaki and Nomura were absent. I did meet Sugi Umetarō¹² to bid him farewell, and returned home after 6. News about the Franco-Prussian War has continued to arrive in recent days; and it indicates that France has lost a great many battles.

17 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/22] Fair. Lord Iwakura paid me a visit to importune me to take up active service in government. Since I have been refusing to hold office since last year, my opposition is not a whim of the moment. My inmost feelings are too intense for words. Nomura Motosuke, Kawase Sotoe, and Inoue Bunda came by. I went to the Kanda mansion after 4 for an audience with the Old Lord, who has been ill lately. From there I went to Tsukiji, and returned home about 11 at night. Yamao accompanied me. Along the way it rained.

18 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/23] Fair. A letter arrived from Prince Sanjō urging my attendance at the council chambers. I paid a visit to Gotō after 2, but he was out. In the evening I went to Hirosawa's to discuss the current situation; and we talked about my personal position. I asked him to arrange a postponement of my attendance on duty at the council chambers. Today members of my household and Inoue went to the Saruwaka Theatre.¹³

19 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/24] Fair. Shinagawa Yajirō came to take leave of me. Sase Yasō and Nakatani Ichizaemon also came by; and we discussed the current situation, and expressed the hope that our Chōshū will not misjudge the times, and will do everything it possibly can to advance the cause of the nation. Torio came by; and he went with me to visit Yamamoto

¹² Umetarō was the popular name, or *tsūshō*, of Sugi Minji who called on Kido on 1 September.

¹³ The Saruwaka Theatre was the oldest of the three Kabuki theatres of Edo, established in 1624 by Saruwaka Kanzaburō. Even after the Saruwaka family of actors changed its name to Nakamura, their theatre was referred to as the Saruwaka. The other two theatres were the Morita-za and the Ichimura-za.

Kōtarō of Kii. I also called at Itagaki Taisuke's, but he was gone. I then went to Tsukiji to talk with Itō. There I said my farewells to the two Inoues, and returned home after 7. On the way home I stopped in at Hirosawa's to talk for a while. Yoshitomi came by to talk.

20 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/25] Fair. Katsura Tarō and Shizuma Kōsuke, who are leaving for Europe, came to say farewell. Kōsuke is accompanying Mutsu Yōnosuke of Kii; and their friends contributed money to help with preparations for the journey. Yamagata Kyōsuke came to talk; and we spent all of our time on the current problem. This evening I was invited to the Ariakerō for a farewell party for Shinagawa. I went there with Yamao. During the evening the place was packed with guests who had come to send him off. As I had another engagement with Yoshitomi, I went off to the Daishichirō. I returned home about 12.

(Note) I took a boat from Ryōgoku.

21 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/26] Fair. Inoue Shunjirō (Yakichi),¹⁴ who has come back from Ezo, paid me a visit. While there he arrested the man who was dealing in counterfeit money in Chikuzen. Iwao Saburō and Ofuji Kanta of Kumamoto domain came to visit; and Ōkubo Ichizō came by to talk about my attending on official duties in the council chambers. Nagayasu Wasō, Hayaashi Hanshichi, and Nawa Kan came by. Around 4 Seiho and I went to the Tachibanaya and other antique stores and art stores. We then went to the Chitoserō to eat, and returned home at 10.

22 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/27] Cloudy. I visited Itagaki Taisuke after 2, but he was not home. I walked from the neighborhood of Kajibashi to the Nakadōri area, browsing in the antique and art shops. After 6 I went to the Kanda mansion to visit Yamagata; and I learned that today the Senior Councilor of Fukuoka domain in Chikuzen has been placed under the charge of the Yamaguchi domain mansion. I returned home about 7.

¹⁴ This was Inoue Masaru, the railways expert who had studied in England.

23 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/28] Rain. Ōkuma came over to talk; and after 4 two geisha, Kane and Kiyo, came in. Yoshitomi and Fukubara also came; and I engaged in a drinking bout with Yoshitomi Shōji. We had a great time. Ōkuma left after 8 while it was pouring rain; and everyone else scattered between 10 and 11.

24 September 1870 [Meiji 3/8/29] Cloudy, then rain. Mutsu Yōnosuke came to bid me farewell, as did Shizuma Kōsuke earlier this morning. Both are going to Europe. Itō Hōbai also came over; so did Yamagata Kyōsuke. Saigō Shingo¹⁵ had promised to come over at 4 this afternoon; but he did not show up. Finally he did come after 6 for a discussion of the current situation. Saigō went abroad last year with Mihori and Yamagata; and now all have returned home. At present he holds the post of Junior Deputy War Minister. He deplores the failure of the War Ministry to make progress. Sincerity is written all over the face of this man; he is a dependable person. Everybody left about 12, except for Yamagata who stayed overnight. This evening I had an appointment to meet with Yoneda, Tsuda, and Ōtaguro of Higo at Hirosawa's; but as Saigō came late I could not keep the appointment.

Today was the death anniversary of Kuribara Ryōzō. He died at the Sakurada mansion eight years ago to express his indignation at the nation's policies. Changes since that time are beyond description. I have had the good fortune to survive to this day; and, when I recalled to mind those times gone by, I could not hold back the tears. I had Hikotarō¹⁶ go to Wakabayashi¹⁷ to pay respects.

¹⁵ Saigō Tsugumichi (1843–1902), Satsuma samurai, was the younger brother of Saigō Takamori. In contrast to his traditionalist brother who never left the shores of Japan, Tsugumichi toured Prussia, France, and Russia in 1869–1870. He became a full admiral, and served as Ministry of the Navy later. Kido here uses his childhood name, Shingo.

¹⁶ Kuribara Hikotarō was the eldest son of Ryōzō, and Kido's nephew. He also became Kido's heir posthumously under the name Kido Takamasa, and served the Imperial family.

¹⁷ Wakabayashi is also the place where Yoshida Shōin was buried. It is located in present-day Setagaya Ward.

Ninth Month

25 September 1870 [Meiji 3/9/1] Fair. I went to Somei with Yamao about 10, and returned home after 5. I then went to Hirosawa's to discuss several issues with him. Tonight Kinashi, Yamao, and I went to Itō's in Tsukiji to stay overnight.

26 September 1870 [Meiji 3/9/2] Cloudy. This morning Ōkuma came over to invite me to his place as the Old Lord Date¹ had come there. I went over to Ōkuma's to meet Lord Date. Today I decided to go to Yokohama to see a Western doctor about my toothache; and Yamagata Kyōsuke promised to accompany me. When Itō came in, he decided on the spot to make the Yokohama trip with us. We left here about 11, and reached Yokohama after 3, going to Endō's residence in the Foreign Trade Office.² At night Itō, Endō, and I went to Imamura's; and Shōjirō came to stay overnight. Yamagata went over to Yamashiroya's.³

27 September 1870 [Meiji 3/9/3] Cloudy. Itō returned to Tokyo after 6. Itō Kansai came over; and through his arrangements I paid a visit to Hepburn,⁴ the American doctor. At Hepburn's

¹ Date Munenari of Uwajima domain.

² *Tsūshōshi* 通商司 was the name of an office established in several port cities on 3 April 1869 under the Foreign Ministry to supervise foreign trade. The name ceased to be used on 20 August 1871 after a general government reorganization.

³ Yamashiroya Wasuke (1836–1872) was official merchant to the War Ministry which Yamagata served as Vice Minister. The merchant was originally an itinerant Pure Land Sect priest, but left the order to fight with Yamagata's Kiheitai in Chōshū in 1863 under the name of Nomura Michizō, and in Echigo in 1868. When he moved to Yokohama as agent for the War Ministry, he adopted the mercantile name of Yamashiroya. There was a tragic aftermath to the association of the two; for reports from the Japanese legation in Paris that Yamashiroya was living high led to a revelation that he had embezzled official funds. Yamagata's summons home and demand for repayment led to the merchant's suicide in the waiting room of the War Ministry on 29 December 1872. (Roger Hackett, *Yamagata Aritomo and the Rise of Modern Japan* [Harvard University Press, 1971], 71fn.)

⁴ Dr. James Curtis Hepburn (1815–1911), a Presbyterian, was the pioneer American medical missionary to Japan. An 1832 graduate of Princeton University, he held

suggestion, I went to visit Elliott,⁵ who told me that he will begin treatment of my gums tomorrow.

28 September 1870 [Meiji 3/9/4] Cloudy. About 9 I paid a visit to Elliott who applied some medicine to my gums. Itō Kansai and I went to Elliott's house together; but Elliott had a rash on both hands from lacquer poisoning, so he said that he would not begin actual treatment of my teeth until the 30th. I sent letters to Tokyo today. Yamashiroya invited me over tonight, so I went to his house after 6, as did Endō. I left about 10, and walked home.

Last night I saw some English and Prussian newspapers which carried reports that France has finally been routed, and Napoleon⁶ taken captive. People here regard these reports as true. I also saw a French newspaper today—which admits to the capture of Napoleon, but contends that the French people do not wish to evacuate Paris, and that the French have reached a higher fighting pitch than ever. Shōjirō came to stay overnight.

29 September 1870 [Meiji 3/9/5] Cloudy, with occasional rain. I visited Elliott at half-past eight. He spread ointment on my gums, a different medicine than yesterday. On my way back I met Itō Kansai along the road; and we went back to Elliott's together, where I made an appointment for 8:30 tomorrow. Endō left for Tokyo this morning. A letter came from Hayashi Hanshichi yesterday. He said that he is pressing Lord Iwakura to have me return to the capital speedily. Shōjirō came to stay overnight.

30 September 1870 [Meiji 3/9/6] Fair. I called at Elliott's at 8:30. Itō was already there. . . ., a doctor of Yokohama, came to visit me, and accompanied me to Elliott's. He said that he met

his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, and was an experienced doctor when he arrived at Yokohama in 1859, as soon as the country was open to foreign residence. By 1869 his dispensary was serving 30 to 50 patients a day. It was at No. 39 in the Foreign Settlement, also the Meeting Place for the Presbyterian Branch of Foreign Missions. Hepburn was a skilled linguist who compiled a 40,000 word English-Japanese lexicon in 1867. (Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 237.)

⁵ W. St. George Elliott, M.D., was a dentist and oral surgeon who resided at No. 75A in the Yokohama foreign settlement. Like Hepburn, he was an American. (*Japan Herald Directory* 1871.)

⁶ Napoleon III, who served as President of France under the name of Louis Napoleon from 1848 to 1852, and as monarch from 1852 to 1870.

me once at Uraga. Shōjirō comes along with me every day. Today I had nine teeth pulled. The one with the longest roots was about 2/3 of an inch in length.⁷ The pain penetrated to my bones; and the bleeding continued throughout the day. Eating was exceedingly difficult.

Seiho came after 4, accompanied by Ōshima. . . ., a messenger from Prince Sanjō, brought His Excellency's letter saying that I should return to the capital posthaste. I have heard that the Cabinet is to hold a conference soon on some very important issues; and I would ordinarily respond to my country's call without consideration for my own life. However, I underwent a major operation today; and I am still under medical care. As two or three days will not matter much, I want to continue treatment for two or three more days, and so wrote in my reply. I am prepared, however, to comply with the decision, whether to stay or go, as soon as a letter arrives. Ōshima came by; and we went to the Sannoshige together.

1 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/7] Rain. I called at Elliott's at 8:30. Itō and his son had already come. Elliott applied medication to my teeth, and put silver fillings in my cavities. Shōjirō came along, and his cavities were filled with gold. Motoyama Shinjirō came over; and after 11 I went to Ōshima's inn, the Isebun. I returned home about 9. My teeth ached so much that I could not sleep tonight.

2 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/8] Rain. I went to Elliott's about 8, and visited Itō Kansai on my way back. The typhoon was violent, reaching its height between 12 and 1 or 2. Some of the houses were completely stripped of tiles by the wind; and earthen walls built around bamboo frameworks collapsed. They say that some people were killed in the destruction of their houses. The storm finally quieted down about 4. This morning Mutsu Yōnosuke and the others left for Europe; and I cannot help worrying about the danger from the high seas to those aboard the French courier ship. I paid a visit to Ōshima about 5; but, as I have not been feeling well lately, I could not stay long. I returned to my place before 7.

⁷ Six or seven *bu* 歩, which would come to between 0.72 and 0.84 inches. Kido may have exaggerated unconsciously, or for effect.

3 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/9] Clear, then cloudy, then rain. Itō Kansai came by to give me treatment this morning, as he did last night. There was no particular change in the condition of my teeth; but an allergic rash has broken out all over my body. Endō has returned from Edo; and Ōshima came to visit me. Today I did calligraphy on the paper which people have entrusted me; and after 3 I paid a visit to Elliott. I purchased some cotton goods and a mirror at a foreigners' shop; and on the way back to my place I stopped in at Itō's. I heard reports on damage done by the typhoon in Tokyo today. Yesterday the Emperor went to Fukagawa to review troops; and he was returning to the Palace when the wind became most violent. It destroyed the Eidai Bridge, so the Emperor made a detour to the Shinōhashi Bridge to cross the Sumida. Along his route apartment houses had collapsed; and the injured and the dead lay about. Itō also said that Aoki Kenzō⁸ had perished in the disaster. Kenzō is one of my oldest friends, a very good man. It grieves me that he has met with such an accident. I returned home, took my medicine, and rested. Yamashiroya who returned from Tokyo paid me a visit. He gave me the same report on the situation in Tokyo.

(Note) This morning I used the medicine for my teeth given me by Elliott.

4 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/10] Cloudy. Itō came over to give me treatment this morning; and Ōshima came to visit. I took my leave after 9; and Endō, Yamashiroya, and Motoyama came to the ship to see me off. Shōjirō, who stayed with me last night, also came to the ship, which departed before 10 and arrived at Tsukiji after 1. I went to Itō's where I ate, then went on to Lord Iwakura's and to Prince Sanjō's. I returned home after 6; and Nomura came to talk. En route home I was coming down with a cold, and felt badly chilled.

5 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/11] Fair. I stayed in bed. Fujii Benzō, Fujita Yojiemon, Nōmi Ryūan, Naitō Jirōzaemon, Eki Seijirō, Itō Hōbai, and Hirosawa Shōgaku came to visit me. We drank and talked; and they left one by one. Itō and I then visited

⁸ Aoki Kenzō drowned while in attendance on the Emperor. His adopted son Aoki Shōzō later became Foreign Minister.

Yoshitomi. Yokoyama, the Junior Imperial Physician,⁹ came to give me treatment. At night Fukui also came to treat me.

6 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/12] Fair. I stayed in bed all day. Yokoyama came to treat me.

7 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/13] Cloudy. I stayed in bed all day. Yokoyama came to administer treatment; and Gotō Shōjirō came to talk. He said that he is returning to his home province tomorrow, and that Itagaki is going with him. The situation in Tosa domain, which has been restive in recent days, has settled down somewhat; but it is not yet completely secure. That is the reason these two are going home now. On whether or not the political situation in Tosa quiets hinges the course of the entire nation. Kawase came to talk.

(Note) A letter came from Foreign Minister Sawa.¹⁰

8 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/14] Rain. Old Kawase stayed over last night. Ōkubo Kōtō¹¹ came to talk with me; and we discussed several pending matters. He also intends to return to his home province of Satsuma for a while. I have often reflected on the way things have developed, and note that many of the domains which rendered conspicuous service to the Restoration of Imperial Government are now, contrary to expectation, doing harm to the cause. The reason is that their people merely mouthed slogans about "the highest loyalty of all,"¹² but have no real understanding of the dominant trends in the world; therefore, they are satisfied with having effected the Restoration, but they are unable to go beyond that to decide on a model which will allow our Empire in fact to excel others in the world. Other domains which deviated from their duty to the Emperor in the past, but whose lords and retainers are well informed as to the state of the world, have become penitent since the Restoration, and are making

⁹ *Shōten'i* 少典醫.

¹⁰ Sawa Nobuyoshi, a loyalist court noble, had become Foreign Minister on 27 June 1870. On the day following this entry, 8 October 1870, he received an 800-*oku* stipend from the Emperor in reward for his services to the loyalist cause. The letter might have related to that.

¹¹ Ōkubo Toshimichi's pen name was Kōtō, meaning "East of the Kōtsuki," the place of his residence in the Satsuma castletown of Kagoshima.

¹² *Meibun meigi* 名分名義.

strenuous efforts to improve our situation. The latter differ only on the point that they served the Bakufu at first rather than the Imperial Government; but their resolution to render service derives from their feeling that they should not sit idly by as spectators when they are well aware of where the world is heading. As a result they serve the state more zealously today than ever. I have ever regretted that Satsuma domain and my old domain of Chōshū are not so discerning. I have quietly made a number of efforts to change attitudes there, but they have been fruitless. Now, however, I am getting some slight response; and the return of Saigō Shingo from Europe has been most useful. Last year when I used my influence to send Yamagata Kyōsuke and Mihori Kosuke to Europe, Saigō decided to go along. Now both he and I are deriving no little unexpected benefit from his trip as his travels will have a favorable influence on the nation. Yamanaka Sei'itsu came in to talk. We went our separate ways last year when he went off to serve as governor of (Momono) domain¹³ in Ōu; and I met him today for the first time since then. He came, and discussed local administration with me at length, then left at dusk.

This morning I invited Yoshitomi and his family to go to Mukōjima; and we returned about 11.

(Note) Minami Teisuke came to talk; and in the end he stayed overnight.

9 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/15] Fair. This morning Hakamazuka Kōzō came to talk. An old acquaintance of twenty years ago, he was a disciple of Fujita Tōko.¹⁴ I went to the Kanda mansion after 4, had an audience with the Old Lord, and attended a banquet there in the evening, returning home about 9. In the early evening the sky clouded over, then rain fell. Today was the day of the festival of the Shrine to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Spirit.¹⁵

¹³ Momono domain was absorbed into Ishimaki domain in September 1869, and became part of Sendai domain in September 1870. ("Prefecture" rather than "domain" may be the correct word for a unit ruled by an appointed governor.) The fact that Yamanaka's jurisdiction was absorbed into another might explain his return to Tokyo.

¹⁴ Fujita Tōko (1806–1855), like his father Yūkoku before him, headed the Mito school of historians who advocated Emperor loyalism, even while supporting the Bakufu. Kido's mentor Yoshida Shōin had made an unauthorized trip to Mito to converse with this ideologue.

¹⁵ Hōeishinrei 豊榮神靈.

10 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/16] Cloudy. Ōshima and Ukita came over to talk about 10. Then I went to the Somei villa, and returned home about 6. I called on Hirosawa, but he was not home.

11 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/17] Cloudy, then rain. I talked over the situation in Yamaguchi domain with Hirosawa. After 3 Hirosawa came over, and we talked again. I played games of *go* with Yoshitomi and Chō at night.

12 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/18] Stormy. A letter came from Nomura, the Governor of Nagasaki. The storm reached its height after 12 noon. I talked with Sansu and Seiho at night. Yamao went to Itō's yesterday, and has not yet returned. I stayed awake all night, unable to sleep. When dawn finally came, my eyes were as glazed as those of a dead fish.

13 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/19] Fair. I paid a visit to Hirosawa at 2, then I went to Lord Iwakura's after 3, and we discussed current affairs and drank until dusk. After that I went to the Shiroganeya, then visited Itō Hōbai. He and I returned to Banchō under the moonlit night. We called on Yoshitomi; and returned home with our friends. We drank and played *go*; and, as the moonlight flowed into my garden, the night scene was spectacular.

14 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/20] Fair. Itō, Yamao, Yoshitomi, Chō, Seiho, Suekichi, and I went to Ōji. We rested at the Ōgiya, walked around the Mount Asuka area, and reached my Somei villa where we drank and enjoyed ourselves. I returned home after 5; and Itō came along to stay overnight.

15 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/21] Fair. I went to the Kanda mansion where I saw Yamagata, Fujii, Fujita, and Yoshida at Masaki's residence, then had an audience with the Governor of Iwakuni, who had come up to Tokyo a few days ago. En route home I called on Hirosawa; he was gone, but I ran into him a little further along. I had an engagement with Yoshitomi; and we played *go* at his house. I saw Yamagata Kyōsuke at the Kanda mansion; and he reported that Miura Gorō had arrived in town. Tonight

letters came from Inoue Segai, Torio Koyata, and Yamada Ichinojō in Naniwa.

16 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/22] Drizzling rain. Today I was informed that I should appear at the Palace as it is the Emperor's birthday, and to take part in the reception of the foreign diplomats in the Enryōkan. Inasmuch as I have been excused from attendance at the Palace recently because of my illness, I did not go this morning either. . . . , a priest of Ōshima county,¹⁶ came to visit in connection with his petition on behalf of his sect. My whole household celebrated the Emperor's birthday; and saké, food, and two rolls of Hachijō silk¹⁷ were sent over from the Palace.

(Note) Miura Gorō came to stay overnight.

17 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/23] Fair. Today was the day of the Festival at the Shrine to the War Dead,¹⁸ and horse races were held. Matsudaira Shinnojō, the Governor of Miyazu,¹⁹ came to visit, as did Yamagata Kyōsuke. I went over to Yoshitomi's at dusk, then on to Hirosawa's. Imperial Secretaries²⁰ Hijikata, Nagamatsu, and Sawa . . . , and Yamagata Kyōsuke came over to his official residence. I left there after 10 to go to Yoshitomi's again, then returned home after 11.

(Note) Itō sent a messenger to tell me that my younger sister, Mrs. Kuribara, has arrived in Tokyo. He said that Itō's parents had come with her. This message arrived after 10.

18 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/24] Rain. I went up to the Palace after 8, and took part in an Imperial Conference in His Majesty's Presence.²¹ It was reported that the Emperor has been on hand at all of the Council meetings lately, except for a half-day span. I withdrew after 3. It was raining very hard then.

¹⁶ Ōshima county(*gun*) embraced an island in the Inland Sea in the eastern portion of Kido's native Chōshū.

¹⁷ Striped or plaid patterns dyed on silk made on Hachijō Island in the Pacific Ocean south of Tokyo.

¹⁸ This was later known as the Yasukuni shrine, where the spirits of the martyrs of the Restoration, and of the dead in later wars, were enshrined.

¹⁹ As a *han* Miyazu was 70,000 *koku*, *fudai*, and located in Tango province. The last Lord of Miyazu was named Honjō Munetake, so Governor Matsudaira was evidently appointed by the central government.

²⁰ *Benji* 辨事.

²¹ *Gozen onkaigi* 御前御會議.

(Note) Nomura Motosuke came to visit.

19 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/25] Fair. I called on Ōkubo about 10, then went to Itō's to see my younger sister. As I had an appointment I left to go to the Kanda mansion. From there Yamagata, Masaki, Nomura, Yoshitomi, Fujita, Fujii, Hirosawa, and I went on over to the Nakamurarō in Ryōgoku to hold a conference. We had some drinks afterwards; and everyone left about 12.

20 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/26] Fair. The younger brother of Moridera is going to England soon; and he has come by the house several times recently, so I met with him. Ōtaguro (Tomo'o) of Higo also came to visit. Ōtaguro has come here frequently, but we always missed one another, until today when we finally talked. He is the ranking man of Higo domain, one with an excellent understanding of the general situation. The Lord Governor of Iwakuni then arrived in a palanquin. The Old Lord of Chōshū was scheduled to visit me today; therefore, I detained the Governor after Ōtaguro and the others left. About 2 the ladies in waiting came to report that Lady Osono is ill; but the Old Lord had come after 12. Takasugi, Kamiyama, Yoshida Chō of Iwakuni, Hirosawa, and I sat at the table with the Lord; and I offered him saké and food. Kiyomoto Enjūdayu²² who present sballad-drama, the storyteller Kosan,²³ and the Shinnai folk-singer²⁴ . . . came to the banquet room, along with Aioi, a sumō wrestler. They provided superb entertainment. Yamao and his wife were also there. The Old Lord left about 12 midnight. Sumō matches were held at the Shrine to the War Dead yesterday and today.

21 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/27] I went to the Kanda mansion to visit Yamagata. Masaki also came in. There I went to the Interior Chamber²⁵ to pay my respects to the Old Lord's wife.²⁶

²² Kiyomoto Enjūdayu presented a form of comic ballad-drama, similar to *jōruri*, but without puppets. Probably he was fourth in a line of six reciters bearing the same name. Kiyomoto Enjūdayu IV (1832-1904), born the son of a pawnbroker in Edo, married into the Kaomura family (legal name of the Kiyomoto reciters); he was famed for his beautiful voice, and composed more than 100 pieces in a distinctive style for his performances.

²³ Kosan was Yanagiya Kosan II, a comic storyteller, or *rakugoka*.

²⁴ Shinnai was a type of *jōruri* featuring sad crying songs.

²⁵ *Nakaoku* was the wife of the retired lord.

²⁶ Perhaps he called to express concern at the illness which kept her from visiting him the previous day.

From there I went to Itō's, and returned home about 5. Then I went out again to see Kadowaki from whom I had received a letter this morning. Hirosawa and several other guests were there. Oki Tanzō who has recently returned to Tokyo was also present. A heavy rain fell about 10. When it finally stopped, I returned with Hirosawa. My younger sister came over today.

22 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/28] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew after 3. Watanabe Noboru had returned to Tokyo several days ago; and today I heard from him the circumstances surrounding the counterfeiting incident in Chikuzen, and other matters. I visited Hirosawa after 6, but he was not home. I went to Yoshitomi's to talk, and returned home after 7.

23 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/29] Fair. I went up to the Council chambers at 9, and withdrew after 3. I then went to the Kanda mansion to discuss the domain political reforms in the presence of the Lord. Takasugi—the Domain Police Inspector,²⁷ Nomura, Yamagata, Masaki, Fujii—the Deputy Senior Domain Councilor,²⁸ Fujita and Yoshida—both Junior Domain Councilors, Hirosawa, and I attended the conference. I returned home about 6.

24 October 1870 [Meiji 3/9/30] Fair. Nawa Kan came to talk, as did Yamagata Kyōsuke, both on official business. Today I made an engagement for a farewell party at the Somei villa with Yamagata, Nomura, Masaki, Fujii, Fujita, and Yoshida. I went there by horse carriage after 10. Itō, Kinashi, Yamao, and Chō also came. It was the highlight of recent days. I returned home at 7.

²⁷ *Kansatsu* 監察.

²⁸ *Gondaisanji* 権大参事.

Tenth Month

25 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/1] Cloudy. I went up to the Palace at 9, had an audience with the Emperor, and withdrew after 10. I then went to the Kanda mansion for an audience with the Old Lord. Afterwards I called on Yamanaka Sei'itsu, and on Nawa Kan. Lord Iwakura happened to invite me over; and I heard from him the actual state of affairs in Satsuma recently. It is simply deplorable. Unless everyone in the Cabinet relies on his own good judgment, and determines to move forward even though thousands of others fall back, the present situation will be beyond redemption. I went to Itō's for lunch. We then proceeded to the Kii mansion in Shiba together. In the evening our Old Chōshū Lord of the Kanda mansion invited over Prince Arisugawa,¹ Prince Sanjō, Lord Iwakura, Nakayama, Tokudaiji, Ōgimachi-sanjō, and the Lord of Uwajima. Lords Shungaku and Yōdō declined his invitation; but the Kikkawa brothers were also in attendance. The banquet was magnificent. Seiho and Zuian did paintings and calligraphy. Everybody left after 8; and I returned home after 10. I was told that Watanabe Noboru came by this evening.

26 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/2] Fair. I went up to the council chambers after 9, calling on Watanabe Noboru en route, but he was out. I withdrew from the council chambers about 3—after which I stopped by the Kanda mansion, but everyone was

¹ Arisugawa Taruhito (1835–1895), court noble, was the nominal head of the Meiji government in the years immediately after the Meiji Restoration. The Prince belonged to a branch of the Imperial family, and in his youth he had been betrothed to Princess Kazunomiya, sister of the Emperor Komei (r. 1845–1867), before she wed the Shogun Iemochi in the famous political marriage of 1862 to seal the alliance between the Court and the Bakufu—*Kōbu gattai*. Linked to the radical loyalists thereafter, the Prince assisted Chōshū men in their raid on the Palace on 20 August 1864, the Hamaguri Gate Incident, which brought death to Kido's adopted son Katsuzaburō. The Prince also held command at the Battle of Toba-Fushimi in January 1868, and over the Eastern Expedition which followed.

gone. I paid a visit to Nōmi², and played *go* with him, and returned home after 5.

27 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/3] Fair. I called on Yamagata Kyōsuke who is going to Naniwa tomorrow. We discussed how to handle problems facing the War Ministry. From there I went to the Tosa mansion to meet with Shimomura Keitarō who wanted to consult with me about domain affairs. About 12 I went to the Kanda mansion, but everyone was absent. I then went to Okamatsu to meet Yamagata, Masaki, and Nomura, and returned home about 2. Yamanaka Sei'itsu came to visit me. Watanabe Noboru, Senior Officer, Board of Censors,³ came over to discuss current affairs. He left at twilight. Nawa Kan . . . came. I had a few drinks and talked with Yamanaka and others, then we enjoyed ourselves with ink and brush. Everybody left about midnight.

28 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/4] Fair. I went to the Kanda mansion about 9 to see Masaki and Yamagata off. From there I went up to the Palace where the prefectural governors were asked questions in the Imperial Presence today. In fact we have not yet decided on the future of the prefectural governors; it is one of the most troublesome problems before us. On the way back I stopped at Lord Iwakura's; and he gave me his confidential opinions on the Satsuma problem and other matters. After 4 I went to the Kanda mansion. Bauduin happened to come by the mansion to give medical treatment to the Old Lord. I met him, and talked with him, then returned home at dusk.

29 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/5] Fair. Ōkubo came by to talk about the unrest in his home country of Satsuma; and we discussed what the future holds. We went up to the council chambers together about 11. The Director of the Board of Censors⁴ presented himself to give the Board's case. I withdrew after 3. Having an appointment with Ōshima Jisui, I hired a boat at Yanagibashi

² This appears to be Nōmi Ryūan (1827–1890), a samurai physician from Chōshū attending on the retired Lord of Chōshū, Mōri Takachika. Nōmi was heir to the family profession, unlike Kido who was passed over. The physician had studied Dutch, and translated works of medicine into Japanese.

³ *Danjō Daichū* 彈正大忠.

⁴ *Danjōdai* 彈正臺.

and went to his house at Mukōjima. It was then dusk, so I stayed overnight to talk with him.

30 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/6] Fair. Hasegawa . . . , Ōgi Genzaemon, Inoue Inseki, and Uchigaki Suekichi came over. We had a few drinks, played *go*, and had several geisha in to serve the sakè. About 4 I paid a visit to Lord Yōdō in Itaba. En route I happened to meet Prince Akizuki, and we proceeded to Itaba together. Governor Tōdō Tatsu'un of Akizuki⁵ in Chikuzen was present. I left after 12 to stay overnight at Ōshima Jisui's.

31 October 1870 [Meiji 3/10/7] Rain. I took a boat from Mukōjima to return to Ushigome. Inoue Inseki and Suekichi were aboard the same boat. Today I had an appointment with Yamanaka to go to the Somei villa; but we put it off on account of the rain, so I stayed home all day. Kenzō came over at night to talk about the situation in the capital. . . . of Tosa domain came in to discuss problems of the common people resident in the capital. A letter arrived from Shimomura Keitarō of Tosa.

1 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/8] Rain. I went up to the council chambers at 10, and withdrew after 3. The Governor of Miyazu domain⁶ came to visit. Shimomura Keitarō came over to talk, bringing Yoshinaga Ryōkichi and Sōwa Shimpachirō of his domain with him. The two have come to Tokyo in haste bearing a message from Itagaki and Gotō in regard to the problem in the western corner of the land. Recently discontent has surfaced repeatedly in the west; and public-spirited men are troubled by it. A Bizen man who has returned from the west has reported much the same thing of his domain, I have heard. I told the two messengers that I would give my response in three or four days. After they had gone I went with Yamao to Yoshitomi's to talk over the matter with a kindred soul. I returned home about 11 to go to bed.

2 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/9] Cloudy. . . . , a Tosa man, came on October 31st to report that some *rōnin* are raising a disturbance over the sentence against the assassins of Yokoi. I called

⁵ 50,000 *koku*, *tozama*. The last feudal lord was named Kuroda.

⁶ 70,000 *koku*, *fudai*, in Tango province. Honjō was the family name of the last Lord.

the man in today, therefore, to hear more about it. Chō Shimbei came to visit.

3 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/10] Fair. Today the Old Lord was to drop in at my Somei villa; therefore, I went to Somei about 10. After 4 I accompanied His Lordship to the Kanda mansion. As I had an invitation from the Governor of Iwakuni for this evening, I went directly from there to the Hirakiyo in Fukagawa. I returned home after 10.

4 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/11] Rain. In the morning I went to Lord Iwakura's for a confidential talk. From there I went on to Somei where I had an appointment with Ōshima today. Mitsusue also came. My carriage broke down en route, so I took a bamboo palanquin from in front of the former Kaga mansion in Hongō, and hurried to my appointment. I returned home about 10.

5 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/12] Fair. I went up to the Palace in the morning, where we discussed the situation in the western corner of the land. I stated my views in such a way as not to disturb my superiors. I withdrew at 3. By the invitation of a certain Kagawa of Bizen, Hirosawa, Nagamatsu, and I went to Okuraya's villa in Hashiba. I returned home about 10.

6 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/13] Cloudy. visitors came continuously through the morning. As the Old Lord is leaving on the 7th, people who are returning home with him came to bid me farewell. A great many people have come by to make contributions to the relief fund lately.⁷ This evening I had an appointment with Ōkubo, so I went to the Baichatei to meet him. We opened our hearts, and discussed what the future holds. Afterwards we had some drinks, and enjoyed ourselves with ink and brush. At night, rain. I returned home in a palanquin about 11.

7 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/14] Rain. A letter came from Mihori in Nagasaki. Today was the day of the Old Lord's departure for home. I went to the Kanda mansion at 9, and took a carriage with Hirosawa, Nomura, and Yoshida to Samezu⁸ in

⁷ This appears to relate to the project for relief of destitute Chōshū samurai.

⁸ Samezu, or Sandy Beach, is an old place name for an area in the eastern part of

Kawasaki. Hirosawa returned to Tokyo from there; but the rest of us accompanied the Old Lord on to Kanagawa where we arrived after 3. Itō Hōbai also came; and we went off to Yokohama together. From there we returned to Kanagawa by steamer, arriving after 10, and taking a room at the . . . Inn.

8 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/15] In the morning, cloudy; in the evening, clear. We left here about 8. I took a bamboo palanquin, and had the noon meal at the . . . Inn in Totsuka.⁹ I reached Kamakura before 4, and took a room at the . . . Inn. Nōmi¹⁰ came at night, and we played *go*.

9 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/16] Fair. I attended on the Old Lord as we paid respects at the Hachiman shrine,¹¹ the Kamakura Shrine,¹² and the tombs of Lord Hiromoto¹³ and Lord Suemitsu. I went on to Kanazawa ahead of the Lord, and took my noon meal at the Chiyomoto. The Chiyomoto is a house which I visited sixteen or seventeen years ago when I was encamped at Miyata and studying at Uruga. The house burned down later; and only the family name has been preserved. The people in the household are all changed. As the Azumaya was appointed as headquarters inn for the Lord, I dropped by there; then I hired a boat at the Nishinoya in Nojima, and crossed over the sea to Yokosuka, and

Shinagawa Ward, Tokyo, the sections known today as Minami-Shinagawa and Higashi-Ōi. (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* 日本國語大辭典 [The Great Dictionary of the Japanese Language] [20 vols., Tokyo, Shōgakkan, 1974], IX, 138.)

⁹ Totsuka was a way-station on the Tōkaidō, and is now a part of Yokohama.

¹⁰ Nōmi was the samurai-physician who was slightly senior to Kido but had grown up with him in Hagi.

¹¹ The Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine was built by the Minamoto family to house its tutelary deity Hachiman who symbolized the spirit of Emperor Ōjin (270–310), the God of War. The shrine was founded in 1063, moved to Kamakura by Minamoto Yoritomo in 1191. The present buildings date from 1828.

¹² The Kamakuragū shrine was erected in 1869 by Imperial Order, dedicated to Prince Morinaga (1308–1335), the third son of Emperor Go-Daigo (1288–1339). The Prince had been confined to a stone cage behind the shrine, and was assassinated in 1335 on the orders of Ashikaga Tadayoshi. His tomb lies about 200 meters east of the shrine. It was appropriate that the new Meiji government should honor a man whose defiance of the eastern military houses was a important part of the Kemmu Imperial Restoration of his father Go-Daigo.

¹³ Ōe Hiromoto (1148–1225) was a famous statesman to whom the Old Lord Takachika traced his descent. Ōe was a court noble who left Kyoto in 1184 to help Minamoto Yoritomo set up the Kamakura shogunate. He presided over the Cabinet or *Kumonjo* for Yoritomo, and is given credit for the system of *Shugo*, or Constables, and *Jitō* or Stewards, by which Yoritomo controlled the land. In 1221 Hiromoto aided the Hōjō family in suppressing the Emperor Gotoba's rising.

took a room at the . . . Inn. Hinoki Ryōsuke and Hyōdō . . . came in; and we had a few drinks.

10 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/17] Fair. The Old Lord arrived Yokosuka about 8. The Frenchman Chibaudier¹⁴ . . . made arrangements for the Old Lord to see the Yokosuka shipyard. He completed his inspection at 12; it was an impressive sight. The Old Lord then went to Yamao's official residence here; and all of us, people of high and low rank, had food and drink. The Lord boarded a ship at 2, and arrived in Yokohama at 4. His headquarters inn was the Fukamiya. I went over to Endō's, visited Shishido Keiu at Yamashiroya's at night, and in the end stayed there overnight.

11 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/18] Rain. I attended the Old Lord on his visit to Parkes, the English Minister, after 1. Adams¹⁵ and Robertson¹⁶ also came. The Lord left around 4 to go directly to Endō's; and he returned to his inn after 5. Shishido, Nōmi, and Yoshida came over to talk; and I played *go* with Nōmi. In July when the Lord arrived at this port, Nōmi and I played four games of *go*; and I lost all of them. He has often defeated me since then, but of late I have frequently won our matches. Tonight I allowed him a handicap of two crosses; but it was he who cried out in his frustration at my victory, and I who shouted for joy. We then parted.

12 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/19] Rain. This morning I sent letters to Governor Nomura of Nagasaki prefecture, and to Mihori Kōsuke. I also entrusted Yoshida with my letters to Sugi, Okudaira, and Obata. Lady Osono arrived here last night, and stayed at the Sanoshige. I went there to pay my respects to her about 12; then I went to the Lord's inn for an audience, and presently went to the dock to see him off, then returned. As he is going

¹⁴ Jules Cesar Claude Chibaudier (b. 1843) served as Acting Director of the Yokosuka Shipyards at this time while Director Francois Verny was at home in France. Chibaudier had been an assistant engineer in the French navy before taking employment with the Japanese government during the 1869–1875 period. His salary was \$600 per month.

¹⁵ Francis Ottiwell Adams was the senior subordinate to Minister Harry Parkes at the English Legation.

¹⁶ Russel B. Robertson served as the English Consul at Yokohama at this time.

home to Chōshū, I made him a farewell present of my treasured incense burner. He is deeply concerned about the recent unrest in the western corner of the country,¹⁷ and he left me with his directions on each aspect of it.

Of late earthquakes have occurred frequently; and on the days of light earthquakes, the ground has been shaken without letup. I paid a visit to Schmidt today; and I called on him on the 10th when we first arrived at the port here. Shōjirō had a sore throat owing to a cold then; and he has not completely recovered today. In consequence, he could not have an audience with the Old Lord this time—which I regret. I returned to my inn at 2. Itō Kansai and Sufu Kanazuchi came to visit. Itō Hōbai returned to Tokyo this evening.

13 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/20] Rain. I had an appointment with Schmidt at 12, and took Nomura Soken¹⁸ with me. Tonight I went to the Kiyōtei with Soken, Itō Kansai, and Dai-kokuya Teijirō. According to Schmidt's comments on the Franco-Prussian War today, the French are indignant over the course of events; they are making preparations to fight; and they will continue to fight unto death. He does not know when the ceasefire will take place. I was told that Shishido Saburō had gone to Yokosuka today, and that he came to visit me on his way back.

14 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/21] Fair. Soken went back to Tokyo after 9. Letters came today from Kashiwamura Kazuma, Sugi Magoshichirō, and Okudaira Kazuma. I went to Elliott's to receive treatment for my teeth; and Itō Nagaosa and his son came in. I returned to my inn at 12. Nakajima Shirō came to talk at night.

15 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/22] Rain. Itō Kansai came at 10; and we went to Elliott's office together. He gave me the same treatment as yesterday. I returned to my inn about 12. Mitsuda Saburō and Sufu Kanazuchi came over; and at night Oka . . . and Takeda Yasujirō came in to talk.

16 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/23] Drizzling rain. Itō Kansai

¹⁷ The reference is to the autonomous status of Satsuma in the southwest.

¹⁸ Soken is the pen name of Nomura Motosuke.

came by after 9; and we went to Elliott's together. He gave me exactly the same treatment as on previous days. I returned to my inn at 12; and I sent letters to Lord Iwakura, Hirosawa, Yamao, and Yoshitomi. I had an appointment with Itō Nagaosa this evening; and I went to his house at 5 for dinner and drinks. Kansai is going to Tokyo tomorrow. (He has been appointed Associate Imperial Physician.¹⁹) This was meant to be a farewell party. Nagaosa's two children and two grandchildren were all present. Nakayama Kaiu came in to have dinner with us also. When I was studying in Uruga fifteen or sixteen years ago, Kaiu was a Constable²⁰ of that place. I studied Dutch books with his son Shintarō and with Tōjō Reizō. Uono Kōhachi was another student of the son. Uono came from Nagaoka domain²¹ in Echigo province—a loyal and straightforward samurai. Old Nakayama said that Uono was later appointed to office by the Bakufu government, and that he had died recently. He was a samurai whom I regret to lose. At night, rain. I returned to my inn about 9.

(Note) A letter came from Ōkubo this evening. I replied at once.

17 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/24] In the morning I went to Elliott's as I did yesterday. On the way back I called on Schmidt. Today Kansai's son went to Elliott's to interpret for me. (He said that he once travelled to France with Prince Mambu.) This evening I had an appointment to go aboard the *Ryūjōmaru*.²² I was met by a steam launch after 1; and I went aboard the warship before 2. Nakajima Shirō was on board the vessel; the captain was Tejima Goichirō, and the executive officer was Kanesaka Kumashirō, a man I have known for ten years. I looked the ship over; then we had some drinks, discussed the current situation, and reminisced about the old days. I returned to my inn at 5. Kashiwamura . . . and Narazaki Raizaburō came over at night, two men who are going on a sea voyage to France soon. We went to the Sanoshige together for some drinks. Mōri Tōnai, who wants

¹⁹ *Chūten'i* 中典醫.

²⁰ *Yoriki* 與力.

²¹ 74,000 *koku*, *fudai*, under the Makino family.

²² The *Ryūjōmaru* was a 2530-ton armor-belted corvette built in Aberdeen by H. Hall & Co. on the order of the Glover Brothers in Nagasaki. It was ship-rigged, and equipped with ten guns. The vessel was completed in 1869, turned over to the Japanese in 1870, and served as a model training ship under the command of Lt. Albert G. S. Hawes. (Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 419.)

to join them for study abroad, came to Yokohama the other day, and has been staying here since. He came to talk with me this evening; and Daikokuya Teijirō also came to liven up our party. I returned to my inn about 11.

(Note) Kashiwamura is going to Tokyo for a while tomorrow. I entrusted my letter to Hirosawa with him.

18 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/25] Stormy. Since 4 o'clock last night I have had severe pains in my stomach and chest. I also had diarrhea; but I felt a little better about 7. I had a high temperature, six or seven degrees of fever, and a pulse of 121. After 12 my condition was much less serious. About 10 Itō Nagaosa came to examine me; and he mixed up some medicine for me. It was a solution of bicarbonate and tartaric acid. . . . After 3 his disciple . . . came to examine me. At night Sufu Kanazuchi came over to talk.

19 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/26] Fair. My condition was much better today. Itō Nagaosa came to see me about 9. Mitsuda, Sōne, and Hashimoto came to talk at night.

20 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/27] Cloudy. I had an appointment with Smith at 11 today, so I went over to his living quarters. From there we went together at 12 to the dining facilities at No. 5;²³ and I saw the arrangement of the rooms in the lounge attached to the dining hall for the first time. The layout is well planned; anyone can find his way about. We then went back to Smith's quarters briefly, and on to the French warship. . . . En route back to my inn, the rain poured down so that my clothes were soaked. After 4 I returned to our ship; for I had an appointment with the captain of the *Ryūjōmaru*, Tejima Goichirō, and its executive officer, Kanesaka Kumashirō; and we went to the Kiyōtei. Another hard rain fell. I returned to my inn about 9; and Mitsuda Saburō came over to talk. Ōkubo's letter came; and an official letter arrived from the Imperial Secretary—both demanding my return to the capital.

(Note) Tamura Kō . . . accompanied me. Tejima Goichirō brought Nakajima Shirō with him.

²³ W. H. Smith was the proprietor of the Yokohama United Club at No. 5 in the foreign settlement.

21 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/28] Fair. Miyagawa, Chief, Civil Engineering Bureau,²⁴ came to visit. Originally of Kumamoto domain, he formerly called himself Miyagawa Kogenta. I called on Elliott at 11; but, as he had a patient, I made an appointment for 3. This morning I sent off letters to Sugi, Kashiwamura, Okudaira, Wada, and Hirahara in Yamaguchi, and to Inoue and Yamada in Naniwa. An assistant to Aritomi Gembei who has returned from Ezo came to visit with me. I went to Elliott's at 3 to bid him farewell; and he presented me with some medicine in liquid form. I had an appointment with the Englishman Shand;²⁵ so I went to his house with Schmidt and Shōjirō. He had seven other foreigners as guests, among them the Army officer who accompanied Shand to Miyanoshita in Hakone last year. I returned to my inn after 10.

22 November 1870 [Meiji 3/10/29] Fair. I boarded the *Kōmeimarū* at 10, and arrived at Eidai²⁶ at 1. Itō . . . came along. I went to Hayashi Hanshichi's house after 2, then I went up to Lord Iwakura's and was informed of the current situation. I returned home after 5.

²⁴ *Dobokushō* 土木正.

²⁵ Alexander Allan Shand (1845–1930) was the Acting Manager of the Chartered Merchantile Bank of Yokohama at No. 78 in the foreign settlement. He was a tall, thin man who wore a mustache, a hat with a crease, and a bow tie in a contemporary photograph. Later Shand was employed by the Ministry of Finance where he advocated conservative fiscal policies, helped Shibusawa start the First National Bank, and investigated the failure of the Ono company which, with Mitsui, was behind the bank.

²⁶ Eidai was on the Sumida River in the eastern part of Tokyo.

Intercalary Tenth Month

23 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/1] Fair. Nawa Kan came by in the morning. I went to the Kanda mansion after 10, then on over to my Somei villa with Shishido Keiu. Yamao came along. There are a number of life-size chrysanthemum dolls in the neighborhood,¹ and I went out with my companions to look at them. It happened to rain while we were out. Itō Hōbai also came over. I returned home about 7, bringing Shishido with me.

24 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/2] Fair. Ōshima Jisui came by this morning. Hirosawa came to visit; and he informed me of the present troubled situation over a number of issues in our domain of Chōshū. Nomura Soken came over. I went up to the council chambers after 9, and withdrew after 3. I paid a visit to Kuga, the Assistant War Minister,² after 4; then I went to Yoshitomi's, and returned home at 11.

25 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/3] Fair. I went to the council chambers after 9, and withdrew after 4. I went directly from there to call on Itō Kansai, but he was out. I did visit Hōbai; and Ōkuma came over. I was informed by them of the recent situation in the western provinces. Eighty or ninety percent of the time state matters are decided contrary to my wishes. The present independent position of Satsuma is outrageous when viewed from the standpoint of the national interest. The matter of Hōbai's trip to the United States was settled today. I pray that our currency problems will be eliminated by next year. The young lady Moku has been engaged to Sawada . . . and the date of the wedding has been set for the coming 27th. Minami Teisuke who has returned from Naniwa came by today; and Inoue Shōzō

¹ Possibly this refers only to a variety of arrangements of chrysanthemums growing in the neighborhood.

² *Hyōbu Shōyu* 兵部少輔.

as well. I was told that an Englishman . . . also came to visit. He is a teacher at the Nankō,³ the school devoted to Western studies. I have been suffering from dysentery for several days; and Fukui came to give me medical treatment tonight.

26 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/4] Fair. I have been discomfited by dysentery since last night, so I stayed home all day. Itō, the Senior Imperial Physician,⁴ and Associate Imperial Physician Itō⁵ happened to visit, so I put them to the trouble of examining me. Fukui also came to treat me.

27 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/5] Cloudy, then after 4 rain. At 4 Itō Hōbai brought Sawada . . . over; and today I had Moku married to him. Kawase and his wife, the old lady Iku, Nomura, Kinashi, Yamao and his wife attended the wedding and joined in the toasts. After 7 Yamao and his wife escorted Moku to Sawada's. Everybody left after 10. Fukui came to examine me.

(Note) A letter came from Ōkubo telling me that he has accepted the position of Imperial Councilor, and of the matter of subdivisions within the Ministry.⁶

28 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/6] Fair. Nomura who stayed overnight left this morning. Yoshitomi came to visit, as did Fukuhara Uchikuranojō and Hayashi Hidejirō. I had an appointment with Lord Yōdō for tomorrow; but this evening he sent his regrets on account of illness.

29 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/7] Cloudy, then rain. A fire broke out in the powder magazine in what was formerly the main enclosure of the old Castle. On account of my illness I did not go up to the Palace. Minami Teisuke and Sufu Kanazuchi came to visit.

³ Nankō was the current name for the institution which began in 1856 as the *Bansho shirabe-sho*, or Office for the Inspection of Foreign Books. The translation bureau became a flourishing school before taking the name of Nankō, or Southern School (for the direction from which Western learning came.) Nankō in turn gave way to Tokyo Imperial University in 1878.

⁴ *Daiten'i* 大典醫. The Chief Imperial Physician was Itō Nagoasa.

⁵ *Chūten'i* 中典醫. The Associate Imperial Physician was Itō Kansai.

⁶ Ōkubo was concerned about the excessive power of the combined Finance Ministry and Home Affairs Ministry, and shortly would take charge.

30 November 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/8] Fair. About 11 I went to Saitō's villa in Yoyogi⁷ with Yamao. About ten years ago I had gone to that place with Kijima Matabei. Only a little of the land was cultivated then, but now all of it has turned into a tea plantation; and it has a tranquil atmosphere. I returned home about 6. Saitō, Fukui, Yoshitomi, and Kawase came to talk; and Saitō stayed overnight.

(Note) Today the Belgian Minister paid a visit to the Imperial Palace.

1 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/9] Fair. I went to the Somei villa with Yamao and Saitō; we walked around the plant nursery to look at things. All of us stayed overnight. Shimomura Keitarō's letter came. Today I purchased a pot of *daimyō* bamboo.⁸

2 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/10] Fair. On our way back from Somei, Yamao, Saitō, and I took a walk in the Yushima area and called on Okuhara Seiko.⁹ I reached home about 6.

3 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/11] Fair. I visited Hirosawa after 12; and Itō Hōbai and Senior Imperial Physician Itō came over. Yukawa Heima paid a visit; he had returned from Ezo the other day with Kijima. Fujita Yojiemon came. Hōbai and I went to Umegawa at Ryōgoku after 4; and Yoshitomi, Fukubara, and Miura were there ahead of us. I returned home about 8.

4 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/12] Fair. I went up to the council chambers, and withdrew at 3. Then Hirosawa and I called on Shishido Keiu at the Kanda mansion; and we went to the Shōgenrō in Ueno together. Seiko also came; and everybody left after 7.

⁷ Yoyogi was remote from central Tokyo in that period, but it came to serve as the Parade Ground of the Imperial Army later in the Meiji era. Subsequently the Meiji shrine was located there, as were Washington Heights of the American Occupation period and the Olympic sports complex of 1964.

⁸ *Daimyōchiku* 大明竹. A variety of small bamboo.

⁹ She was an artist who lived in Negishi and was tied to political figures. She painted in the style of the *Nanga*, or Southern School of landscape painters.

5 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/13] Fair. About 9 I went to the Palace by carriage with Hirosawa. Today Ōkubo and I were summoned into the Imperial Presence and questioned about the current situation. About 4 I left the Palace in a carriage with Hirosawa. Endō Kinsuke came over to talk. Von Brandt,¹⁰ the Prussian Minister, sent me a letter of invitation to his official residence at 12 noon on the 7th, the day after tomorrow.

6 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/14] I went to the Somei villa after 11. Today Bauduin came to visit me, as Senior Imperial Physician Itō brought him over. Yamao, Yoshitomi, and Fukui also came. After 6 I walked home in the moonlight.

7 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/15] Fair. The south wind was very strong, stirring up dust all over town. About 11 I went to the Shuntō'in in Azabu, the official residence of the Prussian Minister. Some Russians and Englishmen were there, as well as Soejima. We dined together after 12, and talked. I left at 4; and called on the Englishman Satow, but he was out. Then I went to Tsukiji to visit Itō and Ōkuma. I went home with Yamao after 10. Tabata and his wife came to stay overnight.

8 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/16] Fair. After 10 I went to Tsukiji, then on to the Hirakiyorō in Fukagawa with Itō for his farewell party on leaving for America.¹¹ Sakuma Seinosuke came to visit me this morning; so I took him along to the party. This morning Senior Councilor Sasaki¹² came to talk.

(Note) I returned to Itō's about 10, and stayed overnight.

¹⁰ Max von Brandt served as the chief German diplomat in Japan from 1867 to 1875 under one title or another, representing the North German Confederacy, Prussia, and the German Empire as the unification of that nation evolved. He published his memoirs on these years.

¹¹ Itō was off to the United States to study banking and currency problems.

¹² Sasaki Takayuki (1830–1910) was a Tosa samurai who had early advocated Restoration, and became a hero of the Boshin War, 1868–1869. His specialty was law; and he accompanied the Iwakura mission to America and Europe to study Western legal systems. Perhaps it was during that trip that he developed some aversion to his travelling companion Kido, and spoke of him as a planner who gets lost in the details. Undeniably Kido had literary talent, wrote Sasaki, but "he writes opinions on events since the Restoration, and shows them to people; he therefore appears in a good light to those who are not in on things. To posterity, too, he will appear several times better than his actual worth." (Albert M. Craig, "Kido Koin and Okubo Toshimichi: a Psychohistorical Analysis," in Craig and Donald Shiveley, eds., *Personality in Japanese History* [Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970], 297.) Jealousy of the more

9 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/17] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 4. Kijima came to talk; and I went to Hirosawa's at dusk. Ise Shōsu presented me with an album of paintings.

(Note) My servant did not show up this morning. I happened to see Ōkuma's horse on my way, so I rode it to the Palace.

10 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/18] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 4. I went to Hiraoka's with Hirosawa. Then I met Yoneda and Tsuda of Hizen, and Oki of Inaba at the Izubunrō. Nomura Soken also joined the party. I returned home at 9.

11 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/19] Fair. I went to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 3. I went to the Kanda mansion with Hirosawa, and met Shishido at Fujita's quarters. A courier arrived from Chōshū the other day, bringing with him a letter from Sugi Enson. I returned home at 8.

(Note) Kuroda Ryōsuke came to the Palace to submit a petition.

12 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/20] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 4. Hirosawa and I took a carriage together to Somei; and Shishido joined us later, as did Seiko. We had a few drinks and told stories. Hirosawa and I put our pillows side by side to sleep. The geisha Iku and Okiyo came in. Rain at night.

13 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/21] Fair. In the morning Shishido and I took a leisurely walk through the plant nursery. After 12 the Governor of Iwakuni and his brother came, accompanied by Chō Shimbei. Lord Yamanouchi Yōdō came after 2, and left about 10 with the others. Inoue Inseki, Chō Sansu, Yamao Yōzō, and Shishido Keiu were also present.

14 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/22] Fair. After 12

successful Kido might also have been at work. Sasaki later kept rebels in Tosa in line during the Civil War of 1877, and served as a tutor to Prince Harunomiya who became the Emperor Taishō.

the Englishman Davis¹³ came, accompanied by. . . They left after 3. Yamao was also present as we talked.

15 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/23] Fair. In the morning I looked around in the plant nurseries in my neighborhood. About 12 the Russian . . . and the Prussian Kemperman came to visit, and left after 3. Kinashi, Yamao, and Minami were also there; and we talked about the recent situation in Europe. I went out with Yamao and Minami to look for a house for sale in the neighborhood. About 4 I went to the Kanda mansion in regard to Kinashi's trip to America, returning home after 5. Itagaki and Fukuoka of Tosa, who have arrived in Tokyo, sent me a letter expressing their desire to talk about the problem of the reform of domain administration.

16 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/24] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 3. Today I went to the Palace in the company of Yamao who received appointment as Assistant Senior Deputy Minister of Public Works.¹⁴ Since summer a controversy has regard over the proposals which emanate from the Ministry of Public Works; and the government finally brought matters to a resolution on the 11th. I sent a letter to Kitagawa and Matsubara concerning Miyake Yōsuke and Makino Saburō. The two of them had taken to loose living in the last year; and, although we have admonished them repeatedly, they would not amend their conduct. In the end they ran away. I also sent Sugi Magoshichirō a letter in regard to domain affairs.

17 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/25] I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew after 3. I then went with Hirosawa to the farewell party for Hijikata held at the Matsumotorō, returning home after 7. A letter arrived from Gotō. Today Itagaki and Fukuoka came to the Palace to offer a memorial on domain administration.

(Note) I had previously had a discussion on domain administration with Itagaki.

¹³ This name is unclear in the original *katakana*. There was a Thomas Davis who served as Superintendent of Roads for the Yokohama Saibansho in 1870; but it seems unlikely that he would visit Kido. ダウス is the original.

¹⁴ *Kōbushō Gondaijō* 工部省権大丞.

18 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/26] Fair. Watanaabe Noboru called to discuss the drift of things at present. Today the south wind was very strong.

19 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/27] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 3. I paid a visit to Itagaki, and also met Fukuoka there unexpectedly. Then with Itō Kansai I went to . . . , an American doctor, to ask for a physical examination. On my way back I visited Itō Hōbai, who is leaving Tokyo tomorrow and will go to America before many days. Kinashi Heinoshin has decided to go with him; and yesterday he left my house to come over to Itō's. Kinashi was a partisan in the Imperial cause, and an old friend of mine. But he has a weak constitution, and has almost died several times; so this summer I urged him to come to Tokyo with me, and he has been staying at my house since then. Itō, the Senior Imperial Physician, has done his best for Kinashi; and recently he has regained his health, so that he has decided on this trip. I am delighted for him. I returned home before 10.

20 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/28] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew after 3. With Hirosawa I went to the Kanda mansion, and returned home after 4. Yamagata Kyōsuke came over to talk.

(Note) At night Miura Gorō came to talk; and Saitō also came to talk.

21 December 1870 [Meiji 3/Intercalary 10/29] Fair. I went up to the Palace at 5. Today the Emperor went to Ōmiya;¹⁵ and after 6 I saw his palanquin off outside Sakashita Gate.¹⁶ At 3 I withdrew from the Palace; and, on my way back, I visited Shishido at the Kanda mansion, and returned home after a short while. I also paid a visit to Chō Sansu in his new house. I then visited Yoshitomi; and I returned home with Fukubara and Yoshitomi about 6 to dine together with them.

¹⁵ Ōmiya was the location of a shrine dedicated to Susano-no-mikoto, the God of Storms. It was one of the most sacred Shinto centers in Musashi province. The popular Daito-sai festival, held now on December 10, at the shrine might have been the occasion for the Emperor's visit to this place north of Tokyo.

¹⁶ Sakashita Gate is on the southeast side of the Palace, opening onto the Imperial Palace Plaza.

Eleventh Month

22 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/1, the Month of Frost] At dawn, rain, clearing about 12. This morning Kuroda Ryōsuke came to discuss meetings with the Russians; and we also talked about my going abroad, the matter which I explored with him the other day. Nagayasu Wasō,¹ Tabata, and Kajima came over; Saitō Tokushinsai,² and Senior Imperial Physician Itō, who is going abroad soon, came to bid me farewell. I paid a visit to Etō after 4; and I went directly to the Imperial Headquarters from his place because I had overnight duty there. Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō was on night duty with me; and we received saké and food on the Emperor's orders during the night.³

23 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/2] In the morning, fair; at night, cloudy with light rain. I withdrew from the Imperial Headquarters after 3; and the Emperor returned to the Palace at 5. I went to Yoshitomi's at night.

24 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/3] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 4. Inoue Segai came over to talk, and stayed the night.

(Note) Inoue Shōzō came with a message from Kemperman.

25 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/4] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 4. From there I went directly to Hirosawa's to discuss the current situation; and I visited Miura on the way home. Miura then came to my house.

(Note) In the morning Kawano and Narazaki came over.

¹ Nagayasu Wasō (1822–1877) was a Chōshū samurai-scholar who died a few days before Kido in May 1877, and like Kido was buried in Higashiyama to the east of Kyoto.

² This was Kido's old fencing instructor, Saitō Yakurō, now 82. He was to die within the year.

³ The overnight Palace duty involved taking charge while the Emperor was on a pilgrimage to the Ōmiya shrine.

26 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/5] Fair. In the morning Yamada Ichinojō came to talk. At 11 I went to Somei. A letter arrived from Prince Sanjō this morning; and I replied immediately.

27 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/6] Fair. I went to Hirosawa's in the morning, and returned home before 12. Nagayasu and Kawase came to visit. After 1 I went to Tsukiji by carriage, and on the way I met Mōri Kyōsuke, Yoshii Gemma, Tanaka Kensuke, and Inoue Segai. I made a promise to join them later at the Baicharō, and left to visit Lord Yanagiwara and Hiraoka Heikichi. In the course of the conversations I happened to hear that the real younger brother of our Chōshū Lord, . . . , still lives at . . . in Ōshima county.⁴ I left at 5 to go directly to the Baicha, and returned home at 8. Letters came from Ise Shōsu and Sugi Enson. . . . , the Deputy Senior Councilor of Kurashiki, came to visit while I was absent from home.

28 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/7] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 9, and withdrew at 4. I then went to the Kanda mansion with Hirosawa, but nobody was there, so I returned directly home. Fujita Yojiemon came to visit; and we went together to Hirosawa's where we read some letters from our home province of Chōshū. We returned to my home at 8; and Fujita stayed overnight. Kawase and his wife also stayed overnight.

29 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/8] Fair. I went to Itō Kansai's in a carriage which belongs to the Kanda mansion; and we went together to Junghanns's⁵ in Tsukiji, but he was away. We ran into him, however, on the way back; and I received medical treatment at Itō Hōbai's. From there I called on Ōkuma, then went directly to the Palace, and found that a meeting was to be held at Prince Sanjō's. Officials of the Three Offices⁶ had already withdrawn from the Palace to go there; therefore, I went off to Prince Sanjō's residence, and returned home after 6. At night, rain.

⁴ Ōshima *gun* was the insular administrative unit at the eastern edge of Chōshū.

⁵ Dr. L. H. Junghanns was an American physician who lived in Tsukiji, Tokyo. (*Japan Daily Herald Directory and Hong List*, 1872.)

⁶ *Sanshoku* may have been used anachronistically here, for the Three Offices, *Sōsai*, *Gijō*, and *Sanyō*, which formed the original Meiji government had ceased to exist by this time. 三職.

30 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/9] In the morning, cloudy, clearing after 10. I went up to the Palace at 9, and withdrew at 3. From there I went to the Reception Hall⁷ and met the Dutch Minister. Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō, Lord Tokudaiji, Ōkubo, Sasaki, Oki, and Yoshii were also present. Ōshima Jisui called at my home today. This evening we received an invitation from Hirosawa, so my whole household went over to his place. The storyteller Bunchō was there.

31 December 1870 [Meiji 3/11/10] Fair. I left home about 6 a.m. to go to Ōkuma's; and when I arrived, Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō was already there. Ōkubo came shortly afterwards. We went out to board the ship . . . which was lying off the coast of Shingawa along with others. The Englishman . . . was aboard the ship with us; but Ōkuma did not join us on account of his illness. We made this trip to inspect the Mikamoto lighthouse. When we arrived in Yokohama at 12, the English Minister Parkes and his wife, Consul Robertson, and Secretary Satow came on board our ship. It was my first meeting with Satow since his return to Japan. We reached Yokosuka after 2, inspected the iron works, then went to the . . . inn to relax, and returned to the ship after 7. At night I talked with Parkes and Satow. A strong west wind blew today.

1 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/11] At dawn, rain; cloudy all day. We departed from Yokosuka before 7, and reached Shimoda at 4. A very strong west wind blew again today. On reaching Mikamoto, we viewed the lighthouse from the ship, but could not land. We did land at Shimoda, relaxed for a while at the Handaya, and returned to the ship after 10.

2 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/12] At dawn, rain; the wind finally quieted down. We hoisted the anchor at 6 to go to Mikamoto where the lighthouse was lit up for the first time last night; and there we entered the lighthouse to inspect it—the best in the Empire. The illuminating device is exceedingly ingenious. After 8 we returned to Shimoda, and after 10 hoisted anchor to go directly to the . . . inn in the village of Rendaiji where we bathed in the hot springs. The peace and quiet were splendid. I have visited this

⁷ *Enryōkan* 延寧館.

place twice previously, one time seventeen years ago, the other sixteen years ago. The first time, seventeen years ago,⁸ a Russian battleship came into port under the command of Admiral Putiatin;⁹ and when the tidal wave hit this port, his ship was sunk. All of the houses in Shimoda were submerged by the wave, and close to a thousand people lost their lives. That was the occasion on which I went with Nakamura Yūrizō to Rendaiji village to stay for a time, during the period that we were encamped for guard duty at Miyata. It was during that trip that I encountered a major earthquake in the Hakone mountains. The other time, sixteen years ago, I came to this port from Uraga on board a trading vessel, and stayed overnight at Rendaiji village again, then went on to Toda. Putiatin had built a schooner in that place the previous year, and left for home in it. I petitioned that my domain of Chōshū should do the same; and I hired two master ship carpenters from this place to build a schooner of war for Chōshū, the first time that anyone espoused the cause of a naval force there. At the time only one or two domains had built warships for coastal defense or for sailing the high seas. On that trip I came to Shimoda; and Nakajima Saburōnosuke used his influence on my behalf. Saburōnosuke and his two sons died in the battle at Hakodate last year. I had always admired the man's forthrightness, so last year when I feared that he might go off on the wrong course because of his lord's insane behavior, I tried to locate him to advise him in detail as to how things really stood; but he had already left for Hakodate, and I was too late. This was the most regrettable event of my life. In the last sixteen or seventeen years everything here has changed beyond description. That my life should be preserved, and I should return to this place today is an event beyond all expectation. I do not know how I can ever repay my

⁸ In 1854 Kido was one of the Chōshū samurai assigned to military duty in this area against the expected return of Matthew C. Perry and his American Black Ships. The reckoning of seventeen years is by Japanese count; in fact it was only sixteen.

⁹ Admiral Evfimii Vasil'evich Putiatin (1803–1883) led the Russian expedition which concluded a treaty opening three ports in February 1855. It was on 16 January 1855 that his warship the *Diana* was damaged and foundered in the tidal wave. Kido observed the Russians build a schooner to return to their homeland. In 1858 Putiatin returned to Japan to conclude the first Russian commercial treaty. For a time his name was synonymous with the word "foreigner" in Japan. (George Alexander Lensen, *Russia's Japan Expedition, 1852 to 1855* [Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1955].)

debt to the father of the Lord¹⁰ for his great benevolence which has made this possible.

The Englishman Satow came by at 4; and we took a boat downstream to Shimoda with Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō and Ōkubo, and we enjoyed food and drink at the Handaya. We returned to the ship after 10.

3 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/13] We hoisted anchor at 12 last night to go to . . . in Awa province.¹¹ The heavy seas made it impossible for us to inspect the lighthouse there; so we went on to Kennosaki lighthouse in Sagami province at 11. We unloaded the equipment there after 3; and about 6 our ship arrived back in Yokohama. Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō, Ōkubo, and I went to the Assembly Hall of the Foreign Trade Office¹² to stay overnight. I went to Shōjirō's place immediately to bring him back to stay with me.

4 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/14] Fair. Prince Ōgimachi-sanjō and Ōkubo left for Tokyo at 9, while I went to Elliott's place. After 10 I departed for Tokyo by carriage, returning after 1 to Tsukiji where I took the noon meal at Itō's house. I called on Ōkuma, stopped by the Kanda mansion on the way back, visited Hiro-sawa, and finally reached home at 7. Inoue Yakichi came to stay overnight.

5 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/15] Fair. I went up to the council chambers before 10. Prince Sanjō questioned me about several matters before the government. A decision was reached to have Hiro-sawa go to the West. I have been so troubled by the Satsuma situation lately, for both political and personal reasons, that I am delighted, for the sake of the country, to hear some good news. I withdrew from the chambers about 4, visited Ōki on the way back, and drank and talked with him. I stopped by Hiro-sawa's afterwards and reached home about 7. I talked with Kuroda Ryōsuke about Yamao Tsunejirō's going abroad.

¹⁰ Mōri Takachika, the retired Lord of Chōshū.

¹¹ Awa province lies at the southern tip of the Bōsō peninsula on the eastern side of Tokyo Bay.

¹² *Tsūshōshi* 通商司.

6 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/16] Fair. Sakuma Seinosuke and Hinoki Ryōsuke came to talk. Sakuma and I went by carriage to call on Senior Imperial Physician Itō in Tsukiji at 4, but he was absent. I returned home after Yamagata Sokyō came by to talk. I was told that Senior Imperial Physician Itō had come here in my absence.

(Note) Shinagawa Yajirō sent me a letter from New York reporting on the recent situation in Europe.

7 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/17] Fair. I went up to the Council chambers after 12. Heavy rain about 12. I withdrew at 2, taking a carriage with Hirosawa directly to his place to talk. After 4 I went with Yamao to visit Miura Gorō, who moved into his new house a few days ago. As evening came on the rain intensified. Today my whole household went to the Saruwaka Theatre.

8 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/18] Rain; very strong wind. I went up to the council chambers after 9, and withdrew at 3. I sent off letters today to Makimura Hankurō and Funakoshi Yōnosuke. I invited over Vice Home Minister Ōki and Associate Imperial Secretary¹³ Etō; Hirosawa also joined us to talk. Tonokawa Kazusuke, who has arrived in Tokyo, came to visit. The geisha Ofuku and Oteru served us sakē. The men all left about 10, but the two geisha stayed overnight, then returned.

9 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/19] Fair. In the morning Ōkubo came to talk about the situation in our home provinces. Last winter Ōkubo and I returned to our respective provinces under Imperial orders, expecting to render service to the Imperial cause through Satsuma and Chōshū; but I was surprised by the outbreak of an uprising in my province, and in the end had to subdue the rebels with force, and was unable to accomplish my purpose. We have put things off until now; but we do want to take this opportunity to return to our respective provinces to further our plan. We discussed the matter, therefore, and went together to the Palace about 11 to report our intentions to Prince Sanjō. I withdrew from the Palace about 3, went to Hirosawa's on the way back, and returned home at 5. Prince Sanjō's letter had arrived.

¹³ *Chūben* 中辨.

10 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/20] In the morning, cloudy, then rain. I went to Prince Sanjō's at 9, and proceeded to the Palace directly from there, withdrawing after 4. With Hirosawa I paid a visit to Shishido Keiu, and returned home after 6. Saitō Shintarō came to talk about the problems of the . . . mansion this morning; and he came again tonight for the same purpose.

11 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/21] Fair. Shishido Keiu, Yamagata Sokyō, Katano Jūrō, Hayashi Hanshichi, Miura Gorō, Utsumi Sei'ichirō, Nawa Kan, and Sawada came to talk.

12 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/22] Cloudy. I went to Somei after 10; on my way back I called on Gotō, but he was out. I paid a visit to Yamao at his new house, then returned home after 4. Old Tokushinsai¹⁴ came to visit, as did Minami Teisuke. Teisuke is going to England soon, a trip which I helped arrange. Today he came to bid me farewell, and he asked me for an epigram in calligraphy in remembrance of the occasion. He stayed overnight, then departed.

13 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/23] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 10; and, on withdrawing, I went to Prince Ōgimachisanjō's cottage for a conference. I returned home at 5. Saitō Shintarō, Yoshitomi Tōbei, Fukui Jundō, and Governor Kawase came to visit at night.

14 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/24] A blizzard. A letter arrived from Prince Sanjō. Today was a holiday for the Festival of the Harvest.¹⁵ Last night the Englishmen. . . who are employed at the Nankō College were victims of an assassination attempt;¹⁶

¹⁴ Saitō Yakurō, Kido's fencing instructor in the 1850s.

¹⁵ *Niiname matsuri* 新嘗祭. In this ceremony the Emperor offers the gods the first fruits of the new rice crop, and partakes of it himself. It was held on the "rabbit" day of the 11th month under the lunar calendar.

¹⁶ Charles H. Dallas was one of the victims, and the name of the other is given variously as King and as Ring. Charles H. DeLong, United States Minister, reported to the Secretary of State, on 14 January 1871: "They were very seriously wounded by the sword of the assailant, who approached them from behind, in the night, while they were walking quietly along the streets. Both are stated to be now in a fair way to recovery." (United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1871* [Washington, 1871], 582.) Hazel Jones presents a different picture of the men who were attacked by samurai while strolling outside their compound with prostitutes. They violated rules of personal safety by leaving the compound, and

and the culprits are still at large. Under urging from the Minister of the Right,¹⁷ I went to the Palace with Hirosawa, and withdrew at 3. I did calligraphy and paintings in a notebook and on a piece of framed paper entrusted to me by friends the other day. Itagaki Taisuke called; and Hirosawa came by after 5. We went together to the Department of Shinto Religion,¹⁸ where a number of officials had come to worship on the occasion of the Festival of the Harvest. I returned home at 12.

15 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/25] Fair. I went up to the Palace at 9. This evening Imperial Councilor Ōkubo and I received private orders in the Imperial Presence, then the official notification at the Imperial Secretariat.¹⁹

Kido: Imperial Councilor

You are hereby notified of your dispatch to Yamaguchi domain on official business.

I withdrew from the Palace at 4, went to visit the two Itōs and Hiraoka in Tsukiji, then returned home after 8.

(Note) Since last year I have had some serious discussions with Ōkubo in regard to the country's situation; and this trip is the outcome. Senior Councilor Nomura of Yamaguchi domain, Inoue Shin'ichirō, and Hashi'ichi came to stay overnight.

16 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/26] Fair. I remained at home throughout the day; and dozens of visitors arrived between 7 in the morning and 12 midnight. Chō and Shimo . . . of Iwakuni came to discuss domain administration.

17 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/27] Fair. I went up to the Palace at 9. We held our first Conference before the Throne on the national laws today.²⁰ I withdrew at 3, then visited Lord Yōdō's villa in Imado by carriage in the company of Gotō. I returned home after 12.

In recent days an intensive search for the men who made the

Dallas further infringed on rules of his living quarters by keeping a woman with him during convalescence. (Jones, *Live Machines*, 78.)

¹⁷ Prince Sanjō Sanetomi held the office.

¹⁸ *Jingikan* 神祇宮.

¹⁹ *Benkan*.

²⁰ The foreign diplomats had called for a code of laws in their protests over the attacks on Dallas and King, the English teachers at the Nankō.

assassination attempt on the Englishmen has been conducted; and there has been talk that we should organize a police system in accordance with the laws of the European countries. In response, I said that if the government and the people are in perfect harmony, every single person in Tokyo will serve it as an informer. If the two are not in harmony, even though we raise a police force numbering in the thousands, we cannot check such violent actions.²¹ Why, I wonder, does the government become seriously concerned about protecting human life only when a European meets disaster? It is essential that it also conduct an exhaustive investigation when one of our countrymen dies by violence. But, whereas the investigation is painstaking out of a sense of responsibility when a European meets with a mishap because his country's minister applies pressure, when one of our people falls victim, the inquiry is neglected. I deplore such favoritism; and, consequently, I presented my argument at length along these lines to the government. I stand alone with my differing opinion these days.

18 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/28] Fair. Visitors arrived continuously from morning on. After 3 I paid visits by carriage to Kuroda Ryōsuke, Fukuoka Tōji, Shishido Saburō, and Kadowaki. . . . Gotō, Ōkuma, Yamaguchi, and Etō came to my place; and I visited Shima Dan'emon at twilight. At night Hirosawa, Miura, Chō, Yoshitomi, Fukui, Kawamura, Ariyoshi, Saitō. Sugiyama, and many other visitors came by to drink to my departure. Everybody left about 12.

19 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/29] Fair. I left home by carriage at 9; and everybody came out of the house to see me off at the gate. From there I went by Hirosawa's to discuss some business, proceeded directly to Ōkubo's, and rode in the same carriage with him to the office of the Director of Foreign Trade in Yokohama

²¹ This is the traditional Confucian argument for government by moral prestige, as opposed to the Legalist belief that laws and police are essential to keep order. The two Englishmen had suffered thirteen sword cuts when they were attacked at Kanda Nabechō on 13 January 1871. In reply to the Foreign Minister's apology, the foreign diplomats, led by Harry Parkes, the English Minister, and including United States Minister Charles E. DeLong, called for abolition of sword-wearing by samurai. "Outrages of this kind must be expected so long as one-half of the Japanese people in these cities are allowed constantly to carry two swords about with them," noted DeLong in his letter to the Foreign Minister. (Yokohama, January 15, 1871, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1871, p. 583.)

which we reached at 12. Shōjirō came over; and we went to Yamashiroya's together. Inoue Shōzō and Minami Teisuke came over; and Ōkuma and Yamao came to talk. All of them came down to the coast to see me off at 4; and we hoisted anchor at 5.

(Note) The name of the ship was the *Oregon*.²²

20 January 1871 [Meiji 3/11/30] West wind, very strong.

Twelfth Month

21 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/1] We arrived in Kobe at 12. Ordinarily a ship would have reached this port by 7 or 8; but, owing to the strong west wind yesterday, our ship was delayed by three or four hours. I called at the Nagatoya from which place I went directly to Naniwa by river steamer. There I went ashore at Matsushima, and proceeded at once to the Tsuneyasu mansion to visit Ogawa, but he was absent. I went to the Onomichiya, which I had chosen as my inn for the night, then went out to the Sakaitatsu on the south side with Sasaki Jirōshirō and Kawano Kamenoshin. Ogawa and Munakata came there for drinks.

22 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/2] Cloudy. Inoue Segai, Yamada Akiyoshi,¹ and Yamagata Sokyō, who had been trying to locate me since early this morning, finally found me at the Sakaitatsurō, so I went along with them to the Keikyūrō. Torio and Kawano joined us. I went to the Tomitarō with Inoue Segai after 2; and a Mr. Iwasaki² of Tosa, Junior Deputy War Minister³ Takano, and a Mr. Mawatari were already there.

23 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/3] Fair. I left my inn at 7, and proceeded by a covered boat to the Naniwa Bridge, where I boarded the *Rishōmaru*. We hoisted anchor after 8, and arrived in Fushimi after 4. This trip was my first upriver by steamboat.⁴

¹ Yamada Akiyoshi is the name by which the Chōshū military leader is known to history. Up to this point Kido has referred to him as Yamada Ichinojō.

² Iwasaki Yatarō (1834–1885), founder of the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu*, was to become one of the economic leaders of the era. A Tosa samurai, he had been placed in charge of accounts by his feudal lord, and in control of ships owned by the Lord. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, he was in possession of his own shipping company, which flourished with government subsidies and the gift of government ships.

³ *Hyōbushōjō* 兵部少丞.

⁴ The translator has in his possession a photograph of this vessel courtesy of the Osaka City Historical Office, with headquarters on the Osaka Castle grounds. It was a flat sidewheeler, with a single black smokestack jutting up near the open deck where the wheel was located. The passenger deck which ran the length of the ship was covered.

²² The *Oregon* was owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Navigation Company, an American concern.

Civilization is advancing in the nation indeed. Looking back on the past, I realize how rapidly changes have been coming, though they seemed to be slow at the time. When I think of how things were seven or eight years ago, that I should survive until now and be riding in this sort of boat is the most astonishing thing imaginable. At the Bekkōya in Fushimi I hired a bamboo palanquin, and entered Kyoto in that fashion at 6 p.m. I went to Makimura's, then stayed over at the Kashiwarō.

24 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/4] A blizzard blew in at dawn. I threw open my windows to discover that the Higashiyama mountains and the Kamo River were all mantled in silvery snow. The beauty of the scene was beyond the power of my words or brush to express. With the letter which came from Lord Iwakura I received a present of tea and Western liquor. After 11 I paid a visit to Ōkubo at the Gepparō, and there saw Murata Shimpachi unexpectedly. We talked, had a few drinks, and I left after 4 to visit Maeda Shōkaku. From there I went directly to Lord Iwakura's to have a confidential talk about the current situation, and I returned to my inn about 7. Raizan came by this morning; and Hirahara, who arrived here from Naniwa, came in to talk at night.

25 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/5] Fair. A variety of visitors came in. About 2 I paid a visit to Ōkubo to go with him to call on Lord Iwakura with whom we discussed the role of the caretaker government in Kyoto. I returned to my inn about 10 at night.

26 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/6] Fair. Makimura and Fujimura, the two Senior Councilors of Kyoto, came to discuss local government business as well as current trends generally; and, in consequence, I gave them my frank opinion. They left before 12. Ōkubo also came to visit. After 3 Raizan, Hirahara, and I went to a meeting of the Tengū Society⁵ at the Hasshinrō. Old Kyūkyo also came to join us. On the way back I went to Seiga's and and Raizan's; and I returned to Kiyachō about 10, going to Mrs. Inoue's before returning to my inn. I retired at 12.

⁵ *Tengu* are long-nosed goblins who live in the mountains and have occult powers. They are reputed to be conceited boasters.

(Note) Fujimura came from the War Ministry on duty.

27 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/7] Fair. A variety of visitors came. Yamagata Sokyō and Takaya . . . came up from Naniwa in regard to the dispatch of troops to Hida prefecture.⁶ I had already decided on a strategy to deal with the problem there, at Lord Iwakura's mansion the other day; so I went to Lord Iwakura's today to discuss details regarding the issuance of the official order. I heard the rumor from him that a band of *rōnin* who arrived in Naniwa recently had gathered a party of priests and other malcontents to instigate the peasants of Hida prefecture to rise up and break into the prefectural office. Further, I heard that the rascals have pushed into Ōshima county of Suo province,⁷ and pillaged the people there of money and grain. Most of them are said to be connected with the mutineers in Chōshū last spring from Dairakutai and other units. I had, therefore, already talked over with Iwakura the problem of how to control them. Maeda Shōkaku came today; he had called twice before; and, when I was in Kyoto previously he gave me medical treatment. I did the calligraphy which Makimura and Fujimura had requested. I had invited Mrs. Inoue to the Nakamurarō, so after worshipping at the Gion shrine about 5, I went directly to the teahouse to meet her. The music of the *samisen* and the dances added to the ecstasy from the saké. Yamagata and Takaya came to join us; and I went to the Shōriki, which is Takaya's inn, with him after 10. An old friend, Kyunyu, was there; and we told funny stories for a time. I returned to my inn to go to bed at 12.

(Note) Ōkubo departed this morning.

28 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/8] Since last night we have had rain and snow; and the scenic beauty of Higashiyama is incomparable. A variety of visitors arrived one after another. I entrusted Makimura with my letters to Tokyo and one to Aoki Shūzō⁸ in Prussia. I purchased from Raizan a scroll painted on silk

⁶ It was later merged into present-day Ōita prefecture in northeast Kyushu.

⁷ Suo province was one of the two which made up Chōshū, later Yamaguchi prefecture.

⁸ Aoki Shūzō (1844–1914), Chōshū samurai, had been Kido's neighbor in Hagi, and was the heir to the Chief Physician to Lord Mōri, Aoki Kenzō. Like Kido's, his was a medical family. Shūzō's early study of Western science and medicine led him to become a student in Berlin, where he acquired a German wife, and ultimately into

by Hankō.⁹ After 4 I made my departure from Kyoto, arriving at the Bekkōya in Fushimi when the lights had been lit all over town. Yamagata and Takaya had already reached the Bekkōrō.

29 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/9] Fair. I took the boat down the Yodo River at 7, reaching Amejima about 4. I called on Inoue Yakichi, but he was absent. I did see the old gentleman of the household, and talked with him for a while. He is as vigorous as he was in the old days. I visited Yamada and talked with him. At night Sasaki, Matsumoto, Kawano, and Inoue came over, and in the end they all stayed overnight.

30 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/10] Fair. Yamagata and Torio came by; and after 12 I crossed the river to call on Inoue Segai. Yakichi also came. I left there after 6 to visit Ōkubo, who was out. I then went to the Chōshū mansion to stay overnight.

31 January 1871 [Meiji 3/12/11] In the morning light rain fell, then suddenly it cleared up. I went to Ōkubo's after 9; and we went on to Lord Iwakura's together to confer. Afterwards we went to the Bureau of the Mint which is equipped with surprisingly ingenious machinery. Up to now the work of the Mint has been slipshod; and that has resulted inevitably in counterfeiting of coins. Inoue and Mawatari arranged to have the Englishman Kinder¹⁰ explain to us in detail how the machines work in each department; and this lasted until twilight. On the way back we went to Ōkubo's where we had sakē and played *go*. Three masters of *go* joined us there.

the foreign service—as First Secretary, then Minister, at the Japanese legation in Berlin and, finally, as Foreign Minister twice (in 1895–1896, and in 1900). His crowning achievement was the negotiation of the end of the unequal treaties as Minister to England in 1894. The Aoki-Kimberley agreement marked the end of extraterritoriality. The letter might have related to the tragic drowning of Shūzō's adoptive father as he attended on the Emperor's procession.

⁹ Possibly the painter is Chinese, in which case the reading would be Pan Hung. 半紅.

¹⁰ Thomas William Kinder (1816?–?) was a metallurgical engineer with considerable experience. He had a reputation as a hard taskmaster, one who wore out his Japanese bureau heads and intimidated foreign employees. The Major held Rank 4 in the Japanese civil service, and at \$1415 a month his salary was the highest paid any government official, more than the Prime Minister's \$800. (Jones, *Live Machines*, 85, 115; Tsuchiya Takao 土屋喬雄, *Oyatoi Gaikokujin—Kinyū, Zaisei お雇い外国人—金融・財政* [Foreign Employees of the Japanese Government—Money, Finance], Volume 8 [Tokyo, Kajima Shuppankai, 1969], 9, 62.)

(Note) Kawamura, Senior Deputy War Minister, and Matsukata, Senior Deputy Home Minister, came to join us from Tokyo. From the Grand Council of State¹¹ I received the official letter entrusting me with the responsibility for suppressing the disorder in Hida prefecture.

1 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/12] Fair. I went to Ōkubo's at 9, then with him on to Lord Iwakura's, and to the War Ministry Branch Office to hold an inspection of military drill. After that was over, we inspected several offices in Osaka Castle, and went up to the top of the Castle tower to enjoy the vista. We could imagine the scale of the plans which Lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi¹² had made for this place. I returned to the domain mansion after 2; and Yamagata and Takaya came over to inform me about the recent situation in Tosa. Takaya has decided not to go to Hida, but to return to Tokyo. I went to Lord Iwakura's again, therefore, conferred with Yamada and Takaya, and decided to dispatch Junior Deputy Home Minister Hayashi in place of Takaya. I left there after 7, visited Ōkubo on my way back, and returned to the domain mansion directly from there.

2 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/13] Fair. Visitors arrived continuously. I went to Ōkubo's after 4, but he was out. At once I went to Lord Iwakura's, and spent a long time in discussion with him. On the way back I took a boat from Kōraibashi with Hirahara; but the water was too shallow for the boat, so finally we landed, and went to . . . Ogawa also came. I went to the Sakaiya¹³ after 12, and stayed there overnight.

(Note) This morning I did more than ten pieces of calligraphy.

3 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/14] Fair. I returned to the Chōshū mansion after 10, and I sent off letters to Hirosawa, Miura, and Gotō. My room was filled with visitors; Inoue, Yamada, and Yamagata came over to talk. Lord Iwakura and others were

¹¹ *Dajōkan* 太政官.

¹² Kido admired Hideyoshi (1536–1598), the most illustrious warrior of medieval Japan. It may have been empathy for an upstart who came to reside in the most opulent castles; or the admiration may have derived from a sense of having a common enemy with Hideyoshi, whose heir was overwhelmed by the Tokugawa family. In 1868 Kido had proposed rebuilding a shrine in Osaka to honor Hideyoshi.

¹³ Probably the place referred to as the Sakaitatsurō elsewhere.

supposed to board ship this morning, but high waves prevented it; therefore, Yamagata said that he would return to the domain mansion. This evening I was informed by Inoue of a disquieting situation which has developed recently, and I wrote a letter to Prince Sanjō about it. I did more than ten pieces of calligraphy again.

4 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/15] Fair. Matsukata came at 7; and we took a boat from Tempoan to board a Higo steam warship. After we were aboard the seas gradually became so heavy that the troops could not board ship. I returned to Tempoan, therefore, with Matsukata. On shore I met Major General Shijō, Junior Deputy Minister Hayashi, and Torio Koyata. To make arrangements for boarding ship tomorrow I went to the Customs Office again. I stayed overnight at Matsuya Eijirō's in Hashikita, where Zakoage Shigezaemon is stationed. Matsuya's place is a branch of Komatsuya Shōjirō's inn. Ofukuya and Kashimaya also came over.

5 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/16] Fair. I went to the Customs Office after 6, and took a boat there with Matsukata to the river's mouth where we transferred to a government boat to go out to board the *Ryū'unkan*. The ship hoisted anchor at 11, and arrived at . . . in Iyo at 1 in the morning. We cast anchor to spend the night there. In the night, rain.

6 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/17] Uncertain weather all day, first clear then cloudy. We passed off Kaminoseki after 5; and about 6 the west wind became very strong, so we had to face a current running east. About 11 we arrived at Hime Island in Bungo province, and stayed there for the night.

7 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/18] Fair. We hoisted the anchor after 5, and arrived in Shimonoseki about 11, and landed. Major General Shijō and the officers landed at Kokura with two companies of troops from Fushimi. I stayed at the Amizō; and Nomura Yasushi, Rika¹⁴ Bunkō, Munakata Sōjurō, Hirahara Heisaku, Komatsu . . . , and Ikeyoshi came.

¹⁴ This appears to be a person of Chinese descent.

8 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/19] Fair. I strolled downtown, visited old acquaintances, paid my respects at the Kameyama shrine, then returned to my inn after 5. At night I went to the Ōsakarō with Onaka and Onda. This teahouse has constructed a new smaller building; and we had a few drinks in the drawing room of that building. Yoshino also came to join us. I returned to my inn after 11. Onda and Munakata brought along three geisha.

9 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/20] Fair half the day, rain the other half. Rika, Katayama, Nomura, Yoshino, Irie, Munakata, Kōki, Iketatsu, Yusei, Hirahara, Ōki, Tamaike, and several other visitors came. We drank and talked from morning until midnight.

10 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/21] Fair. Guests who came to see me off filled my room. I left at 10, and arrived in Kammon where I had my meal at the Shōgetsu. I took a rest at Kunihiro's in Atsusa; and I arrived at Ōba's in Funaki before 6. Abe, the Assistant Archivist, and Naitō Gentai came; and everybody left at 12.

(Note) Hayashi . . . came.

11 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/22] In the morning Naitō Gentai's aged mother came. I left Funaki after 9, passed Yamanaka at 11, and after 1 I reached Ogori where I took a short rest at the Koizumiya. Kitagawa Seisuke came, as did Akimoto Shinzō, and I reached Yamaguchi Castle after 3. All of the government officials had withdrawn by then; therefore, I visited with Kashiwamura, the Senior Councilor, and returned home at 6. Nakayama Tōkō and . . . Ribe came to the vicinity of Ogōri to meet me.

12 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/23] Fair. Miyoshi Guntarō, Ōtsu Shirō'emon, Nakayama Katsushi, Chief Councilors Kashiwamura and Sugi, Junior Councilor Kubo, and Senior Officers¹⁵ Yoshida and Shirane, plus several dozen others, came to visit me in a steady stream between dawn and dark. I went to the Kawaraya in Yuda¹⁶ about 6, and stayed there overnight. More than ten

¹⁵ *Daizoku* 大蔵.

¹⁶ Yuda is the hot springs resort near Yamaguchi, now inside the city.

people, including Kubo, Ōtsu, Nakamura Yoshisaburō, Miyoshi Guntarō, Taki Yatarō, Sugiyama Soichi, Ōoka Daibi, met me there.

13 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/24] Fair. I left the Kawaraya before 12, called on Takasugi, Nomura, and Mōri, then went directly to the Castle,¹⁷ for an audience with my two Lords. I reported to them that Lord Iwakura would visit Yamaguchi. On withdrawing I visited Ōtsu, then returned to the Kawaraya about 6 to stay overnight. In the night, rain.

(Note) Takeda came to give me medical treatment.

14 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/25] Light rain. I left Yuda at 10, and went to Katsusaka Motobei's about 1, relaxed a bit and had my noon meal. Sugi Enson waited for me there; then we climbed the mountain together, and descended to the Mitajiri government office. I called on Sadanaga Yūnosuke, went to Takeuchi Motosuke's in Toiyaguchi at 9, and stayed there for the night. Lord Iwakura was scheduled to arrive yesterday or today; but we have not heard anything from him yet.

(Note) I met Yamane Shūsaku at Sadanaga's and talked with him.

15 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/26] Fair. The west wind was strong today. Kajitori Motohiko,¹⁸ Tsuboi . . . , and Sadanaga Yūnosuke came by; and we went to Fujii Tetsunosuke's in Mukōjima together after 10. I returned to my inn after 5. Yamao Yōzō's letter came today.

(Note) Shūsaku gave me some medicine today.

16 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/27] Last night, a snowstorm, clearing at dawn. I went to Tsuboi's room at the Ebinaya about 11. We had a few drinks and talked, then Kajitori and Fujimatsu came in. I returned to my inn about 10 p.m.

¹⁷ *Kanchō* 官廳.

¹⁸ Kajitori Motohiko (1829–1912), Chōshū samurai, had a reputation as a Confucian scholar. As Kido's contemporary he had been jailed as a loyalist, and held high office as a member of the mission which made peace with the Bakufu in 1864 at Hiroshima after the War of the Four Borders. Later he served the Meiji government, and became a member of the House of Peers.

17 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/28] Fair. I wrote letters in the morning to send to Okabe Jinnosuke and Miyoshi Guntarō. I entrusted them all to Yoshida Uichirō, including the letter to Yamao who is the caretaker of my house in Tokyo. I went to Sadanaga's in Tsuruhama with Sugi and Tsuboi about 12, and finally stayed there overnight.

(Note) Bun'emon, the master of the house, is away in Tokyo. Kawano . . . came to visit. He boarded the *Unyōmaru* the other day to go to Bungo; and he has now returned to this port in accordance with official orders from the Imperial Intendant.¹⁹ I was informed of his tour of inspection. It is contrary to my wishes that he should withdraw; therefore, disappointed as I am, I want to dispatch a letter of protest to Hida prefecture as soon as possible.

18 February 1871 [Meiji 3/12/29] Since last night, a very heavy snowstorm. The whole world seems to have turned to silver. Fujimatsu, Dōchō,²⁰ and Sadanaga came to visit, as did Hirahara Hei'emon. We talked, had some drinks, and played *go* all day. The last few days the extreme cold has been severe. We are leaving the old year in a very quiet way. There has not been such a year as this in recent memory. Members of our group talked about the domain crisis last winter; and each person gave an account of the personal effort he made to deal with the problem. Hirahara brought two scroll paintings by Chikuden, one scroll by Sanyō,²¹ and a landscape by Yi Fu-chiu.²²

¹⁹ *Junsatsushi* 巡察使.

²⁰ Dōchō Jōzō (1813–1905) was a martial arts expert who taught Judo to more than 2000 students in his academy in Chōshū.

²¹ Rai Sanyō, the loyalist historian, whose calligraphy Kido admired.

²² If this painter of landscapes is Chinese, as seems probable, the reading would be Yi Fu-chiu. 伊學九.

Meiji 4 1871

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First Month

19 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/1] The sky was clear, the air pure, and the cold of the New Year penetrating. The sunlight sparkled on the snow everywhere, producing a spectacular scene. Sadanaga's household gathered round; Fujimatsu joined them with me; and we all tipped our cups of *otoso*, New Year's sakè.¹ Enson and I each did a piece of calligraphy and a brush ink painting; and produced a joint work in honor of the New Year:

The snow reflects the morning sun on the high eaves.

The first wind out of the East this year blows in.

The vast magnificent scene which fills our eyes through the open door—

The seas, the mountains, the swift-flowing streams—all we owe to the Imperial benevolence.

At noon, a warship fired a salute; and I went along with friends to Fujimatsu Tanosuke's. Seventeen years ago when I was en route to Naniwa with Ise Shōsu, high winds prevented our departure, so we stayed over in Mitajiri for several days. At that time, on Ise's invitation, I went to Fujimatsu's for the first time. At the time our land was quiet. What surprising turns do the affairs of men take, that we should be holding this party here today after so long a time. We were sad, as we called to mind the past, but happy as well. As I drank and talked with my friends, I felt a tranquility the like of which I have not enjoyed on New Year's Day in some time. When the cold became particularly intense, we threw open the window to discover that snowflakes filled the air, covering the bamboo in the garden to make it appear to have blossomed with flowers. In response I wrote a poem:

My short bamboo walking stick in hand, I called at my friend's house.

The light of the sun cast shadows across the cold snow.

¹ The sweet spiced sakè taken for medicinal purposes at the start of the New Year.

Before I had finished my cup of New Year's sakè,
The bamboo in the garden was suddenly in bloom.

At night Kajitori and Dōchō came; and we drank and talked.

20 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/2] Fair. Sadanaga Shōsō and Mori Kansai came by. I had last seen Kansai at Yamaguchi castle in the spring a year ago. He is now returning to Kyoto. Tanosuke, the master of the house, asked for some of my calligraphy, so I did several pieces for him. Kansai also requested a farewell message in my hand:

Last year it was you who sent me off from our Castle.

This year it is I who will see you off from Hanaura.

We part and come back together like the water of a flowing stream.

When are we destined to meet again in Kyoto?

I wrote these words just as they came to my mind. I took my meal, drank some sakè, and left there after I to go to Prince Okimaru's² house for an audience with him. I went to the government office to see Kajitori and Dōchō, then went directly to Sadanaga Shōsō's³ house. Sugi and Tsuboi accompanied me throughout. Kajitori, Dōchō, and Yamane came over at night.

21 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/3] Cloudy. I did some calligraphy for my own pleasure. I had wanted to send Shimada Sukeshichi to Hida prefecture; and I notified him of my intention the other day. But he was unable to travel on account of illness, so Akiyama Shūsaku came over; and I entrusted him with letters to Matsukata, Torio, Onda Jinsuke, and Ikeyoshi. . . . came to visit, bringing sakè and food with him.

22 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/4] Fair. I went to the Yamashiroya at Horie about 1, and stayed there overnight.

23 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/5] Fair. I strolled around Shin-Tsukiji, walked through the domain government's dockyards, and

² Okimaru was the childhood name of Mōri Motoakira (1865–1939), heir of Lord Mōri Motonori. He was a boy of about six at this time.

³ Undoubtedly Sadanaga was an important merchant of Mitajiri. In a biographical dictionary of Chōshū the pen name is given as Shōin rather than Shōsō, but with the first of the two characters the same in both instances.

reached Ikimi. Fujimatsu Tanosuke came, as did Kajitori and Dōchō. Sugi, Tsuboi, and Sadanaga accompanied me the while. Tō Harukazu of Kumamoto domain in Higo came to visit today; he came to our domain in connection with the arrival of Lord Iwakura and his party. Sugi and I went to the inn, Yamashiroya, therefore, to make arrangements for him.

24 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/6] Fair. I had a report of the arrival of Lord Iwakura's party, so I went to the Toiyaguchi immediately to see Yamagata Kyōsuke. Ōkubo and Saigō arrived today; and things seem to have settled down in their domain at last. I called on Lord Iwakura, then I visited Ōkubo, the Saigō brothers, Kawamura,⁴ and Ikenoue. I went to Lord Iwakura's again at night, and was informed of recent developments.

25 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/7] Fair. I returned to Yamaguchi Castle today when Lord Iwakura and his party entered the castle grounds. I greeted Lord Iwakura at the gate of the guest house; and our two Lords came to receive him in the guest house. The Lord Governor⁵ had to go to Hiiragi, so he met Lord Iwakura at the guest house, and left early. I received Ōkubo and the others and entertained them; and I discussed the main points in the project which we are now carrying out. Yamagata Yahachi, Okudaira Kazuma, Tsuboi, Soemon, and Katsusaka-no-Motobei came over at night to drink and talk.

26 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/8] Fair. Yamagata Kyōsuke, Miyoshi Guntarō, and Aritomi Gembei came over; and a letter arrived from Lord Iwakura. I paid a visit to Ōkubo after 2, with Saigō present; and I listened to and understood their opinions. In an earlier time I developed a plan for the Return of the Registers;⁶ and finally the whole nation followed my plan. Using that as a base, I now want to put the nation on a course of building a still stronger foundation that we may be able to stand side by side with the rest of the nations of the world. Originally, I did not even

⁴ Kawamura Sumiyoshi (1836–1904), Satsuma samurai, was serving as Senior Deputy War Minister, or *Hyōbu Daijō*, at this time. He specialized in naval affairs, and after the War Ministry was divided became Naval Minister on two occasions.

⁵ Presumably this is Mōri Motonori, the younger of the two Chōshū Lords. His adoptive father, Takachika, had gone into retirement.

⁶ *Haneki Henjō* 版籍返上.

have a foothold; but after more than two years of unremitting effort, the time has arrived, I believe, to start to implement my plan. We discussed the main objectives of the plan, therefore, and decided on the essential steps. After 5 I withdrew to go to Lord Iwakura's to go over the key points in the plan with him; and I returned to my inn at night. Visitors arrived in a steady stream.

27 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/9] Rain. Today the Imperial Envoy⁷ came to the Domain Office, and our Lord who holds the Second Court Rank, Junior Grade, received the Imperial letter. Afterwards the Imperial Envoy proceeded to the Hōei shrine, and consecrated a sword to the shrine. My nephew Wada Yoshisuke came by. Tsuboi, Nagaya, Yamagata, Masaki, and Kunishige came in for drinks at night. This evening I went up to the Domain Office to have an audience with my two Lords. I discussed with them the general trend of national policy, and related Satsuma domain's intentions, before withdrawing after night had come. My two Lords accepted my proposals today; and I was moved to tears.

28 February 1871 [Meiji 4/1/10] Fair. Our Old Lord reported to the Imperial Envoy that he has accepted the Imperial Order. Ōkubo and Saigō then came to our Domain Office, and reported their intentions to the two Chōshū Lords; and I went up to Lord Iwakura's after 5. This morning Ōkubo and Saigō came to my place, and asked me to go to Tosa with them, to which I agreed. Visitors arrived throughout the day; and at night my friends came in for drinks again.

1 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/11] Fair. This evening Lord Iwakura paid a visit to our two Lords; and I was present. Visitors came all day. Tonight I talked with people at Yamagata Kyōsuke's house; present were Kubo and Sugi.

(Note) Okudaira Nisui returned to Hagi today.

2 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/12] Fair. Since morning visitors have popped in from everywhere. Lately one or two men from Higo have been coming to take the waters from time to time; and

they came to talk with me. I paid a visit to Sugi after 11; and we went to the government offices together, and discussed the problem of the restive young warriors. I left at 5 to go to Yuda to have an audience with Lord Iwakura and to see Ōkubo. On the way back I visited Saigō and the other people who had entered the castle on this mission. All are leaving tomorrow, except for Ōkubo who will leave day after tomorrow. I returned to my inn at 9; visitors piled into my sitting room like a mountain.

3 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/13] The snow flew like blossoms falling. This winter is the coldest in seventeen years. At 12 the two Chōshū Lords gave a dinner party at the Imperial Envoy's inn; and I attended. About 3 I went to Hirokawa's house, then on to Yuda to see Ōkubo, returning to my inn after 9. Visitors arrived without a break, keeping me very busy.

4 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/14] Pure white snow filled the skies, making the mountains around us appear as jewels. The Imperial Envoy departed this morning; he proceeded from the pass out of Ogōri to the grave of the late Ōmura, Vice Minister of War, then on to Mitajiri. His ship is scheduled to depart tomorrow. Ōkubo also departed this morning. I went to the Lord's new official residence this morning, then on to the Rear Chamber for an audience. Afterwards I went to the Government Offices to offer my proposals for taking care of several pending matters, then went back to the Rear Chamber about 5, where I had an audience with the two Lords' consorts. I paid a visit to Yahata and Yamada, and returned to my inn at twilight. Mimonjiya Torajirō came over. He had worked quietly for our cause during the domain crisis last year; therefore, I presented him with Prince Sanjō's poem on *tanzaku* paper.⁸ Today visitors piled in as if a mountain. A partial list includes Yamagata Yahachi, Tsuboi Sōichi, Ōtsu Shirōemon, Oka Yoshisuke, Terauchi Yōzō, Satō Ya, Masaki Ichi, Kaneshige Jōzō, Shirane Tasuke, Akiyoshi Atsunosuke, Okamura Kumashichi; and there were many more whose names I do not have time to write. It was almost 4 o'clock when the last of my guests left.

⁷ *Chokushi* 勅使. This refers to Iwakura Tomomi.

⁸ A long strip of paper used for writing odes.

5 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/15] The people who were here last night came again; and the house was crowded with still other guests. All of the farmers of Itoyone⁹ came out to see me off when I departed after 10. Nakamura Yoshisaburō, Ōtsu Shirōemon, Kajima Shōemon, and Katayama Kumajirō came as far as Mitajiri to see me off. I relaxed for a short while at Katsusaka Moto-bei's house, and had a meal there. After 4 I went to the Toiyaguchi to visit Saigō, Ōkubo, and Ikenoue, and took a room at the Higoya. Kajitori, Dōchō, Fujimatsu, and Yamane came over.

6 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/16] Cloudy skies, east wind. We hoisted the anchor after 10; and the men who came as far as Mitajiri with me yesterday went out to the ship to see me off. We passed Saganoseki about 5; after 12 the wind and the waves came up; and rain threatened.

(Note) Last night Akiyama Shūsaku returned from Kyushu, bringing with him letters from Matsukata and Torio to me, and giving me a rough account of the situation there. Letters came from Onda Jinsuke and Ikeyoshi. I obtained a scroll painting by Chang Ch'iu-ku¹⁰ entitled "Cultivating a Bamboo Grove between Two Boulders." Gogaku also presented me with three India ink paintings.

7 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/17] Fair. The weather calmed down about 10. We arrived at the entrance to Kōchi harbor¹¹ before 4, and cast anchor. We then entered the harbor by fishing boat, and went directly to Kōchi castletown. We relaxed at a house briefly, then went to a Mr. Okabayashi's in the town of Urado, and stayed there overnight. It was already 11 p.m. Junior Domain Councilor

(Note) The boat landed at Saen beach where there are a great many newly-built sakè houses.

8 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/18] Cloudy, then rain. Ōkubo and Saigō came to visit; and Itagaki Taisuke arrived to talk prior to

⁹ Kido evidently had a sense of *noblesse oblige* toward the farmers of the locality in which his home was located, and they reciprocated by turning out to see him off when he left town.

¹⁰ The artist appears to be Chinese, but I have not identified him further.

¹¹ Kōchi was the castletown for Tosa domain.

that. I told him the main purpose of our trip here. I have been acquainted with him for three years; and I have seen him frequently since last year. He has a good understanding of the currents of the times; and he gives attention to the future of the Empire. The role he played in the reforms in his domain was admirable; it is regrettable that other domains have not been similarly awakened. As soon as I explained the plan which is now under consideration, he therefore agreed immediately without raising a single question. Itagaki has served as Senior Councilor for his domain since last year. Shimomura Keitarō came to visit; and I promised to go to a conference along with Ōkubo and Saigō tomorrow. I then called on Ōkubo and Saigō. Sugi and Miyagi came to my place about 4. Tonight Itagaki, the Senior Domain Councilor; Fukuoka, the Deputy Senior Councilor; and Shimomura, the Junior Councilor, came to visit; and we discussed the reforms which have been carried out in their domain administration. Miyagi came along on this trip mainly to observe the reforms in this domain. We had some drinks and talked; and everybody left after 12 o'clock.

9 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/19] Fair. Sugi and Miyagi came; and I took a walk with them to various places around the castletown. We observed a group of young men on the streets fighting with bamboo staves for possession of the tail of a kite; and I was told that it is the custom in this province for a family which has had a baby boy to fly a kite, then for people to fight for its tail. Some of the kite tails are fifty or sixty feet in length. On the way back I stopped in at Sugi's inn, and took a nap. About 6 Itagaki, Fukuoka, and Shimomura prepared a house for us, then invited Ōkubo, Saigō, and me over. Saigō and the rest of us explained the main purpose of our visit. Itagaki then reviewed for us the past history of his domain, and asserted that its people are fully united in their determination to serve the Imperial Family. He promised, therefore, to report the developments of the evening to his Lord Governor, and to give us a definite answer tomorrow. Afterwards we had some drinks and discussed the current situation. We left about 7. After the formal talks the Senior Officers¹² and other functionaries joined the sakè party.

¹² *Daizoku* 大臈.

10 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/20] Cloudy. Saigō came to visit. I went to the Domain Office with other members of our party to meet with Itagaki, Fukuoka, and Shimomura. Under the guidance of . . . we inspected the cavalry post and cavalry maneuvers on the drill field. Rain began falling, so I returned to my inn about 3. I left Saigō at the front gate, then went to visit Ōkubo. Fukuoka called at my place, but as I was gone, he came on over to Ōkubo's to tell us of their decision yesterday to support the plan.

Yesterday the Lord Governor¹³ sent me some Tosa-made paper and dried bonito.

11 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/21] Fair. I left Kōchi about 9, and was taking a boat down the river to the harbor when I happened to see Itagaki, who was on the way to my inn. He dismounted from his horse on the bridge while I was in my boat; and we promised to see each other in Naniwa, then left. The scenery along the river to Urado was superb, and the weather was excellent. I boarded the *Unyōkan*¹⁴ before 11; and Ōkubo and Saigō came presently. The Tosa Domain Office made us a present of several hundred hen eggs. We passed . . . about 5; and, although the wind and waves were mild today, the ship rolled violently when we reached here. The wind then began to blow from the northeast, and became quite strong. About 8 the wind quieted down. We had reached Yura¹⁵ about 5.

12 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/22] Cloudy. Light rain from before 7; we reached Kobe before 10. Nagatoya had left a message at the landing place telling me of the terrible fate of Hirosawa.¹⁶ I was speechless with astonishment and anger for a time. I met Ōkubo and Saigō at Nagatoya's, and went with them to the Nunobikiya.

¹³ The last feudal lord of Tosa was Yamanouchi Toyonori, and presumably he became Governor after the Return of the Registers in 1869. He was the son of Kido's good friend, the retired Lord, Yamanouchi Yōdō.

¹⁴ The *Unyōkan* 雲揚艦 was built for Chōshū in 1870 by Messrs. H. Hall and Company of Aberdeen on the order of the Glover Brothers of Nagasaki. It may have been presented to the central government the same year, although it seems to have had a Chōshū crew at this time, and to be under Chōshū control. (Grace Fox, *Britain and Japan*, 259-260.)

¹⁵ Yura was a port in Kii province, a convenient stopping point for a ship coming into Kobe from the eastern side of Shikoku.

¹⁶ Imperial Councillor Hirosawa Sanemi was assassinated in Tokyo on 7 March 1871, by men who were never found. The assassins were probably Chōshū dissidents who were outraged by the policy of phasing out the domains.

Makimura's letter arrived, giving us a general account of the calamity which has befallen Hirosawa. Last winter Hirosawa sent me a letter expressing his patriotic indignation over the trend of the times, and his strong sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation. I took out the letter again from the bamboo tube, reflected on my bereavement, and read it several times. I could not withhold my tears. My misery was overwhelming. At the time of the Imperial Restoration, Hirosawa was the only man in the new government to give me support. Hearing the news today, I felt such grief as I would not feel if my own brother had met with an accident. Senior Deputy War Minister Kawamura, Governor Nakayama of Kobe, and other visitors came one after another. Ogawa Hikoeimon sent me a letter; and Kawamura Sōichi came to see me in person. Apart from the danger to the Imperial Government, I find this a personal trial too great to bear. Moreover, because there has been a tendency inside the government to take the feudalist tendencies too lightly, I anticipated that this was coming; therefore, at this juncture I want my colleagues to take an oath to devote all their strength to sweeping away those evils. I have decided to go to Tokyo tomorrow to make the start. Tonogawa Kazusake, who has returned here from Tokyo, came to talk about recent developments. Yamagata Tokuzō had been waiting for me here.

(Note) The War Ministry dispatched soldiers to guard me. I declined the protection, but was overruled.

Today Yasuba Ippei and Ōtaguro Iwata, Senior Councilors in Higo, called on me; but I did not see them because I was in conference with Governor Nakayama of Kobe. I visited their inn, therefore; and we talked for a while. They say that Higo domain has now settled down; that it is united in its acceptance of Imperial policy and its desire to help with the advancement of the nation. On hearing of the misfortune to Hirosawa, they deplored the decline of the influence of the Imperial Government; and they opened their hearts to me in utmost sincerity. I was deeply moved. Soldiers have come to guard my room day and night.

13 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/23] Fair. Yamagata Kyōsuke and Kumano Ichirō arrived; they both were terribly upset on hearing of the unfortunate affair in Kyoto. Their opinion about it does not differ from mine. Kawano Kametarō came from Naniwa to

see me. I wrote letters to Prince Sanjō, Nomura, and Fujii, and entrusted them to Sugi. I then gave Sugi my views on several pending issues. Senior Deputy War Minister Kawamura came to visit; Sugi boarded his ship after 4; and this morning Yasuba Ippei and Ōtaguro Iwata called on me. Torio, who arrived in port with Yamagata, came to visit.

14 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/24] Mild weather. I went to Naniwa by steamship with Miyamoto, Miyoshi, and Kawano, when urged by them. Yamagata was aboard the same ship; and I met Mawataro on the ship. It hoisted anchor in Kobe at 10, and arrived at Naniwa at 12. Soldiers were already on guard at the landing place; the miracle of the telegraph is evident. I went to the Tsuneyasu mansion to stay overnight. Yamada, Matsumoto, Sasaki, and many other visitors came by, Matsumoto and Sasaki having intended to visit me in Kobe. Yamada brought me some letters.

(Note) Yamagata also came by to visit. I talked with Yamada about the recent situation, telling him that I pray that a foundation will be established for the unification of the nation, and that those committed to our cause will not split into factions.

Today I received a letter sent by Aoki Shūzō in Prussia.

15 March 1871 [Meiji 3/1/25] Fair. Yoshii Genma came to visit; Ōkubo and Saigō to talk. I spoke from my heart at length; and my tears fell in spite of myself. I choked up, and the words would not come out. We have exerted ourselves to the utmost to keep abreast of the times these past few years; but the people are displeased because nothing is going well. Many government officials who have passed these last twenty years in safety and tranquility now have the good fortune to serve in the Imperial Government through the Emperor's benevolence; but they have never experienced hardships.¹⁷ It is a regrettable fact that they often err on important matters. Yasuba and Ōtaguro¹⁸ also came to talk. There has been an official notification of the dispatch of troops to their province; therefore, they have come to see Ōkubo and me, they said. They pressed their argument against it with intensity.

¹⁷ The thought comes straight from Mencius, whom Kido admired.

¹⁸ Ōtaguro was leader of the Divine Wind League, *Jimpūren*, which conducted one of the more spectacular revolts against the central government from Kumamoto in 1876. His death followed barely a day of action by his discontented samurai.

I met with the two of them in Kobe. I had already arranged to go to Tokyo with Sugi; but, because of the controversy over the dispatch of troops, I hastily decided to remain here.

(Note) When I visited Ōkubo and Saigō this evening, I went out without telling the soldiers, because I have gotten tired of my guard. They finally came to Saigō's looking for me.

16 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/26] Cloudy. A mountain of visitors came. Matsuda,¹⁹ the Senior Councilor for Kyoto, came down to Ōsaka especially to see me; and we discussed the current situation for a time. Matsuda is a man I have known for ten years. I had a meeting with Yamagata, Yamada, and Miyoshi, to discuss the matter of troops to be offered to the central government by the domains and other pending issues, and to plan to start on some new matters. Kawachi Sōichirō brought over Kusaka Ichirō, an Aizu man. As Kusaka has already put himself in my charge, I consulted with Yoshii on what to do, and sent him off to Yoshii with a letter of introduction today. Kawano comes to visit daily; Sasaki and Matsumoto also came today.

(Note) Saigō Shingo came to talk. Ishida Tarō, the Deputy Police Chief²⁰ of Osaka, came over. I entrusted Gobei with the mounting of the Chang Ch'iu-ku painting.

17 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/27] Cloudy, with rain. In the morning I went to Hasegawa's to see his calligraphy and paintings. Yoshii Genma came to talk, as did Saionji Yukie. Shinagawa Shōgo was here to visit, and Yamada and Yamagata to talk—and today we made a start on the plan for contributions of troops to serve the Emperor. Torio also came to talk. I departed after 1, paid a visit to Ōkubo, and went directly from his place to board ship at Matsushima, escorted by my military guard. It was after 2 when we hoisted anchor, and after 4 when we put into Kobe port, and I reached the Nunobikiya. Along the way rain fell—as heavy as if linen yarn were coming down. Tonogawa and Yamagata came to talk at night.

¹⁹ Matsuda Michiyuki (1839–1882) had been a loyalist from Tottori domain before becoming an early Meiji bureaucrat. After his service in Kyoto he became an important official in the Home Ministry under Ōkubo Toshimichi, negotiating in the Ryukyus in 1875 to incorporate the islands into the Empire and heading the Census Bureau.

²⁰ *Gontenji* 権典事.

(Note) My ship today was the same one on which I sailed to Naniwa the other day. It was scheduled to leave this morning, but was delayed. Reiganji, Miyauchi, Nishikawa Shin'ichirō, and his father Sōichi brought over a petition to the governemnt.

18 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/28] Cloudy, with a little sunshine in the afternoon. Last evening and today I wrote a letter to send to the two Chōshū Councilors, Kashiwamura and Takasugi. I told them of my plan for the young warriors,²¹ that when foreigners are hired by the government the people should be given special instructions on behavior, and that in these times talented men from the lower classes should be taken into government service without regard for their social origins. To deprive the young warriors of their hopes would be truly regrettable, apart from the fact that it would lead the unenlightened samurai, rear vassals, and ignorant people generally into the wrong path. I wrote about selecting the right men in the search for subordinate officials. To guide the ignorant masses, they must, having the approval of the chief officials, concentrate on instructing people in our ultimate purposes lest they be confused by the multitude of new laws and new regulations being issued. I have the feeling that care is not being taken in regard to subordinate officials. They do not know the actual position of their superiors or of those without office, hence they confuse the common people. I presented my ideas on these matters of local government in a letter to the two Senior Councilors, and entrusted it to Miyagi who is returning to our domain today. The Prussian²² likewise is going to Chōshū today. I met him at his inn; and I had seen him once in his legation in Tokyo. Tono-gawa also returns to our domain. It is reported that the *Unyōmaru* will hoist anchor at 2 in the morning.

In recent days there have been reports of an armistice between France and Prussia; but in fact the southern part of France has not yet surrendered. Yamagata and Nagatoya came to talk at night. Miyoshi and his party returned to the port after 12.

19 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/29] Fair. In the morning Nakayama, the Governor of this prefecture, came to talk, as did Old Saigō.

²¹ *Sōhei* 壯兵.

²² I cannot identify this individual, but he was to teach navigation.

Senior Councilor Itagaki came over to talk; and a letter arrived from Ogawa. The Prussian's present was delivered to me; and Yamada sent me a letter. I sent off letters to Senior Domain Officer Ogawa²³ and Senior Deputy Home Minister Yoshii. Yamagata Sokyō came to talk. The *New York*²⁴ arrived in port yesterday, and left at 4 today. Junior Dpeuty War Minister Hayashi came last night to tell me that ten guards dispatched by the War Ministry for me had arrived from Yokohama on that ship. I rejected them adamantly, as I do not approve of making too much of the Imperial Councilors²⁵ through such Imperial Government orders, but finally consented to keep the guards. I boarded the ship at 4, and it lifted anchor after 5.

20 March 1871 [Meiji 4/1/30] Fair. The sea was calm; and between 4 and 5 we passed before the face of Mount Fuji.

²³ *Daizoku* 大蔵.

²⁴ A Pacific Mail Steamship Company vessel.

²⁵ *Sangi* 参議.

Second Month

21 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/1] Cloudy. Very strong north wind. Our ship arrived at Yokohama after 6; the landing was very difficult. I went with Miyoshi to Schmidt's house at once to see Shōjirō. I am staying at the Foreign Trade Branch Office. This was formerly Endō Kinsuke's official residence; and it is now occupied by Deputy Director¹ Sakata of the Foreign Trade Branch Office. Sakata is a Hiizen man. Ikenoe came to talk, as did Utsumi; and there were many other visitors. I felt unwell before I boarded the ship in Kobe; and I had to make a special effort to get to the harbor. Today I became ill again, and almost passed out. By making a determined effort, I managed to remain conscious. I had both a fever and a headache. Dr. Haga . . . came to treat me. Saitō Shintarō and Fujii Yasoe also came.

22 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/2] Fair. Utsumi and others came to visit. I stayed in bed until after 2; then I went out for a stroll with my companions, called on Dr. Elliott, the dentist, and went to visit the Prussian Minister. I presented the Minister and Kemperman with lacquerware and silk crepe which were presents from our Chōshū Lord. Today was the Prussian Emperor's birthday;² and it was also a day of celebration for the Prussian victory in the war. The Prussian legation was heavily decorated, salutes were fired, and fireworks set off. I drank and talked with my traveling companions at night.

(Note) The Minister and Kemperman helped arranged for Chōshū to hire the Prussian.

23 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/3] Fair. In the morning Sufu Kana-tsuchi, Okura Uemonosuke, and Kawano Mitsutarō came to visit.

¹ Tsushō Gonshō 通商權正.

² Wilhelm I of the House of Hohenzollern reigned from 1861 to 1888.

All three are going abroad tomorrow, a trip which I helped arrange. I asked them to transmit some messages to people living abroad, and charged them with some official business. At 9 I called on Elliott, and received some medicine for my teeth. I left Yokohama after 10, and went to the Plum Mansion, Umeyashiki, in Ōmori before 1. Half of the plum blossoms had already fallen. I had a meal at the Kawasakiya at 3; and, since Inoue Segai sent a man over, I paid a visit to Segai; and I met Sugi, Shishido, Nomura, Fujii, Inoue Yakichi, and Akagawa Yūzō. I returned home after 5. Several dozen visitors came—including Chō, Miura, Ono, Sugiyama, Inoue, Kawamura, Sasaki, Katō, Saitō, Amano, and Sawahata. We drank and talked together; and all of us deplored the current state of affairs. When the conversation turned to our late friend, Shōgaku,³ I could not bear to utter a word. I was told that Ōkuma had been waiting for me at my house today, and that more than ten people who had heard the news of my return had called yesterday. Eight soldiers came from the Kanda mansion for overnight duty as my guard.

24 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/4] Fair. Visitors came continuously. Imperial Councilor Ōkuma, Assistant Minister Inoue, Associate Imperial Secretary Yamagauchi, and Junior Deputy Minister Miura came to talk.

(Note) Moridera came to talk; and Kawase Yasushirō's letter arrived.

25 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/5] Fair. Visitors arrived as they did yesterday. Rain after 2, clearing up toward evening. The Prussian Kemperman came to talk.

(Note) Aritomi Shinsuke came to talk. He calls himself Tsuno Shinzaemon now.

26 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/6] Fair. I was overrun with visitors today. The Lords Governor of Iwakuni and Toyoura visited me. Miyoshi Shinzō, Chō Shimbei, and Shimo Tokutarō accompanied them. Lord Nagayaoshi⁴ also came. Kadowaki paid a visit; and Itagaki Taisuke was here to talk, mostly about the current

³ Shōgaku was the pen name of the late Hirosawa Saneomi.

⁴ I am uncertain as to the reading of this, or the identity of the individual.

situation. At night, rain. Yoshitomi came, and stayed overnight.

27 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/7] In the morning, rain. Sakuma came to visit. About 10 Prince Sanjō paid a surprise visit to consult about the problem before us. He told me that Lord Iwakura returned to the capital yesterday. Makimura Hankurō's letter arrived.

28 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/8] Fair. Yamagata Sosuke came to visit. Lord Iwakura, the Chief Imperial Councilor,⁵ honored me with a visit; and Gotō Shōjirō also came to talk. At 4 I went to Prince Sanjō's mansion, where the Imperial Councilors Itagaki Taisuke, Sugi Magoshichirō, Saigō Kichinosuke, and Ōkubo were present. We petitioned for the adoption of our plan for the three domains.⁶ As I reflected on the changes which the times have brought, and of the state of public feeling, I could not contain my intense emotions. As my dismay overwhelmed me, I expressed my opinions on the present state of things, shedding tears in a steady stream in spite of myself. At 6 I left, and returned in the same carriage as Sugi.

29 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/9] Fair. Prince Sanjō and Lord Iwakura paid me a visit to ask about the purpose of the petition yesterday, and my real intentions. As Prince Sanjō talked about the details of the Yamaguchi domain petition, I felt compelled to explain my real feelings. Before 6 I went to the Hirosawa home to do reverence before his memorial tablet. The lingering grief is unbearable. Even after praying to Hirosawa's memorial tablet, I cannot believe that he is dead. Kawase came to stay overnight.

30 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/10] Fair. Inoue Segai came to visit; Shimo Nisuke and Yoneda Torao came to talk; and Prince Ōgimachisanjō honored me by calling. He gave me an account of official consultations in the Imperial Government today. Tomorrow Saigō, Itagaki, and Sugi are to be summoned.

31 March 1871 [Meiji 4/2/11] Fair. Imperial Councilor Ōkubo

⁵ Dainagon 大納言.

⁶ Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa.

came to talk, as did Yamagata Kyōsuke and Miura Gorō. Ōki Mimpei and Etō Shimpei visited me; and Shishido and Sugi came to talk. Prince Sanjō's letter arrived. Fukubara Kyōsuke, who returned from Shinano yesterday, came to talk today.

1 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/12] Fair. On the night of 30 March I sat alone in silence to ponder the events of the day; and I realize that in the meeting with Saigō and others at Prince Sanjō's mansion I was carried away by an excess of zeal in discussing the outworn feudal practices which have prevailed right up to the present. I recalled the occasion, and I was somewhat embarrassed, so I wrote a letter to Lord Iwakura at 3 o'clock in the morning. I had not received a reply until Inoue Segai came this morning to pass along the details of Lord Iwakura's message. I then told him the things which I could not express in the letter. Saigō Kichinosuke came to visit; and we talked about the situation in our domains and about the national situation, as well as the state of the Imperial Government. Yamagata Sokyō also came to talk.

2 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/13] Fair. I went to the Somei villa with Yamagata Tokuzō,⁷ Miyoshi Guntarō, and Nagaoka Seisuke, taking Shōjirō with me. We reached there at 12, drank together for several hours, then went to the Nakamura Plum Mansion. Half the plum blossoms had already fallen, but several hundred trees still had blossoms remaining, and their fragrance permeated the air. Beneath the blossoms stood the bushes, in an arrangement which was a model of good taste. The master of the house served us several cups of weak tea. On leaving there, we returned to the villa; and after 6 I went back home.

3 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/14] Fair. Yamagata Kyōsuke, Shishido San, and Fujii Ben came to talk. Last night Segai sent me a letter to transmit Lord Iwakura's message to me. He sent me another letter this morning. His object was to induce me to attend on my duties at the council chambers. He said that Lord Iwakura and all of the Imperial Secretaries would come to confer with me to-

⁷ Yamagata Tokuzō (1835–1904) was a Chōshū samurai with a literary and artistic bent. He served his feudal lord as a page and worked in the domain publications bureau. After the Restoration he traveled to China, and became the editor of the *Shim-bun Zasshi*, which was Kido's newspaper.

day; therefore, I was compelled to go up to the council chambers in spite of my illness. I withdrew after 3. I then went to the Kanda mansion of Chōshū to pay my respects to the Lords Governor of Toyoura⁸ and Iwakuni. I saw Nomura and Fujii; and we discussed the situation in Yamaguchi domain for a while. Then I went to the Satsuma mansion to see Saigō and bid him farewell. I also visited Segai; and I met Ida Gozō, Ōta Satoichi, and Inui Kazuta. Moreover, I visited Inoue Kobungo; but I had a recurrence of my illness; and, feeling very ill, I went home at once. The time was nearly 6 o'clock. I met Sugi, Nomura and Shishido at Segai's cottage.

At 12 there was an earthquake. In recent days earthquakes have occurred frequently; but today's was particularly severe.

(Note) A letter arrived from Gotō.

4 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/15] Fair. All day at home. Yasuba,⁹ the Senior Councilor of Kumamoto domain, came to talk; and he told me that the recent petition of Yamaguchi domain was not acted on by the central government after all. Instead an order was issued to Satsuma, Hizen, Tosa, and Chōshū for the dispatch of troops accompanying the Imperial Intendant to Kyushu to establish control. In connection with this, I intend to propose that the Imperial Government should make a greater effort to establish control through a better central administrative structure. We have all been troubled by the problem of decentralization, and deplored it; but the Imperial Government has not yet, in fact, developed a coherent policy to deal with the matter. It is hardly the best arrangement to manage things in accordance with petitions coming in from the numerous domains as we do at present. For three hundred years past each of the more than three hundred domains carried on its government in a different fashion. People separated by just a few miles had different customs and manners, as well as different styles of speech; so it goes without saying that their administration and laws were different. If low-ranking police

⁸ Toyoura was the old Chōfu domain in the Shimonsēki area. It was governed by a cadet branch of the House of Mōri.

⁹ Yasuba Yasukazu (1835–1899) was a samurai of Kumamoto (Higo) domain. He had studied with Yokoi Shōnan. After the Restoration he became a bureaucrat, traveled abroad with the Iwakura mission, 1871–1873, served as governor of various prefectures, and became a Baron and member of the House of Peers.

officials of the old regime can understand the trend of the times, and assist the Imperial Government, they will help in suppressing the old reactionary views.¹⁰ For that reason we advanced the proposal which is before us. My view, which I expressed to Yamagata Kyōsuke and Saigō Kichinosuke today, however, seems not to be understood by them. Yasuba deplored the fact that there seems to be a holdup in implementing our proposal; and he discussed how to deal with it. So I told him that at present it is the right of the domains to make proposals to the central government; and it is the right of the Imperial Government to accept or reject them. We should, therefore, present petitions to set forth our views. Yasuba left in a good frame of mind. Lord Iwakura's letters arrived.

5 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/16] Cloudy. Lord Iwakura came to talk over two or three confidential matters. Sugi Enson came to talk, as did the Senior Domain Councilors Yoneda and Yasuba. Yamagata Sokyō came to talk; and Assistant Minister Tokida, Miyoshi Shinzō, and Chō Shimbei as well. After 1 I visited Imperial Councilor Ōkubo to talk about the progress of the proposal of the four domains. Then I went to the Kanda mansion to see Sugi; and I told him what I had discussed with Ōkubo in regard to the four-domain proposal; and we had a confidential talk on proclamations relating to our provinces, and on the affairs of Inaba and Bishū.¹¹ On my way back I visited Assistant Justice Minister Shishido, and returned home after 6. At night I talked with Sugiyama and Yamagata about my purpose in opening a newspaper office. It is that I want to inform people of distant domains about the reforms that are taking place in local administration, and about the reforms of the world generally, to make them aware of the spirit of the present age and to cross over the threshold to enlightenment. Fukui was also present; and he talked with us. Today I brought Terauchi Shin'ichi home with me from the Kanda mansion.

6 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/17] Cloudy, rain, cloudy, rain, then fair. I went to the council chambers before 10, and withdrew at 3. I discussed several of my proposals with Lord Iwakura; and I

¹⁰ *Dōshin* 同心 and *yoriki* 與力 (which is written here as *dōriki* 同力) were low-rank police officials under the Bakufu.

¹¹ Bizen, Bitchō, and Bingo provinces.

visited Gotō Untō for a long discussion. About 6 I returned home. Today Iwakuni Yokomichi who has come to the capital made me a present of two wild geese; and the Lord of Uwajima, who is the Finance Minister, made me a present of five ducklings. Okada Saburō of Nirayama came by.

7 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/18] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 10, and withdrew at 3. I called at Itō Kansai's; and I visited the house of Itō Hōbai who is away. I was told that there is a way to send mail to America, so I wrote letters to Hōbai and to Hikotarō,¹² my nephew. I paid a visit to Hiraoka, the Deputy Senior Councilor for Tokyo; and we discussed the present situation for a long time, and covered in detail the investigation of the search for the assassins. I returned home about 7.

8 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/19] Fair. I went up to the council chambers at 10. We had a report on the rising of the obstinate peasants in Fukushima prefecture. From the beginning the War Ministry has advocated stationing troops in the Etsu provinces and Ōu; and today this matter came up for discussion again. I withdrew after 3, going directly to the Kanda mansion where I met with Miyoshi Shinzō of Chōfu to talk over matters relating to the education of his Lord Governor. I then visited Gotō by appointment; and Itagaki Taisuke came into drink and talk with us. I left at 11.

9 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/20] Fair. Nomura Motosuke and Fujii Benzō came to talk; Misumi Ichinoshin came. Misumi is the most promising and conscientious young man of all; therefore, in the past year, I have sought to help him attain his ambition to travel to Europe. Finally, he has been selected by the Home Ministry to go to the United States to study agriculture; so I conferred with him about matters to be taken care of. I sent letters off to Ōkubo and Yamagata. In his reply, Ōkubo spoke of a meeting at Lord Iwakura's; therefore I went to Lord Iwakura's for a lengthy consultation. We had reports from both Kurume¹³ and

¹² Kuribara Hikotarō, who would later be Kido's heir, studied in Maryland, then at Amherst, Massachusetts, between 1871 and 1874.

¹³ Kurume became a part of Fukuoka prefecture in Kyushu.

Fukushima¹⁴ that the *rōnin* had instigated the malcontents. Enson came over, as did the Governor of Iwakuni and his brother. Lord Yōdō also paid me a visit after 5. We had drinks and chatted; and everyone left at 12.

10 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/21] Cloudy. Ōshima Jisui came to visit. Miyoshi Shinzō came to talk. I had an audience with the Lord Governor of Chōfu to discuss the matter of his studies. I put Kato Kōzō in charge of finding an instructor for His Lordship, and gave him detailed instructions in the matter. After 2 Ohara Tesshin came to visit. I had an appointment with an Iwakuni man today; and I went to the Ariakerō for it with Shishido. We landed at Ryōgoku Bridge at 10; and I returned home by jinrikisha,¹⁵ the first time I have tried this vehicle since it came into use in Tokyo. Shishido accompanied me home in another jinrikisha. After I left the Ariakerō, I called on Lord Yōdō of Tosa; but he was out.

11 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/22] Fair. I went to Lord Iwakura's after 7 to discuss the current situation, and on up to the Council chambers after 9. Iwakura, Ōkubo, and I were summoned into the Emperor's presence after 2 to be served saké and food. I left the Palace about 4 to go to Somei, where seventy to eighty percent of the cherry trees in my garden have begun to bloom, making a beautiful scene. This spring, however, is different from last spring; for I am very much dissatisfied. Today Gotō and his wife, Sugi Enson, Hiraoka Heitarō and his wife, Old Itō and his wife, and several others came out to enjoy the blossoms. Everybody left after 8; and I returned home after 9.

12 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/23] Fair. South wind with whirlwinds of dust. I paid my respects at Shōgaku's grave at 2, and wrote an

¹⁴ Fukushima was the old Aizu—Wakamatsu domain in the northeast which held out against the Imperial forces to the bitter end.

¹⁵ According to the *Nihon Rekishi Daijiten* (10 vols.; Tokyo, Kawade Shobō, 1973), V, 714), one Izumi Yōsuke invented the jinrikisha in 1870 by mounting a chair on two wheels, and manufacture began the next year. If so, the vehicle had just appeared on the streets. B. H. Chamberlain says the origins were "shrouded in mystery," and repeats the story of Jonathan Goble, "half-cobbler, half-missionary," who was credited with having invented the jinrikisha in 1867 to transport his invalid wife. (*Things Japanese* [London, John Murray, 1902].)

inscription for his tombstone, a very emotional experience for me. This spring evening was like a night in autumn. I went up to Prince Sanjō's for an audience, at which I offered my advice on several matters, all of them pressing issues of the day. I paid a visit to Shishido, went to the Hirosawa house, then visited Miura, and returned home after 6. Katō Kōzō came to visit; and we drank and talked for several hours. Numerous other visitors came including Nagayasu, Chō, Yoshitomi, Kasahara, Saitō, Sugiyama, and Yoshimura. We drank and talked, and went to bed after 2.

(Note) Today Shōjirō was appointed to serve with the Finance Ministry, and ordered to England on behalf of his Section.¹⁶

13 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/24] Cloudy, then rain. Shishido, Yamagata, Inoue, and my other visitors last night all stayed over. My house was a lively place, full of visitors who had come to see me off. I departed before 10, went to the front gate of the Foreign Ministry to transfer to a Ministry carriage, and arrived at the Yamashiroya in Yokohama about 2. Schmidt was there, having brought Shōjirō; and we talked for several hours. I met with Governor Satō¹⁷ of Hamada prefecture, and Shirane Tasuke; and I wrote a letter of introduction for Satō to Ōkuma. Toyohara . . . came to visit. He has been ordered to go abroad with Shōjirō and the others; therefore, he brought me a message from Inoue Segai to prevent Shōjirō from going back to Chōshū with me. But Shōjirō has been ill; and I want him to recuperate for a while longer. I have decided, therefore, to take him home with me. We left the Yamashiroya at 4, called on Toyohara, and also planned to visit Schmidt. But we met Schmidt en route to his place. He came to our ship to see us off; and Schmidt's sorrow in parting from Shōjirō was very deep. His tears flowed freely. I had empathy for him in his feelings; and I was moved to tears also. At length, at 5, the ship's anchor was raised; the name of the ship was the *Golden Age*.

¹⁶ *Bunka* 分課.

¹⁷ Satō Nobuhiro (1815–1900), Chōshū samurai, had attended the Meirinkan and gone to Edo to study military science in an earlier time than Kido. He was Governor of Hamada, which was immediately north of Chōshū in Iwami province, a 61,000-*koku* domain. Later it was incorporated into Shimane prefecture. In 1876 Satō as Governor of Shimane in Matsue negotiated with the fleeing leaders of the Hagi Rising, and incurred the displeasure of Tokyo for the concessions he granted. Soon after, he left the bureaucracy. Two of Satō's great-great grandsons became Prime Ministers: Kishi Nobusuke, 1957–1960; and Satō Eisaku, 1964–1972.

(Note) Aboard ship were Sugi, Nomura, Miyoshi, and Endō Tei'ichirō of Tokuyama. Heavy rain as we boarded.

14 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/25] Rain. My stomach was in bad shape last night, and my vitality completely debilitated. At 5 we passed between Kii and Ōshima.

15 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/26] Rain. After 7 I went to the Nunobikiya¹⁸ for breakfast. After 10 I took a Fukuyama domain steamship to Osaka, arriving there after 2. I went to the Tsuneyasu mansion of Chōshū; and after 6 I visited Bankichi with Sugi, Nomura, and Ogawa, inspecting some calligraphy and brush ink paintings. We then went to the Kawasarō; and I returned to the mansion at 12. I wrote letters to Prince Sanjō, Lord Iwakura, and Kawase who is studying in England. A little after 2 in the morning the wind blew violently.

(Note) The mounting of the painting by Chang Ch'iu-ku has been finished, and Gobei brought it over.

16 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/27] Fair. I went to Daikichi's with Sugi, Nomura, and Ogawa; but the master of the house was absent. From there we went to Shinsaibashi Avenue, and I purchased some books at Kawakichi's. There we looked at the proprietor's treasured scroll by Chikuden. We then went to Yamanaka's to look over several dozen scrolls of calligraphy and brush ink painting. After 2 we visited Yamada Ichinojō to have our noon meal. We then took a boat upstream to Sakuranomiya¹⁹ to see the cherry blossoms on the trees along the dikes. We proceeded by boat, without tea and without sakè, on an outing genuinely for the pleasure of viewing the beauty of the scene. It was superb. We strolled along the dikes of Sakuranomiya; and, as I called to mind the circumstances of the death of my son, Katsuzaburō, here in the autumn of 1864, grief filled my heart. The scenery came to seem desolate and lonely.

Afterwards we visited Endō Kinsuke; and we inspected the Bureau of the Mint. On the way back we took our boat to Kitabori, and had sakè and food at the Kawasarō, returning to the

¹⁸ The inn was in Kobe.

¹⁹ Sakuranomiya is a park near Osaka Castle on the east bank of the Yodo River.

domain mansion at 11. Ida Gozō came to visit after 12. He was deeply concerned about the situation in Tokyo; and he hopes that the Imperial Government will sweep out the rascals and establish rigid control in its offices, and show some dignity. There are so many things about the Imperial Government about which I can hardly bear to open my mouth. My travail these days is beyond description.

17 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/28] Rain. The antique dealers Daikichi, Bankichi, and Yamanaka came over. This time I acquired an antique copper well bucket, an antique copper incense burner, a blue Chinese porcelain vase, and a scroll by Santō Takahama,²⁰ made of two sheets of paper. I wrote letters to Segai and Sokyō. Yoshii Genma and Yamada Ichinojō came; Munakata Sōjurō and Ōoka Daibi also came to visit. Before 10 I took a boat in front of the mansion, then went to Matsushima to catch the riverboat for Kobe. I arrived there at 6, and stayed overnight at the Nunobikiya.

18 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/29] Fair. I took a stroll in the morning, and purchased a watch and some miscellaneous items from a foreign shop. At 10 I boarded the *Teibokan*; the captain of the *Fujikan* came over to visit. After 11 we hoisted anchor, and gave a salute of four guns. The *Fujikan* responded with a fifteen-gun salute. It was owing to the shortage of ammunition that the *Teibokan* fired only a four-gun salute. They tell me that these formalities have been decided on only recently. Although I am a member of the government, I had not known of this. In addition to the members of my party, Tanaka Toshisuke boarded our ship from Osaka.

19 April 1871 [Meiji 4/2/30] Cloudy. Rain began at 8. We passed off Tomo at dawn, went beyond Mitarai after 11, and arrived at Kaminoseki about 6. The rain let up for a while during my visit to the Higoya; but at night the rain started in again. In the spring of 1868, I departed from Yamaguchi before the Battle of Osaka broke out; and when, en route, I heard about the threatening situation in the Kyoto region, I was feverish with

²⁰ I am uncertain about the reading of this painter's name, or his identity.

excitement, but the winds prevented my going; so I stayed in this house for several days. Finally, I went to Hiroshima in the face of the storm and the current, and there hired a steamship to go to Onomichi. When I called the past to mind tonight, my heart was filled with deep emotion. I returned to the ship after 11, and we hoisted anchor; but a strong west wind kept us from entering the Suo Sea. We returned to Kaminoseki in consequence.

Index

This index is selective: it does not attempt to include every single name that is mentioned, even in passing, in the text of Kido's daily diary entries; nor does it include each and every mention of the people whose names are included. For Kido's closest associates, an attempt has been made to include virtually all references; for most other people mentioned in the diary, only references which include some substantive comment have been indexed.

The many people who were known by more than one name have been listed under the name by which they are known to history. Pen names and other alternative names are listed and cross-referenced.

Page numbers in bold-face type refer to the pages on which biographical information about a major figure appears.

Adams, Francis Ottiwell, 165, 294, 420

administration. *See* bureaucracy

Aizu domain: defeat of, xxxvii, xxxviii, 110, 111, 143; resistance to central government, 56, 60-61; surrender of, 122, 127, 128, 130, 182, 188, 189, 191, 195, 196, 197, 198

Akita, fighting in, 102, 103, 125. *See also* Boshin War; Dewa province

Akizuki Tanetatsu 秋月種樹, 3, 6, 182, 186, 196

antiques, Kido as collector of, 138, 166, 366

Aoki Kenzō 青木謙藏, 213, 214, 215; death of, 408

Aoki Shūzō 青木周藏, 445, 464

Arisugawa Taruhito, Prince, 有栖川宮熾仁, 415

army (central government): arrogance of troops, 122; domains ordered to provide troops, 473; establishment of military academy, 201; exercises in Nagasaki, 56; inspections of, 194, 197, 462; modernization of, 302n; troops land in Kokura, 448-49. *See also* military forces

artists. *See* Chō Sansu; Ise Shōsu;

Hashi' ichi; Noguchi Shōhin; Okuhara Seiko; Tanomura Chikuden; Tsubaki Chinzan; Watanabe Kazan

Asada 麻田. *See* Sufu Masanosuke
assassination: attempt on Ōmura Masujirō, 276; of Hirosawa Sanemi, 462-64; Kido protected against, 463-64, 467, 470; of Matsuzaki Jūemon, 417; of Yokoi Shōnan, 417

Assembly of Domain Representatives (*Kōgisho*), 137, 195

Aston, William G., 54, 234, 246, 315

Asuta shrine, Emperor visits, 123

awards, hereditary. *See* Merit Award; stipends

Baisho (Takasugi Shinsaku's mistress) 梅所, 50, 51, 52, 56

Bakufu forces: defeat at Sendai, 65; naval maneuvers by, 107; punishment of, 25, 243-44; retreat of naval forces, 14, 140, 141. *See also* Boshin War

bankers. *See* Hiro'oka Kyūemon; Kōnoike Ichibei; Shand, Alexander A.
Bauduin, Anthonius Franciscus, xxx, xlv, 53, 230, 231, 235, 370, 371,

- 416, 428
 Bauduin (Dutch consul), 365
Benji (Imperial Secretary), 18, 83
Benkan (Imperial Secretariat), 312
 Black, John Reddie, 205
 boating, 63, 217, 292
 Boshin War against Bakufu remnants, xxxvi, 21-22, 25-26, 30, 89, 93, 130; arrogance of government army, 122; in Dewa province, 81, 83, 87, 90, 102, 103, 111, 125, 151; in Echigo, 69, 94, 95, 106, 107, 110, 113; fall of Niigata, 95; in Hakodate, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 171; in Hakone, 271, 281; Kido's desire to serve in, 67, 71; memorial services for war dead, 162; reminiscences of, 180, 479; terms for Sendai, 115-16; victory celebrated, 146
 bureaucracy: appointments to, 119; pay reductions for, 138; procedures, 141-42; recruitment of talent for, 41, 119, 288, 464; use of Bakufu supporters in, 202
 calligraphy, lii, 59, 67, 96, 99, 101, 106, 112, 113, 115, 154, 169, 172, 175, 183, 184, 195, 200, 203, 247, 273, 280, 286, 299, 311, 347, 348, 353, 366, 379, 447, 448
 central government: finances of, 166-67; integrity of, 400; importance of strengthening, 96-97, 145; support for, 168-69; troops lent by Chōshū, 465
 Charter Oath of Five Articles, xx
 cherry-blossom viewing, 201, 203, 476
 Chibaudier, Jules Cesar Claude, 420
Chihanji (Domain Governor), 245-46
Chiji (Governor), 363
 Chikuden. *See* Tanomura Chikuden
 China: mission to, 380; relations with, 388; Tientsin Massacre, 377
 Chinzan. *See* Tsubaki Chinzan
 Chō Sansu 長三洲, 326, 327, 328, 398, 431
 Chōfu domain, 321; support for Chōshū, 328, 337
 Chōshū domain: administrative reform in, 104, 359; alliance with Satsuma, xix, 39, 391; anniversary of deaths in Restoration fighting, 86; dissidence in, xl-xlii, 34-35, 36, 44, 71, 96-97, 98, 107, 119, 123, 155, 209, 225, 315, 320; honored by the Emperor, 241; military forces, 7, 113, 139, 140, 156; political problems, 356-57; relations with Kaga domain, 4-5; rebellion in, 321-35, 341, 346, 367, 438, 451; support for central government, 168-69, 465; support for domain abolition, xxxix, 190; Tokyo property, 170, 188, 377
 Chōshū, Heir Apparent (later Lord). *See* Mōri Motonori
 Chōshū, Lord (later Old Lord, retired Lord). *See* Mōri Takachika
 Christianity, survival in Nagasaki, xliii, 9, 18
 Christians, xxviii; problem of, 13, 16-117, 18, 23, 99, 147; banished from Nagasaki, 53, 56, 148; Kido ordered to take charge of, 27; policy discussion on, 52-53, 55
 counterfeiting, 257, 376, 400, 414
 courtiers, arrogance of, 120
 currency: counterfeiting, 257, 376, 400, 414; problems with, 115, 141; revision of, 31, 173, 174; suspension of silver payment for, 63
Daikansatsu (Chief Inspector), 208, 358
 Daikokuya Rokubei 大黒屋六兵衛, 205
Dainagon (Chief Imperial Councilor), 8, 471
Daisanji (Senior Domain Councilor), 358
 Daito, Prince. *See* Morinaga, Prince
 Dajōkan (Grand Council of State), 9n
 Dallas, Charles H., 439
Danjō Daichū (Senior Officer, Board of Censors), 416
Danjōdai (Board of Censors), 246, 338, 416
 Date Munenari 伊達宗城, 10, 68, 151, 405, 475
 dental treatment, 54-55, 406-8, 421, 422, 470
 Dewa province: division of, 162, 163; fighting in, 83, 87, 90, 94, 103, 111, 125; local government in, 156, 169; surrender of, 128
 diplomacy, 155; firing salutes, 479.
See also China; England; Korea
 Dōchō Jōzō 同町常藏, 451
 doctors. *See* physicians
 domains, abolition of, xxv, xxviii-xl, 90, 163, 190-91, 457-58, 471. *See also* Return of the Registers
 dreams, Kido's, 72
 du Bousquet, George, 152
 Dutch Learning, 422
 earthquake, 473
 Echigo, fighting in, 93, 94, 95, 106, 107, 108, 110, 113
 Echizen, Lord of. *See* Matsudaira Yoshinaga
 Edo, opening of, 148
 Egawa Tarōzaemon 江川太郎左衛門, xlvii, 78n, 131, 267-68
 Elliott, W. St. George, xxx, xlv, 406-8, 421, 422, 437, 469, 470
 Emperor. *See* Meiji Emperor
 Endō Kinsuke 遠藤謹助, 283, 373, 405, 469, 478
 England: 1863 study mission to, 205, 233-34; neutrality in Boshin War, 157, 166; son Shōjiro sent to, 477. *See also* Parkes, Harry (Minister)
 Enomoto Takeaki (Kamejirō) 榎本武揚 (釜次郎), 166
 Enoshima, Kido visits, 282
 Etō Shimpei 江藤新平, 23, 76, 181, 299, 383, 389, 472
 extraterritoriality, 148
 Ezo (Hokkaido): colonization of, 259, 261; Russian pressure on, 267
 festivals: harvest, 439; Inari shrine, 195, 200
 feudal lords, restrictions on 31-32
 feudalism, abolition of, xxxviii-xl, 90, 94, 163, 168-69, 245, 284, 438, 457-58, 460-62, 463, 472, 473
 finances, government, 145-46, 166-67
 fishing, 281
 flag, 31
 foreigners: attempt on lives of, 439-40, 441; hostility to; 233; observing Emperor's progress, 133; outrage over Tientsin Massacre, 377
 France: loan from, 99; stories of, 244
 French School (Yokohama), 290
 Franco-Prussian War: Kido's reaction to, xlv; reports of, 391, 392, 401, 406, 421, 466; victory celebration at Prussian legation, 469
 Fujimatsu Tanosuke 藤松多之助, 455
 Fujito Tōko 藤田東湖, 173, 410
 Fukubara Uchikuranojō 福原内藏之允, 321
 Fukuda Kyōhei (Yūyū) 福田俠平 (悠々), 25, 36, 38
 Fukui Jundō 福井順道, 186, 198, 248, 265
 Fukuoka Takachika (Tōji) 福岡孝弟 (藤次), 5, 102
 Fukushima prefecture, unrest in, 475, 476
Fuku-Sōsai (Deputy Chancellor), 8
 Funakoshi Mamoru (Yōnosuke) 船越衛 (洋之助), 290, 302
 Fushimi, battle at, 151
 geisha, li, 13, 15, 19, 78, 114, 169, 175, 176, 202, 217. *See also* Kayo
 Glover, Thomas B., xlv, 13, 29, 30, 54, 56, 235
go (game), Kido plays, xxxiii, lii, 156, 247, 249, 251, 254, 256, 276, 368, 375, 376, 380, 386, 387, 411, 416, 417, 446; with Nōmi, 420; with Takasugi, 397
 Godai Tomoatsu (Saisuke) 五代友厚 (才助), 29, 80
Gondaisanji (Deputy Domain Councilor), 344
Goshōten. *See* Merit Awards
 Gotō Shōjiro 後藤象次郎, 9, 10, 14, 19, 61, 63, 73, 81, 82, 114, 116, 199, 204, 378, 386, 39, 398, 409, 475; discusses appointment of domain governors, 245-46; discusses personnel policies, 24
 Gotō Untō 後藤雲濤. *See* Gotō Shōjiro
 government. *See* central government; finances; local government
 Governor-General, abolition of office of, 138
 Gower, Abel J., 233, 235, 315
 Guntarō. 軍太郎. *See* Miyoshi Shigeomi

- Hachiman shrine, 282, 419
 Hagi, visit to, 42, 343
 Hakodate, Bakufu's last stand at, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 171
 Hakone, Kido vacations at, 261-82
 Hamada Hikozō. *See* Heco, Joseph
 Hamaguri Gate, battle of, xviii, xix, xxv
 Hankei (swordmaker) 繁慶, 182
Hanseki-hōkan. *See* Return of the Registers
 Hashichi. *See* Hayashi Tomoyuki
 Hashi'ichi 橋一, li, 164, 170, 198, 199, 274, 279, 298, 376
 Hayashi Hanshichi 林半七. *See* Hayashi Tomoyuki
 Hayashi Tomoyuki 林友幸, 35, 153, 174, 290, 291, 298, 382, 385, 406
 health, Kido's. *See* illness; medical treatment
 Heco, Joseph, 29-30, 61, 235
 Heinojō. *See* Kusumoto Masataka
 Hepburn, James Curtis, xxx, xlv, 405-6
 Hida prefecture, unrest in, 445, 447
 Hideyoshi. *See* Toyotomi Hideyoshi
 Higashikuze Michitomi 東久世通禧, 176, 188, 377
 Higo province: opposition to central government, 213-215; troops dispatched to, 464
 Hijikata Hisamoto 土方久元, 299
 Hikotarō. 彦太郎 *See* Kuribara Hikotarō
 Himeji domain, rebellion in, 60
 Hiroe (pseudonym used by Kido in 1864) 廣江, xix, 370
 Hiro'oka Kyūemon 廣岡久右衛門, 9, 12, 230, 396
 Hirosawa Saneomi 廣澤真臣, 3, 21, 24, 40, 88, 100, 107, 115, 211, 241, 243, 246, 248, 251, 288, 289, 290, 295, 307, 308, 312, 356, 358, 359, 373, 374, 381, 385, 386, 395, 397, 402, 408, 414, 425, 427, 429, 433, 441; accepts award for Kido, 284; assassination of, liii-lv, 462-64; plans to go abroad, 437; recommended for appointment as Imperial Councillor, 258; remembered, 470-71, 477
 Hitotsubashi 一橋. *See* Tokugawa Yoshinobu
 Hizzen, Lord of. *See* Nabeshima Kansō
 Hōbai 芳樸. *See* Itō Hirobumi
 Hōjō Sōun 北條早雲, 263, 268
 Home-Finance Ministry, 381, 385n
 horseback riding, 114
 horticulture, 222; bamboo, 427; orchids, 390
 hunting, 264-65
 Ichinojō 市之允. *See* Yamada Akiyoshi
 Ichizō 一藏. *See* Ōkubo Toshimichi
 Ikkyū 一休, 280
 Ikumatsu. *See* Kido Matsuko
 illness (Kido's), 375, 473; chest pains, 423; dysentery, 320; hemorrhoids, 279; toothache, 285. *See also* medical treatment
 Inari shrine, festival of, 195, 200
 Ingen 隠元, 218
 Innomiya (Prince Asahiko) 尹宮 (朝彦), 85
 Innomiya conspiracy, 89, 99, 101
 Inoue Inseki 井上因碩, 258, 259, 270, 276
 Inoue Kaoru 井上馨, 8, 10, 13, 16, 19, 52, 54, 104, 109, 226, 227, 229, 230, 235, 239, 241, 243, 248, 305, 324, 335, 342, 370, 433, 470, 472, 477; Kido recommends promotion, 119; in Nagasaki, 51; receives Kido's sword, 57-58
 Inoue Masaru 井上勝, 154, 256, 290, 291, 305, 307-08
 Inoue Monta 井上聞多. *See* Inoue Kaoru
 Inoue Segai 井上世外. *See* Inoue Kaoru
 Inoue Shin'ichirō. 井上新一郎. *See* Inoue Masaru
 Inoue Shōzō 井上省三, 392
 Inoue Yakichi 井上彌吉. *See* Inoue Masaru
 iron works (Yokosuka), visit to, 435
 Isahaya Motokiyo 諫早基清, 44
 Ise Shinzaemon 伊勢新左衛門, 89-90
 Ise Shōsu 伊勢小湊, 7, 113, 264, 265, 429
 Iseya Ichibei 伊勢屋一兵衛, 170
 Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助, 243, 400, 401, 402, 431, 467, 470, 471, 475; cooperation in abolition of feudalism, 460-62; sent to Europe, 399
 Itakura Katsukiyo 板倉勝靜, 26
 Itō Gempaku 伊東玄伯, 375
 Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文, 8, 14-15, 19, 26, 32, 60, 73, 80, 207, 215, 239, 241, 243, 244, 245, 248, 262, 283, 291, 292, 295, 298, 304, 312, 313, 373, 377, 380, 388, 395, 398, 403, 408, 411, 415, 431; and Ezo problem, 267; Kido recommends promotion, 119; trip to U.S. to study currency, 425, 428, 475
 Itō Hōbai 伊藤芳梅. *See* Itō Hirobumi
 Itō Kansai 伊藤寛齋, 408, 426
 Itō Nagaosa, 426n
 Itō Shunsuke 伊藤俊介. *See* Itō Hirobumi
 Itoyone (Kido's home), 40; villagers see Kido off, 360, 367, 368, 460
 Iwakuni domain, 473; governor of, 411, 418, 429; request for government loan, 234; supports Chōshū, 327 331, 337
 Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視, 3, 9, 11, 12, 65, 68, 73, 86, 99, 109, 114, 115, 126, 135, 160, 161, 169, 210, 211, 222-27, 229-31, 233, 241, 244, 245, 250, 259, 289, 311, 374, 376, 377, 385, 391, 393, 395, 406, 408, 411, 415, 444, 446, 450, 471, 472, 474, 476; discussion on the West, 64; as Imperial Envoy to Yamaguchi, 457-59; and Korea relations, 291; and military finance, 166; resignation rumor, 187; Tohoku trip, 82
 Iwakura mission to the West, xx, xxx
 Iwasaki Naonoshin 岩崎直之進, 176
 Iwasaki Yatarō 岩崎彌太郎, 443
 Iwashita Masahira 岩下方平, 89
 Iwaya Yukiya 巖谷迂也, 221
 Izushi (Tajima province), Kido in hiding in 1864, 387
Jigyo-Kyoku (Bureau of Chamberlains, Chōshū), 36
Jingikan (Department of Shinto Religion), 440
 jinrikisha, invention of, 476
 Jisui. *See* Ōshirna Tomonojō
jururi, 413
 Junghanns, L. H., 434
Junsatsu (Inspector), 239
 Kabuki, 401, 438
 Kaga domain, 4-5
 Kagawa Keizō 香川敬三, 172
 Kagoshima, Kido visits, 362-64
 Kajitori Motohiko 梶取素彦, 450
 Kamakura: Kido visits, 282; Mori Takachika visits, 419
 Kanda Kōhei 神田孝平, 195
 Kanjōtai (military units), 43; dispatched to Yamaguchi, 323-324
 Kannon temple, Asakusa, 183
 Kasuga shrine, 215
 Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之, 195
 Katsu Kaishū (Awa; Rintarō) 勝海舟 (安房; 麟) 152, 171
 Katsura family: Kido adopted by, xvii, xxxiii; Kito worships at graves of, 345
 Katsura Katsuzaburō 桂勝三郎, 7, 250, 478
 Katsura Tarō 桂太郎, 151, 273, 274, 35, 402
 Kawamura Sumiyoshi 川村純義, 457
 Kawase Hideji (Sotōe) 河瀬秀治 (外衛), 199, 251, 390
 Kayo (geisha) 加代, 101, 102, 111
 Kazan. *See* Watanabe Kazan
 Kemperman, F. P., 388, 392, 398, 433, 469-470
 Kennosaki, tour of lighthouse at, 437
 Kenzō 健藏, 255
 Kido Matsuko 木戸松子, xviii, xxvi, xlix, li, 233, 244, 265, 274
 Kido Shōjirō 木戸正二郎, 1, 48, 49, 233, 265, 273, 282, 313, 391, 405, 406, 437, 469; dental treatment, 407; injury to, 52; sent to England, 477; tutored in English, 270 (*see also* Schmidt, K.E.)
 Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允: artistic interests, xxii, xxiv (*see also* antiques; calligraphy; poetry; swords); birth, xvi; in Chōshū, xix; death, xxi; denied permission to go abroad, 400, family affairs, 211, 302, 354; medical problems, xxv, xxix-xxx, 49, 248, 279, 285, 320, 375, 408, 409, 423, 469, 475; named

- to offices, xx, 242, 253, 255, 309;
observation of Perry's ships, xvii;
ordered to Tokyo, 68, 72-73, 354;
ordered to Yamaguchi, 309, 440;
permission to go to Boshin War
front denied, 113; personality, 72;
petition to return to Chōshū, 211;
protected against assassination,
463-64, 467, 470; resignation
offered, 153, 386, 389, 391; study in
Tokyo, xvii; survivor guilt, 86, 105-
6, 118, 176; travels to Edo with
Emperor, 117-34; travels with Iwa-
kura mission, xx; vacation in
Hakone, 261-82; visit to Kago
shrine, 362-64; visit to Nagasaki,
51-58, 361-62, 364-65; visit to Nara,
215-17; visit to Osaka, 230-36
Kiheitai (irregular troops in Chōshū),
7. See also *shotai*
Kii domain, reforms in, 397
Kiikkawa Chōkichi 吉川長吉, 380
Kinder, Thomas William, 446
Kiyomoto Enjūdayu 清元延壽太夫,
413
Kōchi domain (formerly Tosa), 400,
460
Kōgisho (Assembly of Domain Repre-
sentatives), 137, 195
Komatsu Tatewake (Kanran) 小松
帶刀 (觀瀾), 10, 18, 26, 28, 77, 149,
314; mortal illness, 370
Kōnoike Ichibei 鴻池市兵衛, 7, 61,
208
Korea: diplomatic mission to, 234;
invasion proposed, 167-68, 191,
194, 201; Kido appointed envoy to,
381; relations with, 248, 291, 348-
49, 357, 388; report from 230
Kōriyama domain, reforms in, 399
Koshinagata (Domain Trading Office),
50, 360, 365
Kōtō 甲東. See Ōkubo Toshimichi
Kōyama Kunikiyo (Satae) 神山郡廉
(佐太江), 83
Kubo Danzō 久保斷三, 357, 390
Kumamoto domain, unrest in, 473
Kuniyoshi (swordmaker) 國吉, 194
Kuniyuki (swordmaker) 國行, 194
Kuribara Haruko 來原春子, xxxiii,
xlix, 244, 277, 320, 323, 354, 357,
368; arrives in Tokyo, 412-14
Kuribara Hikotarō 來原彦太郎, 308,
320, 357, 360, 361, 368, 403; in
America, 475
Kuribara Ryōzō 來原良藏, xxxiii, 79;
death anniversary, 403; Kido visits
grave, 286
Kuribara Seikō 來原盛功. See Kuri-
bara Ryōzō
Kuroda Kiyotaka 黒田清隆, 185,
258, 322, 323, 379, 388, 391, 433
Kuroda Ryōsuke 黒田了介. See
Kuroda Kiyotaka
Kurume, unrest in, 476
Kusaka Genzui 久坂玄瑞, 39
Kusanagi Enseki 日柳燕石, 5
Kusumoto Masataka (Heinojō) 楠本
正隆 (平之允), 52, 98
Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成, 15,
207, 369
Kuwana domain, 121
kyōgen, 386
Kyoto: dissidence in, 304; new plan
for government of, 93
law: foreign demand for code of, 440;
international, 148; need for system
of, 440-41
Lay, Horatio Nelson, 306
lighthouses, tours of, 435, 437
local government, 145, 156; in Kyoto,
93; in Mutsu and Dewa provinces
(Tōhoku), 156, 162, 163, 169, 174,
187; in Tokyo, 202
Lowder, John Frederick, 15, 301,
303, 304, 313
Mackenzie, K. R. 29, 61
Maebara Issei 前原一誠, xxxi, 34,
186, 242, 295
Makimura Masanao (Hankurō) 横
村正直 (半九郎), 228, 387
Marks, A., & Co., 238, 239
Matsuda Miochiyuki 松田道之, 465
Matsudaira Katamori (Lord of
Aizu) 松平容保, 110, 130, 242
Matsudaira Yoshinaga 松平慶永, 3,
106, 242
Matsukata Masayoshi
(Sukezaemon) 松方正義 (助佐衛門),
376, 447, 448, 460
Matsumoto Shōan 松本省庵, 143
Matsuyama domain, rebellion in, 60
Matsuzaki Jūemon 松崎澁右衛門,
assassination of, 291-92
medical treatment (Kido), 49, 248,
375, 408, 409, 469; for dysentery,
426; leeches, 202, 226; moxa, 199;
sea bathing, 231-32
Meiji Emperor: as theme in diary,
xxvii; birthday celebration, 412;
enthronement ceremony, 107; free-
dom to travel, 11, 19, 90, 94-95;
holds banquet, 378; honors
Chōshū, 241; 1868 journey to Edo,
117-34; Kido's audiences with, 12,
72, 193, 287, 373, 387, 415, 428,
476; Kido's relation with, xxvii,
xxxiv-xxxv; presents gifts to Kido,
174, 253, 259, 295, 312; returns to
Kyoto, 159, 163; reviews troops,
105, 108, 157, 408; travels to
Ōmiya, 431; views on religion and
politics, 135; visits Kamo shrines,
96
Meiji, era name, 111, 112
Meiji Restoration, reflections on, 70-
71
merchants. See Marks, A., & Co.;
Sadanaga Yūnosuke; Van Oordt,
W.C.; Wilkin, A. J.; Yamashiroya
Wasuke
Merit Award: Kido receives, 284-85;
Kido declines stipend, 286, 287-88,
293, 342
Mihori Kōsuke 御堀耕助, 35, 37, 67,
82, 86, 91, 94, 98, 100, 292, 303,
395; and dissidence in Chōshū, 34;
goes to Europe, 299, 396; opposes
abolition of domains, xli; returns
from Hong Kong, 290
Mikamoto, visit to lighthouse at, 435
military forces: establishment of, 166;
financing of, 146; reform of, 165,
247-48, 254. See also army; navy
Military Academy (*Hei Gakkō*), 301
Mimbukyō. See Tokugawa Mim-
bukyō
Minami Teisuke 南貞助, 439
Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝, 268
Mint, in Osaka, 300, 446; fire at, 302;
inspection of, 478
Mitford, A. B., xlv, xlix, li, 19, 153,
181, 193, 194, 246, 262n, 293, 294;
departure for England, 306; reports
destruction of warship, 165; visits
Kido, 275
Mito Castle, capture of, 130
Mitsuoka Hachirō 三岡八郎. See
Yuri Kimimasa
Miura Gorō 三浦梧楼, 347, 411, 412,
433, 438, 477
Miyoshi Shigeomi (Guntarō) 三好重
臣 (軍太郎), 104
modernization: Kido's reactions to,
xlii-xliii, 444; political crisis over,
381-82; in Satsuma, 364; support of
Bakufu retainers for, 410
Monta 聞多. See Inoue Kaoru
moon-viewing, lii, 100, 267, 278, 399
Morel, Edmund, 377
Mori Arinori 森有禮, 165, 189, 195,
200
Mori Kinnojō 森金之丞. See Mori
Arinori
Mōri, Lady, 395, 413
Mōri Motonori (Heir Apparent, later
Lord, of Chōshū) 毛利元徳, 8, 10,
16, 17, 28, 40, 42, 49, 323; audience
with Imperial Messenger Toku-
daiji, 339; gifts to Kido, 342; incog-
nito in Nagasaki, 361; Kido's audi-
ences with, 85, 239, 316, 319, 450;
receives Imperial honors, 241; and
rebellion in Chōshū, 332, 333, 335,
336; succession to domain head-
ship; 242; visits Kido's home, 367,
368; visits Satsuma, 358
Mōri Takachika (Lord, later Old
Lord or retired Lord, of Chōshū)
毛利敬親, xxviii, 8n, 164, 244, 247,
386; gifts to Kido, 251; illness, 316,
374; invited to Tosa mansion,
383; Kido's audiences with, 63,
69-70, 81, 88, 89, 208, 209, 211, 319,
359, 370, 376, 391, 395, 397, 410,
415, 450; leaves Tokyo, 256, 417-
19; retirement, 242; support for
central government, 35, 168-69;
visits Hirosawa, 398; visits Kido,
367-68, 380, 413
Moridera Tsunenori, 20
Morinaga, Prince 護良, 88, 282
Motoda Eifu 元田永孚, 392
Murata Seifū 村田清風, xx, xlviii, 46;
memorial to, 46-47
Murata Shimpachi 村田新八, 258

- Murata Zōroku. *See* Ōmura Masujirō
Mutsu Munemitsu 陸奥宗光, 314, 388, 402, 403, 407; on Kii reforms, 397
Mutsu Yōnosuke 陸奥陽之助. *See* Mutsu Munemitsu
Mutsu province, local government in, 156, 162, 163, 169, 174, 187

Nabeshima Kansō 鍋島閑叟, 6, 77
Nagai Uta 長井雅樂, xviii
Nagamatsu Bunsuke 長松文輔, 298, 299
Nagaoka Kenkichi 長岡健吉, 5, 276, 277
Nagasaki: Kido visits, 51-58, 361-62, 364-65; problem of Christians in, xxviii, 9, 10, 16-17
Nagayasu Wasō 永安和惣, 290, 299, 433
Nagayo Sensai 長與專齋, xxx, 55
Nakahama Manjirō 中濱萬次郎, 193
Nakai Hanzō 中井範藏, 281
Nakai Hiroshi 中井弘, 19
Nakajima Saburōnosuke 中島三郎助, xlviii, 189, 436
Nakane Yukie 中根雪江, 3
Nakayama Tadayasu 中山忠能, 68
Naniwa. *See* Osaka
Nara, Kido visits, 215-17
National Assembly (*Shugi'in*), 297
Naval School, Yokohama, 283
navigation, science of, 74, 466
navy: Bakufu's, 14, 107, 140-141; Chōshū's, 325, 332, 436; importance of, 146; *Stonewall* problem, 30
Nawa Yurumi (Kan) 名和緩, 24, 65, 98
neutrality of foreign powers, 156, 166, 167
New Year: 1869, 175, 179; 1870, 319; 1871, 455
New York (ship), 370, 467
newspaper, Kido's plans for, 474
Niigata, opening of port, 31, 148
Nitta Yoshio 新田三郎, 19
Ninnaji Yoshiakira, 69, 144
Nirayama, visit to, 267
Noguchi Shōhin 野口小瓊, li, 66, 88, 89, 104, 106-107, 112, 113, 116
Nōmi Ryūan 能美隆菴, 416, 419, 420
Nomura Motosuke 野村素介, 48, 55, 399, 421
Nomura Sōken 野村素軒. *See* Nomura Motosuke
Nomura Uchū 野村右中. *See* Nomura Motosuke

Obata Takamasa 小幡高政, 35n
Oda Nobunaga 織田信長, 65
Odawara, Kido visits, 262-63
Ōe Hiromoto 大江廣元, 47n, 88, 285; Kido visits grave of, 419
Ogasawara Tadahachi 小笠原唯八, 23
Ogata Ijun 緒方維準, 132
Ogata Sessai 緒方拙齋, 230
Ogimachisanjō 正親町三條. *See* Saga Sanenaru
Ogō Yaemon 小河彌右衛門, 18n
Ōhara Shigetomi, Lord 大原重徳, 176
Okamoto Seishō (Seiun) 岡本栖雲, xlv, 356
Ōki Mimpei 大木民平. *See* Ōki Takatō
Ōki Takatō 大木喬任, 69, 75, 76, 77, 80, 86, 122, 202, 290, 387, 389, 472
Ōki Tamihei 大木民平. *See* Ōki Takatō
Ōkubo Ichio 大久保一翁, 389
Ōkubo Ichizō 大久保一藏. *See* Ōkubo Toshimichi
Ōkubo Kōtō 大久保甲東. *See* Ōkubo Toshimichi
Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通, xxi, xxxii, 64, 75, 76, 77, 114, 144, 146, 152, 153, 158, 161, 162, 190, 212, 215, 223, 225, 227, 233, 241, 245, 251, 292, 299, 303, 310, 312, 314, 322, 323, 364, 374, 382, 385, 387, 391, 402, 418, 422, 423, 435, 441, 444, 446, 447, 464, 465, 471, 474; accepts position as Imperial Councillor, 426; asks Kido to go to Tosa, 458-459, 461-62; audience with Emperor, 428; concern about Chōshū and Satsuma, 438; gifts to Kido, 311; goes to Satsuma, 409; Kido gives painting to, 260; opinions on modernization, 382n; ordered to return home, 440; and return of domains to the Emperor, 116, 169
Ōkubo Yaemon 大久保彌右衛門, 280
Okudaira Kensuke 奥平健助, 345
Okudaira Nisui 奥平二水, 392
Okuhara Seiko 奥原晴湖, li, 187, 196, 197, 201, 291, 305, 391, 392, 427, 429
Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信, xlv, 16, 17, 99, 244, 256, 260, 262, 289, 312, 373, 377, 385, 386, 388, 389, 398, 405; as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, 381; promotion of, 378
Okuma Yatarō 大隈八太郎. *See* Ōkuma Shigenobu
Ōmura Masujirō 大村益次郎, xix, xxxviii, 39, 75, 76, 77, 109, 115, 130, 135, 136, 139, 166, 174, 182, 187, 197, 242, 244, 248, 251, 253, 274, 290; assassination of, liii, 276-77, 283, 292, 315; death of, 302-3; Iwakura visits the grave of, 459; Kido visits the grave of, 358; Tokudaiji visits the grave of, 342
Oregon (ship), 442
Osaka (Naniwa): foreign settlement in, 235; Kido's visit to, 230-36
Ōshima Jisui 大島似水. *See* Ōshima Tomonojō
Ōshima Tomonojō 大島友之丞, 4, 17, 230, 271, 291, 304, 348, 349, 476
Ōtaguro Tomo'o 太田黒伴雄, 395, 413
Ōtori Sessō 鴻雪爪, 3, 6, 113, 116
overseas travel (Kido), permission denied, 400
Ōyama Tsunayoshi (Kakunosuke) 大山綱良 (格之助), 363

paintings, 54, 73, 112, 141, 196, 221, 260, 297, 310, 350, 364, 460
paper money. *See* currency
Parkes, Harry Smith, xliii-xlv, 17n, 147, 149, 150, 239, 246, 420, 435
peasant unrest, 145; in Fukushima, 475; in Hida, 445; in Shinano, 275
Perry, Matthew C., xvii, xlvii
personnel, appointment by merit, 41, 119, 288, 464
photography, 238, 301, 361
physicians. *See* Bauduin, A. F.; Elliott, W. St. George; Fukui Jundō; Hepburn, J. C.; Itō Kansai; Junghanns, L. H.; Ogata Ijun;
Takeda Yūhaku
plum blossoms, 470, 472
poetry by Kido, 6 (joint effort), 36 (in response to Chōshū dissidence), 38 (lyrical theme), 47 (in memory of Murata Seifū), 57-58 (on his sword), 100 (on full moon), 136-37 (on presenting a sword to Yamagata), 173 (on seeing Aizu mansion; on cherry blossoms), 176 (on loyalism), 203, 277-78 (on political problems), 278 (on moon-viewing), 292 (on sumo), 455-56 (on the New Year)
police system, need for, 441
prefectures, position of governors, 416
Prussia. *See* Franco-Prussian War; Von Brandt, Max (Minister)
Putiatin, Admiral, 436

Rai Sanyō 賴山陽, xxiv, 48, 221, 273n, 451
rakugo (storytelling), 413
relief: fund for Chōshū samurai, 418; rice for, 360, 365, 366, 397
Restoration: of domains to the central government, 168; of Imperial Government, 382
Return of the Registers, xxv, xxxviii, xxxix, 88, 186, 190-91, 195, 198, 457-58
rice, purchase of for relief, 360, 365, 366, 397
Rickerby, Charles, 272
Rikyū, Sen no 利休, 千, 65
Robertson, Russel B., 420, 435
ronin: forty-seven loyal, 164, 306; unrest among, 210, 225, 228, 232, 417, 445, 476
Russia: negotiations with, 433; threat from 99

Sadamune (swordmaker) 貞宗, 249
Sadanaga Yūnosuke 貞永幽之助, 315
Saga Sanenaru (Ogimachisanjō) 嵯峨實愛 (正親町三條), 109, 119, 379, 433, 471
Saigō Kichinosuke 西郷吉之介. *See* Saigō Takamori
Saigō Shingo 西郷眞吾. *See* Saigō Tsugumichi
Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛, xxi, xlii,

- 25, 64, 66, **363**, 364, 464, 465, 471, 472, 474; arrives in Chōshū during rebellion, 333-35; asks Kido to go to Tosa, 458, 459, 461-62; mission to Chikuzen, 400
- Saigō Tsugumichi 西郷従道, 403, 410
- Saionji Kimmochi 西園寺公望, **24**, 186, 187
- Saitō Tokushinsai 齋藤篤信齋. *See* Saitō Yakurō
- Saitō Yakurō 齋藤彌九郎, xvii, xlv, 76, 137, 141, 143, 232, 250, 433, 439
- Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本龍馬, xvii, 236
- Sakuragawa (storyteller), 180
- Sangi* (Imperial Councillor), Kido appointed as, xx, 373, 374, 375-76
- Sanjō Sanetomi 三條實美, 10-18, 22, 25, 75, 76, 135, 154, 173, 175, 224, 225, 229, 230, 241, 244, 248, 250, 251, 256, 257, 259, 307, 374, 376, 378, 382, 385, 387, 391, 395, 398, 400, 408, 415, 434, 459, 471, 472; meets Mōri Takachika, 380; discusses Korea with Kido, 387; resignation as military governor, 136; summons Kido to Tokyo, 270
- Sanyo* (Junior Councillor), Kido appointed as, 64, 232
- Sanyō. *See* Rai Sanyō
- Saruwaka Theatre, 401, 438
- Sasaki Takayuki 佐々木高行, 428
- Satō Nobuhiro, 477
- Satow, Ernest Mason, xlv, **17-18**, 19, 147n, 149, 180-81, 435, 437
- Satsuma domain: counterfeiting problem in 400; dissidence in, 409-10, 415, 416, 417, 425; modernization in, 364; reforms in, 322; support for central government, xxxix, 169, 190; withdrawal of officials serving central government, 247
- Satsuma-Chōshū alliance, xix, 210, 391
- Sawa Nobuyoshi 澤宣嘉, 51-52, 53n, 236, 237, 399
- Schmidt, K. E. (Shōjirō's English tutor), 269, 270, 273, 282, 283, 300, 313, 421, 422, 469, 477
- Segai 世外. *See* Inoue Kaoru
- Seifū 清風. *See* Murata Seifū
- Seiho 青甫, 60, 113
- Seiko 晴湖. *See* Okuhara Seiko
- Seiun 栖雲. *See* Okamoto Seishō
- Seizan 星山. *See* Yamada Uemon
- Sendai domain: dissolution of, 90, 94; resistance of, 115-16; surrender of, 126, 128
- sericulture, introduction in Chōshū, 392
- Sessō 雪爪. *See* Ōtori Sessō
- Shand, Alexander Allan, 279, 301, **424**
- Shibusawa Eiichi 澁澤榮一, 396
- Shimazu Hisamitsu 島津久光, 209
- Shimazu Tadayoshi 島津忠義, 64, 66, **363**
- Shimoda, visit to, 435-36
- Shimonoseki, visit to, 448-49
- Shinagawa Yajirō 品川彌二郎, 243, 300, 380, 391, 402
- Shirogane Hachigorō (swordmaker) 白金八五郎, 75, 135, 151, 170-71
- Shishido Ki (Chōhei) 穴戸磯 (潮坪), 353
- Shōgaku 障岳. *See* Hirosawa Saneomi
- Shōhin 小蘋. *See* Noguchi Shōin
- Shōjirō 正二郎. *See* Kido Shōjirō
- Shōnai domain, 60; rebellion of, 90, 93
- Shōsu 小湊. *See* Ise Shōsu
- shotai* (irregular military units), 43, 130, 146; assigned to central government, 307; rebellion in Chōshū, 324, 325-27
- Shūgi'in* (National Assembly), 197
- Shumpō 春畝. *See* Itō Hirobumi
- Shungaku 春畝. *See* Matsudaira Yoshinaga
- Shunkō 春江. *See* Mihori Kōsuke
- Shunsuke 俊輔. *See* Itō Hirobumi
- Siebold, Alexander von, 181, 194, 306
- Siebold, Henry, 391n
- Smith, W. H., 423
- Soejima Jirō 副島二郎. *See* Soejima Taneomi
- Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣, **11**, 102, 175, 388
- Sōga brothers, Kido visits graves of, 266, 270
- Sokyō 素狂. *See* Yamagata Aritomo
- Somei villa, 186, 202, 289, 476
- Sōshitsu, Sen no 宗室, 千, 65

- Sōunji, 263, 280
- stipends, Kido opposes hereditary type, 286, 287-88, 293, 342
- Stonewall* affair, 197
- study abroad, arranged by Kido, 462, 475
- Sufu Masanosuke 周布政之助, xviii, 13, **49**, 50, 116, 140, 184, 203, 215; Kido visits grave of, 367
- Sugi Donpō 杉香鵬. *See* Sugi Magoshichirō
- Sugi Enson 杉猿村. *See* Sugi Magoshichirō
- Sugi Magoshichirō 杉孫七郎, **38**, 40, 42, 58, 295, 336, 341, 471, 474
- Sugi Minji 杉民治, 396
- sumō, 172, 180, 251, 292, 360
- swords: demands that samurai be forbidden to carry, 44n; Kido's collection of, 12, 37, 50, 107, 135, 137, 140, 158, 170-71, 182, 194, 196, 211, 221-22, 249, 253, 261, 342, 344, 376
- Tadahiro (swordmaker) 忠廣, 12
- Taiwan expedition, Kido opposes, xxi, xxxi
- Takasugi Kochūta 高杉小忠太, 307
- Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作, xix, xx, **39-40**, 50, 181, 184
- Takeda Kōunsai 竹田耕雲齋, **112**, 173
- Takeda Yūhaku 竹田祐伯, 320
- Taki Yatarō 瀧彌太郎, 222
- Taniguchi Aizan 谷口諷山, 6
- Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田, xxiv, **34**, 60, 221, 350, 364, 451, 478
- Tayasu Yoshiyori 田安慶頼, 8n
- tea ceremony, 80, 94, 96, 120, 198, 212, 218-19, 233, 235
- technology, importance of, 128
- telegraph, 399, 464
- Terado Ichiro (*tsuba* maker) 寺戸一郎, 37-38
- Terado Shōbei 寺戸正兵衛, 49
- Terashima Munenori 寺島宗則, **237**, 311, 380
- Terashima Tōzō 寺島陶藏. *See* Terashima Munenori
- theatre, visits to, 232, 401, 438
- Toda Kamenosuke 戸田龜之助, 58
- Tōgyō 東行. *See* Takasugi Shinsaku
- Tōhoku: Boshin War in, 81, 151; local government in, 162, 187. *See also* Dewa province
- Tōkōji, 353
- Tokudaiji Sanenori 徳大寺実定, **68**, 109, 211, 374; as Imperial Messenger to Chōshū, 338-42
- Tokugawa family: defeat of, xxxvi-xxxvii; lands assigned to, 129, 152; plight of retainers, 161
- Tokugawa Mimbukyo 徳川民部卿, 147, 181n, 244, 396
- Tokugawa Yoshinobu (last Shogun) 徳川慶喜, 6, 8, 14, 21, 22, 138, **144**, 146, 147, 152, 396n
- Tokurinji, 345, 350
- Tokuyama domain, 327
- Tokyo: local government in, 202; name change, 86
- Torio Koyata 鳥尾小彌太, **214**, 221, 224-25, 239, 241, 243, 256, 314, 370
- Tosa domain: Kido agrees to go to, 458, 460-62; mansion in Hakoaki, 173, 383; unrest in, 409
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, xlix, 13, 19, 447
- Toyoura (formerly Chōfu) domain, 473
- travel: by ship, 33, 51, 57, 59, 73, 79, 121, 236-37, 362, 369, 443; overseas, permission denied for, 400
- treaties, 148
- Tsubaki Chinzan 椿椿山, 141, 196, 299
- Tsuji Igaku (Shōsō) 辻維嶽 (將曹), 395
- Tsushima domain, relations with Korea, 11, 291, 293, 294
- Tsūshōshi* (Foreign Trade Office), 405, 437
- typhoons, 255, 268
- Ueno, battle scars in, 184-85, 201
- United States of America: diplomatic negotiations with, 148-149; Itō study trip to, 425, 428; Hikotarō goes to, 475
- unity, national, importance of, 129, 254
- Unshō (swordmaker) 雲生, 261
- Untō 雲濤. *See* Gotō Shōjirō
- Unyōkan* (Choshu ship), 462, 466

- Uwajima, Lord of. *See* Date Munenari
- Van Oordt, W. C., 371
- Von Brandt, Max (Minister of Prussia), 387, 388, **428**, 469
- Wada family, xvi, 343, 344; visits to, 43, 44, 48
- Wada Suteko 和田捨子, 302
- Wada Yaeko 和田八重子, 48
- war, central government's against Bakufu remnants. *See* Boshin War
- War Ministry, 101, 386, 395, 416
- Watanabe Kazan 渡邊華山, 162
- Watanabe Noboru 渡邊昇, **53**, 58, 283-84
- West, independence from, xxviii-xxix
- Western clothes, purchase of, 302
- Wilkin, A. J., 279
- Wong Kon, scroll by, 213
- Yamada Akiyoshi 山田顯義, **34**, 51, 110, 112, 243, 247, 253, 443, 465, 478; and Chōshū political reform, 291; mission to Aomori, 171
- Yamada Ichinojō 山田市之允. *See* Yamada Akiyoshi
- Yamada Seizan 山田星山. *See* Yamada Uemon
- Yamada Uemon 山田宇衛門, xx, **37**, 38-39
- Yamagata Aritomo 山縣有朋, **25**, 26, 27, 69, 131, 208, 211, 212, 370, 391, 395, 397, 402, 405, 411, 416, 438, 445, 448, 458, 463, 465, 467, 471, 472, 474; plans to go abroad, 226
- Yamagato Kyōsuke 山縣狂介. *See* Yamagata Aritomo
- Yamagata Aritomo
- Yamagato Sokyō 山縣素狂. *See* Yamagata Aritomo
- Yamagata Tokuzō 山縣篤藏, 472, 474
- Yamagato Yahachi 山縣彌八, 42,

208, 323

Yamaguchi Hanzō 山口範藏, 150,

165, 295, 300-1, 314

Yamaguchi domain: army of, 399;
Kido visits, 316-27, 356-60

Yamanaka Ken (Sei'itsu) 山中獻 (靜一), 111, 410

Yamanouchi Toyoshige (Lord Yōdō) 山内豊信 (容堂), **22**, 68, 115, 135, 139, 173, 182, 186, 188, 294, 310, 319, 429, 462

Yamao Yōzō 山尾庸三, 154, 378, 379, 387, 439; appointed to Public Works Ministry, 430

Yanagawa Itchōsai (juggler) 柳川一蝶齋, 308

Yanagawa Seigan 梁川星巖, 112

Yanagiwara Sakimitsu 柳原前光, 380, 388

Yasuba Yasukazu 安場保和, 473

Yasukuni shrine, building of, 248-49, 250, 252

Yōdō 容堂. *See* Yamanouchi Toyoshige

Yokohama, Kido visits, 237-39, 282, 373

Yokoi Shōnan (Heishirō) 横井小楠 (平四郎), **11**, 417

Yokosuka, visit to iron works at, 435

Yoneshige (painter) 米芾, 297

Yonezawa domain, 102; dissolution of, 90, 94; surrender of, 128

Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰, xvii-xviii, xx, xlv-xlvii, **117-18**, 286

Yoshinobu 慶喜. *See* Tokugawa Yoshinobu

Yoshitomi Tōbe (Kan'ichi) 吉富藤兵衛, **56**, 360

Yūgekigun (*shotai*), 130

Yuri Kimimasa (Mitsuoka

Hachirō) 由利公正 (三岡八郎), 9, 13, **31**, 90, 93, 94, 163, 175

Yūyū 悠々. *See* Fukuda Kyōhei